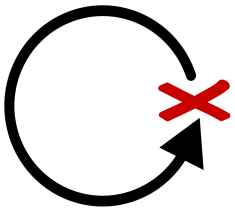




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METOIKOS Project

CIRCULAR MIGRATION BETWEEN UKRAINE AND HUNGARY: BACKGROUND REPORT

Ayse Caglar
Tibor Sillo
Ignacy Józwiak



EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE
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The METOIKOS Research Project
Circular migration patterns in Southern and Central Eastern Europe: Challenges and opportunities for migrants and policy makers

The METOIKOS project looks at circular migration patterns in three European regions: southeastern Europe and the Balkans (Greece, Italy and Albania); southwestern Europe and the Maghreb (Spain, Italy and Morocco); and Central Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary, and Ukraine). More specifically, METOIKOS studies the links between different types of circular migration and processes of integration (in the country of destination) and reintegration (in the source country). It identifies the main challenges and opportunities involved in circular migration for source countries, destination countries and migrants (and their families) and develops new conceptual instruments for the analysis of circular migration and integration. The project will develop policy recommendations (a Guide for Policy Makers, available in 10 European languages) for local, regional and national policy makers as to how to frame circular migration with appropriate (re-)integration policies. It will also organise three Regional Workshops (on Spain, Italy and Morocco; on Greece, Italy and Albania; and on Poland, Hungary and Ukraine). The project will foster online discussion on circular migration with a view to raising awareness about the challenges and advantages of circular mobility in the wider EU Neighbourhood and the Euro-Mediterranean region more generally.

The METOIKOS project is hosted by the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies and co-ordinated by Prof. Anna Triandafyllidou (anna.triandafyllidou@eui.eu). The project is co-funded by the European Fund for Integration of Third Country Nationals, Community Actions, 2008.

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Abstract

Half a year after introducing Schengen procedures in summer 2008, the world economical crisis hit Ukraine and Hungary. After 6-8 years of economical boom, which resulted in growing transfers from Ukrainian migrant workers, the financial crisis stopped both investments and the current of money from abroad. Last but not least, in 2010 new governments were elected in both countries. This background report examines the factors these events had on the situation in Ukraine and how they affect migration between two countries.

Keywords

Ukraine, Hungary, circular migration

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1. Historical background

As around 90% of Ukrainian citizens working in Hungary come from Transcarpathian District – a region in Western Ukraine, we find it important to take a look at the history and regional specificity of this land. As we shall indicate in further parts of our report, history and national ideology also play an important role in shaping contemporary migration from Ukraine to Hungary.

Since the creation of Austro-Hungary (1867) up to 1918 Transcarpathia belonged to the Hungarian Crown. Look back further it became a part of Habsburg Monarchy since Austria took control over Hungary in 17th century, having been a part of Hungary since 10th century. In 1918 and 1919 it was faced with political and military efforts of the Ukrainian national movement. In April 1919, control over was granted to Czechoslovakia in accordance with arrangements of the Treaty of Trianon. Czechoslovak troops acting in concert with Romanian forces arriving from the east - both acting under French auspices - entered the area. Some parts of the former Hungarian Maramorosz county (nowadays Rakhiv, Tyachin and Khust *raions*) were under Romanian occupation. In a series of battles they defeated and crushed the local militias of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and the Czechoslovak control was eventually established. In November 1938, under the First Vienna Award, Czechoslovakia, and later Slovakia, were forced by Germany and Italy to cede the southern third of Slovakia and southern Transcarpathia to Hungary. Meanwhile, on some of the territories the state of Carpathian Ukraine was created by Ukrainian nationalists (1938). In 1944 the Red Army entered Transcarpathia, then officially recognised as a part of Czechoslovakia, and after World War II, in 1945, a treaty was signed between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, according to which Transcarpathia was incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and turned into Transcarpathian District (Ukr. *Zakarpatska Oblast*). It remained in this shape after the collapse of the USSR in 1991, forming an integral part of Ukraine (since 1991).

Transcarpathia has always been inhabited by multiple ethnic groups (Ukrainians, Ruthenians, Hungarians, the Roma, Germans, Jews, Romanians and others) and has faced national movements and state building attempts by several of them, including those associated with Hungarian history and historiography (Francis II Rákóczi uprising 1703 – 1711, the Revolution of 1848 and the Revolution of 1919, Vienna Award of 1938, the German occupation in 1944). Together with other lands lost by Hungary after WWI, Transcarpathia forms a part of common ideological construct (cultivated until now by the Hungarian right) of the Greater Hungary and, closely associated, The Trianon Trauma. The Republic of Carpathian Ukraine from 1938 (as well as moves for unification with Ukrainian People's Republic in 1918) plays an important role in Ukrainian national ideology, while the Czechoslovak period is widely „remembered” as democratic and prosperous.

Each political change resulted in an upsurge population's mobility. After 1919, many Hungarians moved to post-Trianon Hungary, while many clerks, specialists and settlers of Czech nationality (who were not present on these territories before) were brought in. As there was hardly any industry and no universities in Transcarpathia, many people (of various ethnicities) would go to work or study in Prague. After 1938, almost all Czechs left and were replaced by Hungarians (very often coming from Hungary rather than Transcarpathia). In 1944, German Nazis with the support of Hungarian fascists from the Arrow Cross Party deported thousands of Jews to the concentration camps (most of those who survived moved to Israel and USA in the Soviet period). In the same year, the Red Army deported around 55 000 male Hungarians between the age of 18 and 60 for the so-called „Small Works” to the mines in Donbas and deeper in the USSR. Estimated half of them did not return. After 1945 there was, both forced and volunteer, exchange of people between Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and The Czechoslovak People's Republic¹. In the Soviet period many people worked, studied and, in case

¹That was a part of wider policy of the USSR towards their national minorities and neighbouring countries after the Second World War. In Ukrainian SSR that was a case with Bulgarians, Germans, Krim-Tatar, Greeks,

of men, served in the army in other parts of Ukrainian SSR as well as entire Soviet Union. Since late 1980s many people from Transcarpathia would go to Hungary, Yugoslavia and Poland for shuttle trading. From early 1990s they started to work, first in Czech and Hungary, and later in other countries that serve as destination for Ukrainian labour migrants (Russia, Italy, Portugal).

Generally speaking, in Transcarpathia, it is not only people that move, but also borders, and the movement of people seems to be much related to „movement of borders”. This seems to be the case of migration from Ukraine to Hungary.

2. Transcarpathian specificity

According to the available sources, 90% of migrants from Ukraine to Hungary come from Transcarpathia and almost all of them are of Hungarian ethnicity (Malynovska 2006; *The situation of migrants 2009*)². In some cases they are Ukrainians who speak Hungarian – this is common especially in Beregovo/Beregszasz and Vynohradiv/Nagyszolozs *raions* (where Hungarians often form majority). The Hungarian minority of Transcarpathia inhabits mostly the area within 10-20 km from the border and 75% of them inhabit villages. The „Ukrainians” who work in Hungary speak Hungarian fluently and often don't speak (or hardly speak) Ukrainian.

There is no data on how many non-Hungarians from Transcarpathia speak Hungarian, but that is a common case of Ukrainians (including Ruthenians), Roma, Romanians, Russians. Transcarpathia is a border region where one of the most important resources are language skills. Many speak up to four or five local languages. That very often refers to Roma who, apart from Russian and Ukrainian, speak Romanes and Hungarian and for example in the areas inhabited by Ukrainians/Ruthenians, Hungarians and Romanians many people speak all three languages as well as Russian, commonly used as a lingua franca.

Ethnic composition:

From 19th century until today the composition of ethnic groups has undergone a number of considerable changes. The latest statistics come from the Ukrainian census in 2001. Ukrainians³ form the majority (80.5%). The largest ethnic minority are Hungarians (12.1%), followed by Romanians (2.6%), Russians (2.5%), Roma (1.1%), Slovaks (0.5%) and Germans (0.3%) (Molnar J, Molnar D. I. 2005:20).

When examining the statistics, it is important to bear in mind, that the changes they indicate were due not only to extensive emigration but also to a history of individuals' changing ethnic affiliation. This is especially the case of Hungarians, Ruthenians and Roma. Their numbers vary depending on political situation and perspective adopted. There are approximately 25,000 Roma in present-day Transcarpathia. Some estimates point to a number as high as 50,000. Their true count is hard to establish, as many of the Roma will claim to be Hungarian or Romanian when interviewed by Ukrainian authorities. (For further information, see: <http://www.romaniyag.uz.ua/en/>).

(Contd.) _____

Poles (see for example Magocsi 2002).

²There is no exact data for this subject matter as the statistics do not include immigrants' ethnicity.

³As Ukrainian state does not recognise Rusyns / Ruthenians as a separate nation or ethnic group, people of Rusyn / Ruthenian identity are not included in the statistics.

Table 1: Ethnic minorities in Hungary, Census 2001

Nationality	Number	in 2001 (%)	in 1989 (%)	growth (%)
Ukrainians	1 010 100	80.5	78.4	'+3.4'
Hungarians	151 500	12.1	12.5	'-2.7'
Romanians	32 100	2.6	2.4	'+9.0'
Russians	31 000	2.5	4.0	'-37.3'
Roma	14 000	1.1	1.0	'+15.4'
Slovaks	5 600	0.5	0.6	'-22.3'
Germans	3 500	0.3	0.3	'+3.0'

Source: Molnar J, Molnar D. I. 2005:20

Language skills

Until 1991 Russian, instead of today's Ukrainian, was taught at schools for national minorities. Today, many people who learned Russian refuse to learn another language that they find „foreign”. In the sample of the survey of Juhász et al. 35% didn't speak Ukrainian, 30% spoke fairly good Ukrainian, and only 35% declared to speak it fluently. In 1999, 48% spoke Ukrainian, compared to 84,8% for Russian. In 2009, 65% spoke Ukrainian as opposed to 75% Russian (Juhász et al 2010).

We do not know precise numbers of non-Hungarians who speak Hungarian. Such knowledge is not uncommon among Ukrainians, including Ruthenians, Roma, Romanians, and Russians o. Transcarpathia is a border region where one of the most important resources is the language skill.

Border

The total length of the borders of Transcarpathia is quite substantial. They measure 460 km, and include: border with Poland - 33,4 km in the North East (Velykyy Berezhnyy district); Slovakia - 98,5 km in the West (Ushhorod, Perechyn districts); Hungary - 130 km in the South (Ushhorod, Berehovo, Vynohradiv districts), Romania - 205,4 km in the South East (Rakhiv, Volovets', Mizhhirya districts). The administrative boundary with Lviv (85 km) and Ivano-Frankivsk regions (180 km) is in the North and North- East (Velykyy Berezhnyy, Volovets', Mizhhirya, Tyachiv and Rakhiv districts).

There are 13 border crossing points (some of them can be counted twice, as they cater for both railway and automobiles, some provide only pedestrian crossing). Five of them with Hungary (Chop – Zahony, Luzhanka – Beregszurany; Vilok – Tiszabecs; Koson' – Barabas, Goronglab – Lovnia), four with Slovakia (Uzhgorod – Visne Nemecke, Malyi Berezhnyi – Ublia, Male Selemenci – Velke Selemenci, Chop – Corna nad Tisou) and four with Romania (Dyakovo – Halmeu, Solotvyno – Sighetu Marmetei, Hyzha – Tarna Mare). The railway border crossing points in Teresva – Cimpulung la Tisa and Rakhiv - Sighetu Marmetei were both closed due to huge cigarettes smuggling and misunderstandings between Romanian customs and L'viv Railways in this respect (Zan 2010:123-125).

3. Contemporary Ukrainian migration and work already undertaken

Works already undertaken – an overview of recent research and literature on Ukrainian citizens on foreign labour markets:

Migration of Ukrainian citizens has attracted a lot of attention from scholars and researchers. Below, we present chosen research findings focused on the access to and situation on labour markets in destination countries. Employment of Ukrainian citizens in Hungary was a subject of research (based on fieldwork among the immigrants) conducted in Hungary by Judit Juhász, Eszter Makara and Ferenc Csatári. The results have been published as the report „Ukrán állampolgárok munkavállalása Magyarországon” (Employment of Ukrainian citizens in Hungary 2010), which was devoted to the integration of Ukrainian citizens on Hungarian labour market.

Andrea Gereöffy in her „Migration to Hungary” (2006) pays special attention to the neighbouring countries, Hungarian minorities living there and the way that fact shapes migration and cross-border relations. However, the research was conducted before Hungary joined the Schengen Treaty, which resulted in some changes in this subject matter.

In his two articles Gergő Pulay describes his fieldwork conducted between 2002 and 2005 in Hungary and Romania. His findings come from participating observation and half structured, and later reconstructed, interviews. One part of the research was done in Budapest, Hungary, among ethnic Hungarian labour migrants from Romania; the other in a Transylvanian village (Szék/Sic, Cluj County) where labour migration to Budapest has become the main source of income for adults during the last 15 years. The main aspect taken under consideration by Pulay is the foreign citizenship of the construction workers, who categorize themselves as ethnic Hungarians, and the resulting disadvantages on the labour-market in Hungary. The time of Gergő Pulay's fieldwork, between 2002 and 2005, was the time of economical boom. Yet, despite the aspect of ethnic self-awareness of the Hungarian workers and their better situation before the 2008 economic crisis, Pulay's observations can to some extent cast light on the circumstances of Romanian and Ukrainian workers and are very useful for the *Metoikos Project Ukraine-Hungary*.

A short part of the larger report „The situation of migrants from Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine on the Labour Markets of Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland and the Slovak Republic (European Commission 2009) is devoted to Hungary, and the specificity of Ukrainian – Hungarian migration is mentioned there, but (which seems quite understandable) while referring to Ukrainian migration, more attention is paid to Poland, Italy or Portugal.

A bit different perspective is offered in research and investigation under the auspices of Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Caritas Ukraine and the Institute of Democracy and Social Processes, providing Ukrainian perspective, explaining the phenomenon and providing practical advice for people working or planning to work abroad. The materials are gathered based on pull-in rather than push-out factors. Again, Hungary is mentioned very shortly, if at all (Marko et al 2009; Bondarenko et al 2009; Shybo et al 2006).

Circularity of Ukrainian migrants was a subject of research (Project *Strategies of Survival...*) conducted in Poland by the Institute of Public Affairs and focusing on Ukrainian workers (agriculture, fruit-picking) on Polish seasonal labour market (Bieniecki, Pawlak 2009).

4. The specificity of contemporary Ukrainian-Hungarian migration and shuttle cross-border movement

As we have already suggested, the specificity of contemporary Ukrainian-Hungarian migration as well as shuttle cross-border movement is shaped by the region's history and ethnic composition – those who go to Hungary are either ethnic Hungarians or have learned Hungarian from their friends and neighbours in Transcarpathian settlements.

Ukraine and Transcarpathia: Social situation and labour market

Ukrainian economy and labour market are characterised by low wages and often uncertain paying conditions. In 2008, employment rate was 53.5% (60% among men and 48.3% among women). In October 2010, the average income in Transcarpathia was 2353 UAH and the minimum wage was 907 UAH. Monthly average of working hours was 418 and an average wage per hour was 9,33 UAH. The income in agriculture is almost half of the average. The decline of Ukrainian economy in 2009 was over 10% and production in Transcarpathia dropped by 50% within a year.

According to the census of 1986, the population of Transcarpathia was 1,252,300 in total. Currently (year?) 712,000 persons of working age resided in the region. Some 540,000 people worked in the region with 80,000 of them employed only seasonally. Some 573,000 were inactive, and 17,000 were unemployed. In addition, 240,000 are retired, 36,000 have large families, 44,000 are handicapped, and 40,000 are elderly or on their own. In 2010 197,500 had full-time jobs (all.zakarpattya.net/engl/6.html).

According to official data, unemployment is 9.9% (2010 for Ukraine 8.8%, in 2008 6.4%) but these numbers do not represent the actual situation, as few unemployed register in the office, land owners are not entitled to benefits and migrants are not in the statistics, either. What is more, those who are employed often don't get their wages on time, have to go on forced holidays and get less working hours.

In Transcarpathia the dominant form of production is agriculture. Typical manufacturing sectors are metal processing and engineering (e.g. castings, metal cutting machines, computer equipment manufacture), the food industry, light industry, building industry, mining and energy. Factories, for example in Uzhgorod, Beregszász, Teresva, and salt mines in Solotvyno no longer operate, so the region is characterised by low productivity and old assembly plants. On the other hand, an important and developing sector is tourism. However, there are hardly any public investments in this sector.

There are some foreign investors in Transcarpathia, mostly Hungarian and multinational companies (from USA, Slovakia, Germany, Russia and Japan). Some companies, like: Eurocar, Yazaki, Flextronics, Fischer, have invested near the border, in the special economic zone in Beregszász, in hope of tax reduction.

It is worth noting that Transcarpathian manufacturing typically processes foreign raw products, which are then sold abroad. Cheap labor sustains the industry of Transcarpathia. This feature is not desirable in many ways, since it makes the region increasingly sensitive to the recession.

Construction industry

The construction sector decreased by 30% in 2009 in comparison to 2008. In 2010, there were more bankruptcies (50% in all branches and 38% in construction bankruptcies and closures) than in 2009 (<http://www.karpatinfo.net/article116484.html>). At the same time, were more new companies formed than closed or went bankrupt. Fluctuation has been growing. Following the beginning of the economical crisis in summer of 2008, banks, in fear of bankruptcy, reduced the outflow of money by

drastically limiting their clients' cash withdrawals. The migrant workers now invest as much as possible in real estate. The crisis abroad and the resulting decline in job offers has meant that has also meant Ukrainian construction workers stay in the region (<http://karpatinfo.net/gazdasag/2010/09/19/csak-latszat-krizis-enyhulese-az-epitoiparban>).

Savings and Remittances

The money transferred by Western Union even increased by 16.25% in a 2009 to a record sum of 3 billion dollars (<http://www.unian.net/ukr/news/news-368843.html>), although the sources differ in that respect. Juhász (2006) quotes 7, 2 Billion Dollars, which would be 8,5 % of GDP.

Health and healthcare system

One reason for migration could be the quality of healthcare in one's country of origin. Beside the need for bribes, the medical situation in Ukraine is well summarised by lack of investments in hospitals, bad social conditions or the political use of diseases. Cases of TBC in Uzhhorod in the neighborhood inhabited by Roma minorities and the repressive campaign on H1N1 influenza in winter 2009/2010 are two examples. On the other hand, the system is also prone to gestures of solidarity, as was in the case of humanitarian help for undocumented immigrants.

According to research conducted in Transcarpathia (Csernicskó, Soós 2001), 33% of the households have no regular water, 50% no gas lines. 66% household own a garden/field, yet more than 50% own and work on a field of below one hectare. This work is existentially important but not sufficient for surviving.

Social benefits for the unemployed or other

In June 2010, 11,400 people received the unemployment benefits. This amounts to around 1.5 % of the working age population. The benefit is equal to the minimum wage of 907 UAH per month. The maximum time of receiving the benefit is 9 months.

5. Hungary: Social situation and the labour market; migration and migration strategy

Social situation in Hungary:

Employment rate

The employment rate in Hungary is around 57 %. The average employment rate in the European Union is 64%. The reasons for this include unemployment benefits and early retirements, but most importantly – the high rate of shadow economy. Hungary's low employment is one of the main problems of the country's economy and budget. Increasing of employment rate is one of the main goals of the Lisboa Strategy, yet in Hungary this goal is not being met, even with government efforts in recent years (Wetzel 2009).

The institution of "occasional work permit", aimed at facilitating the employment has been extended and can now also be issued for non-Hungarian citizens. In this type of work permit the employer can write the day of the employment him or herself and can pay taxes towards the Hungarian state in the form of fee-stamps" (Gereoffy 2008).

Changes in migration from Ukraine are best illustrated by quoting some of the relevant statistics of

the Office of Immigration and Nationality (OIN) 2005-2009 (http://www.bmbah.hu/statisztikak_ENG_42.xls). Note that these do not take into account the category of gender.

Table 2: Number of immigrants, persons with permanent residence permit and staying longer than three months

2005	2008	2009
142.000	184.568	216.080

Number of foreigners holding immigration permit

Ukrainian 4,082

Total 47,205

Table 3: Number of foreigners holding a permanent residence permit

	2008	2009
Ukrainian	4301	3920
Total	28,52	23.475

The decrease results from two factors: opening the border for Romanians and closing for it for Serbs, Montenegrins and Ukrainians

Table 4: Number of foreigners holding a short-term residence permit

	2008	2009
Ukrainian	1749	7279
Total	15.305	33.682

Table 5: Number of applicants for permanent residence card

Number of applicants under Act I. of 2007 (EEA)

	2008	2009
Ukrainian	547	390
Total	4364	4656

Decrease for: Serbian, Ukrainian, Russian

Increase for: Romanian, German, Slovenian

Table 6: Third-country national family member of EEA citizen

Number of applicants under Act I. of 2007 (EEA) II.

	2008	2009
Ukrainian	35	19
Total	230	166

Table 7: Third-country national family member of Hungarian citizen

	2008	2009
Ukrainian	1078	555
Total	3379	2110

Table 8: Cumulative number of applications for residence under Act II. Of 2007, arranged by citizenship and by purpose of stay submitted applications

	2008	2009
Ukrainian	8399	5524
Total	34.670	32.254

Numbers slightly rising for all but Serbians and Ukrainians.

Table 9: Number of submitted applications for different types of residence permits under Act. II. Of 2007

Citizenship	National permanent residence permit		EEA residence permit		Interim permanent residence permit	
	2008	2009	2008	2009	2008	2009
Chinese	484	450	55	52	0	0
Ukrainian	466	574	0	2	0	0
Serbian	395	491	2	7	1	2
Vietnamese	138	123	6	4	0	0
Russian	70	78	10	12	0	0
Other	268	367	55	46	1	1
Total	1821	2083	128	123	2	3

Length of stay, residence

The available data on the length of stay in Hungary is contradictory. According to the statistics of OIN, the number of long term visas decreased and the short term visas increased. On the other hand, Juhász (2010) states that unlike ten years ago most of the Ukrainian workers plan to stay for several years but don't plan to settle. The number of those who stay less than one year has decreased. Currently, the percentage of the workers who plan to remain in Hungary permanently is 40.

Transit country

Beside those who want to travel to Hungary many transit Hungary to reach other destinations, like Italy. As Thursday is the day of departing to Italy and Monday the day of entering from Italy, the border crossing in Zahony/Csop witnesses a situation of long lines of mini-buses waiting at the border (see for example: <http://www.police.hu/hatarinfo/varakozas.html>).

The number of transit visas (Visa consultation procedures submitted to OIN entitling the holder of the visa for a stay not exceeding three months) increased from 2008 to 2009 from 531.685 to 636.273.

Table 10: Number of visa consultations

Type of Visa consultation	Consultation request		Approved		Rejected		Ongoing	
	2008	2009	2008	2009	2008	2009	2008	2009
5 / A	8687	7688	6012	5841	2385	1766	290	81
5 / B	540.033	636.909	531.685	636.273	820	636	7528	0
5 / C	7	6	4	2	2	4	1	0
Total	54.8727	64.4603	5.37701	64.2116	3207	2406	7819	81

Nevertheless, the number of visas granted for staying in Hungary (Number of applications entitling the holder of the visa for a stay over three months submitted to the aliens policing authority of OIN) has decreased.

Table 11: Number of visas

Type of Visa	Requested		Approved		Rejected		Ongoing		Other	
	2008	2009	2008	2009	2008	2009	2008	2009	2008	2009
National Visa	1905	432	1765	418	2	0	52	2	86	12
Type D Visa	11943	9855	9437	6251	1652	1136	594	1537	260	931
Total	13848	10287	11202	6669	1654	1136	646	1539	346	943

Even in the case of a Schengen Visa it is not easy to get directly to your destination the shortest way. Living in Uzhgorod, getting a Schengen Visa at the Hungarian consulate doesn't permit you to enter country Slovakia as the first Schengen country on your route and drive to straight Northeast Hungary, which would be the shortest way.

Police statistics considering the border control measures comparing the first eight months 2010 with the same period in 2009

In first eight months of 2009 6516 out of 32974 illegal acts at the Hungarian borders took place at Ukrainian border and in 2010 4958 out of 24648 which amounts to around 20%. Cases of illegal migration decreased from 1204 to 901 (appr. 18%). Number of entry refusals on the border with Ukraine increased from 2775 in 2009 to 3127 in 2010. The main reasons for refusal are: violation of the rules (like the entering-and-staying in Schengen territory longer than 3 months) in the past, lack of valid visa, and lack of finances (source: www.police.hu/statisztika/archivum/hatarrend1007.html).

Expulsions were decreasing from 2002 to 2007 and increasing from 2007 to 2008 and 2009 in case of the Serbs, Kosovars and others but not Ukrainians.

Table 12: Expulsion orders from Hungary between 2002 and 2009

Year	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Ukrainian citizens	824	833	634	955	312	207	215	179
Total	6095	4829	4211	4376	3036	1095	1249	1444

- Source: Office of Immigration and Nationality statistics

Table 13: Ratio of foreigners submitting applications for naturalization, re-naturalization, by original citizenship

Original citizenship	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Ukrainian	12,30%	11,90%	12,20%	14,87%	13,54%
Romanian	67,80%	66,00%	67,80%	60,63%	59,35%

6. Migration issues and National Migration Strategy

Xenophobia in Hungary

The presence and extent of xenophobia perceived in the receiving country is one of the appropriate indicators of the social context that is relevant in reference to migration. According to some research,

only one out of 10 Hungarians is considered tolerant towards refugees, while three out of 10 are openly hostile, and six out of 10 can be considered latent xenophobic” (Bernát, Hárs, Tóth 2010).

In the TÁRKI survey (2009), around one-third of the respondents had openly xenophobic views (they wished that "asylum seeker should not be able to step into the country"), compared to 10 percent representing a homophile perspective (according to whom "all applicants for asylum must be upheld"). In 2010 these numbers were slightly better, at 29 and 11%, respectively. 71 % would give a residence permit to an extra-territorial Hungarian, while only 17% - to a Ukrainian citizen and 15% - to a foreign Gypsy.

Discrimination in the labour market

Analysis of discrimination on Hungarian labour market include searching for work, workplace and offices (declarations of the interviewed serve as an indicator). Comparing to 1999, discrimination while searching for work decreased from 66 to 61%, at workplace from 72 to 46%, but it has increased in the offices from 36,6 to 58,4%. It is worth mentioning that Ukrainian citizens with no Hungarian descent seem to have more problems like wage differences than workers of Hungarian ethnicity/descent but don't complain about the attitude of the Hungarian citizens to them as foreigners. Ethnic Hungarian immigrants are more likely to feel discriminated because they have their expectations towards their „mother country” and ideological homeland. Even if they earn more than non- Hungarian immigrants the non-Hungarian immigrants do not have this kind of expectations. In general, the ethnic Hungarian Ukrainians find it more difficult to integrate to the Hungarian society than non-ethnic Hungarians. To quote Pulay Gergő: "This model of relation between the kin state and the migrant is an ideal typical construction, the product of a more or less hypothetical comparison between the type of migration where the receiving country is seen as a 'mother country' for an ethnic minority and those cases when migrants are regarded as an alien group in the receiving society” (Gergő 2007).

In this Background Report we focus on Ukrainians in Hungary but we need to bear in mind that beside Romanian and former Yugoslavian also Vietnamese and Chinese migrants hold residence and working permits in Hungary. In 2007 the Government proposed measures to discourage a massive influx of Asian immigrants. The document calls for more efficient measures to combat irregular employment of foreigners, proposes stricter sanctions against employers and concerted action by the competent authorities (the Labour Inspection, the Police and the Border Guard).

On the other hand, the growing migration pressure from the neighbouring countries due to wage inequalities (which, according to comparative data, have been decreasing) is considered to be a threat⁴.

The Government is also against any measures that would further liberalise the mobility of third country nationals and, prefers the objective of protecting the domestic labour market. No incentives are planned to encourage foreign migration and according to some experts, labour migration is considered to be undesirable. „Hungary needs to take into consideration the demographic trends and labor market needs of the country; its interest in the light of a comprehensive European strategy; the need for effective long-term immigration policy, which promotes Hungary's economic and national interests, in addition to the integration of migrants, and is sensitive to human rights. The latter is an essential factor for the fate of workers from Ukraine“ (Juhász and others 2010).

Legal aspects of Ukrainian-Hungarian migration:

Hungary became EU member in May 2004, and in December 2007 it joined the Schengen Treaty.

⁴Quotes from the study called the Government's migration strategy published on 21st February, 2007, available at <http://www.kdnp.hu/index.php?type=cikk&cikkid=1538>

Citizens of member states may cross country borders more easily. At the same time, citizens of non-member countries need visas. However, since Serbia, despite not being an EU or Schengen member, has signed bilateral agreements with Hungary and the EU on visa-free traveling, Ukraine has remained the only neighbor country whose citizens need a visa to enter Hungary. Thus, it is defined by EU as a „Third country“.

In the 1990s most Ukrainian citizens came with a tourist visa, either to work illegally or to try to find a workplace, and having secured it - travel back and apply for a work permit at the Hungarian embassy in Ukraine.

A similar procedure was in use later in case of the National Card, the difference being that the card is free of charge and permits a maximum of 5 years residence in Hungary.

In reality, however, male applicants aged between 20 and 60 never got 5-year visas. The authorities assumed they would work illegally and issued six-month visas at best.

After December 21st, 2007, crossing borders to Poland, Slovakia and Hungary, i.e. the Schengen Zone, has become more difficult. The expansion of the Zone caused considerable decrease in number of visas issued to Ukrainian citizens, as these documents enable the holder to enter the territory of European Union. Different types of visa were also introduced, as the local border traffic permit (kishatárforgalmi engedély). Up to April 2010 40.000 received this type of visa. It is valid in the 70 km border zone. One needs no supporting document from Hungary and health insurance. It costs 20 €.

A similar type of entry pass exists in Slovakia.

(<http://karpatinfo.net/hetilap/belfold/2010/06/14/vizum-nelkul-utazhatunk-az-europai-unio-orszagaiba> ; <http://karpatinfo.net/belfold/2010/08/07/ki-igenyelhet-szlovak-kishataratlepot>)⁵.

Neither the national visas nor the national residence permits authorise their holders to work or engage in any paid activity in Hungary, both limit their holder to enter and stay only in Hungary but no other Member State in the Schengen zone. The holders may enter Hungary to pursue objectives of cultural or educational nature, either (a) to preserve and further the Hungarian language; (b) to preserve their cultural and national identity; (c) to enroll in education activities outside the statutory secondary and higher education system and (d) to strengthen family ties other than family (re)unification.

Evaluating the statistics, we will see the difference between countries belonging to EC and the ones which do not. This is the case for Romania as opposed to the cases of Ukraine and Serbia.

7. Ukrainian citizens on Hungarian borders and in the labour market

According to KSH statistics from 2009, 18.000 Ukrainian citizens spent more than one year in Hungary, 13.000 Ukrainian citizens who undertook work (7500 of them held work permits (estimated level of undocumented work is 40-50% as the level of un-documented work) constitute 12-15% of all in foreigners who worked in Hungary in that year. Out of 10.000 Ukrainians who immigrated to Hungary, the estimated employment rate was comparable to that of Hungarians. In total, around 20.000 Ukrainians worked in Hungary in that year (Juhász 2010).

⁵ In the Internet one can find in English, Hungarian and Ukrainian the necessary information about what documents are needed for working and living in Hungary:

<http://www.demaiiconsulting.eu/business-services/Residence-and-work-permit/>

The website of Hungarian consulate in Beregszász offers information in Hungarian and Ukrainian.

http://www.mfa.gov.hu/kulkepviselet/Beregovo/hu/Konzuliinfo/d_vizum.htm

http://www.mfa.gov.hu/kulkepviselet/Beregovo/uk/ua_Konzuliinfo/d_vizum.htm

Table 14: Reasons for going to Hungary (results of a survey)

Change of reasons for going to Hungary		1999	2009
favorable earning conditions	5,9	32,4	
easier obtain employment		15,7	27,0
had relatives or friends	15,7	17,1	
language skill	14,7	10,8	
Nationality		10,8	5,4
it is near		31,4	4,5
impossibility to go elsewhere (lack of visa, permists, etc)		2,9	1,8
relatively easy to achieve requested permissions, etc	2,9	0,9	
Total	100	100	
Number of respondents		102	222

According to Molnár and Orosz, 75 % of the interviewed group of Transcarpathian Hungarians considered Transcarpathia as their homeland, 27,5% would claim their homeland is Ukraine and 6,5% - Hungary. If free to choose, 50 % would stay in Ukraine, 20 % would go to Hungary. 75% would work in the region, 3 % in Hungary and 0,69 % elsewhere abroad. One third thought about settling abroad but only 3,7% planned on doing that. 15% planned to go abroad for studies or work within the next two years. Almost half of the interviewed would leave the country in search of better surviving conditions. A fifth - for the sake of family reunification. Beside the language and cultural factors, this last cause might result in the majority of those who wish to settle abroad choosing Hungary as country of future settlement (Molnár and Orosz 2007). This survey is from 2007, before Hungary became a member state of the Schengen agreement, and before the world economic crisis.

The same survey reports that 70% of younger respondent and 46 % of the elderly were in Hungary at least once in the last five years. One third of them - because of work.

Comparison of social and working conditions between 2009 and 1999

It results that social and working conditions in Ukraine improved. Whereas in 1999 30 % of the respondents said they were unable to survive, in 2009 only 7% stated the same in the survey of Juhász et al (2010:26).

Job search

Informal channels, such as friends and relatives are the most frequent way to find a job in Hungary.

Journals and internet for younger ones are other methods to achieve employment. In effect, slave markets have disappeared, and the role of the small intermediaries – usually operating illegally– has decreased. Work centres in Ukraine do not offer jobs in Hungary but private agencies, in turn, offer jobs in Spain and Italy.

Moving to the West?

Older surveys showed the majority of Ukrainians working in Hungary to be employed in the east of the country. Nowadays, more and more are working in Budapest, the district of the capital or even further west. Almost 80% of Ukrainians with work permits work in Budapest.

A lot of seasonal work in East Hungary, where the unemployment is high, is performed by Ukrainians.

Why aren't the local unemployed engaged rather than people from abroad? The Hungarian state implemented a social system similar to the German one. It consists of unemployment benefits on one hand and „socially useful work“ - on the other. This kind of public works was also known before, in socialist Hungary, when the potentially unemployed would e.g. clean parks. Nowadays, the unemployed have to work for the minimum wage for the construction of tourist attractions at the Magas Hegy range in the city of Sátoraljaújhely in north east Hungary, on the Slovakian border. The owner of the infrastructure is the city. What is interesting is the „ethnic“ segregation involved. Mainly unemployed young Roma men have to take part in these public works. Non-Roma are less obligated to participate.

In an attempt to regulate the job market, increasing numbers of unannounced controls of work permits has been undertaken, particularly in construction and agriculture industries. On the other hand the stamp system for migrant workers has been introduced as a means to the same end. Spending money for social security and getting fewer subventions by the state makes agriculture less attractive for the farmers in Hungary. Income in construction is much higher than in agriculture. It is thus not surprising to find the Ukrainians switch to construction wherever possible.

Reasons for the decreasing numbers of Ukrainians employed in the east include also closure of factories due to the crisis or because they were moved to Ukraine (!). One example is Jabil. (http://zakarpattya.net.ua/ua_news_51270.html). „In February 2009 they shut down one plant in Hungary and in another they fired 900 workers. (http://www.mfor.hu/cikkek/Folytatodik_a_leepitesi_hullam_hazankban-.html) At the same time, they continued to hire in Ukraine: „It should also be noted that employees are trained in Hungary, where they live in comfortable hotels“ (http://zakarpattya.net.ua/ua_news_51270.html).

Pulling and pushing factors might change in connection with crisis, boom, free trade zone, good infrastructure, tax reduction, cheap skilled or unskilled workforce to mention some criteria. The global players as Flextronics, Jabil, tend to hire and lay off people frequently, so as to remain flexible and easily adjustable to the market's changing requirements.

In which branches do the Ukrainians work?

Men, women, qualifications

The construction industry. The specific situation in Hungary, which lacks workforce, offers a possibility for Ukrainians. The results is that skilled Ukrainian workers can earn as much as Hungarians. In other sectors differences can still be registered.

56% of Ukrainian citizens who received permits worked in the industry. There is no data on construction sector, where the wages are higher but the work is harder. Ukrainian citizens are paid less than Hungarian, so they need to work harder and take overtime to earn the same.

Table 15: Significant differences can be seen in the distribution of Hungarian and foreign employees by industrial sectors.

Sector	Total	%	Ukrainian	% Ukrainians are employed
Agriculture	198.2	5,00%	297	4,00%
Manufacturing industry	867200	22.,0	1136	15,2
Real estate, renting	282400	7,2	677.	9,1

and business activity				
Wholesale and retail trade and maintenance	580900	14,7	608	8,1
Industry	1281000	32,4	5314	71,2
Services	2468900	62,5	1854	24,8
Total Employees	3,953	100	9,194	100

Statistics from 2007

Sociological research has showed that the labour migrants from the western WNIS countries (Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine, WNIS) in Hungary fall into two main categories depending on their skill level. Unskilled workers employed in various fields usually commuted from their homes and had no plans to settle in Hungary. In the majority of cases they worked illegally, without a contract and as a result they had no social security insurance. Unskilled workers were often performed jobs what were below their qualifications. The situation of skilled workers was considerably better. They worked in Hungary legally, had settled there and neither their living conditions nor their salaries differed significantly from those of the Hungarian nationals. These migrants worked in line with their qualifications and tended to have completed their higher education in Hungary.

Kinds of work contracts

Illegal, Short term, seasonally, indefinite

Illegal employment could only be deduced from the statistics given by the Hungarian Labour Inspectorate for 2006. Of over 12,300 punished employers/companies hiring 42,276 irregular workers, irregular employment of foreigners was noted in 576 cases (or 4.68% of all employers sanctioned). Assuming the sampling was close to random it appeared that the proportion of foreigners controlled was not higher than that of the entire population.

Female work

Statistics show that today Ukrainian women are granted residence permissions in nearly the half of the cases (52,6 to 47,4%). The high percentage of women among the immigrants during the 1970s is surely related to the fact that by getting married in Hungary it was them who were starting of the process of the family's immigration (Reszler and Szaszi 2001:82). The percentage of women decreased by the end of the 1980s. 77,5 % of all work permissions are issued to men and 22,3 % women. In general, we know much less about Ukrainian women working in Hungary.

Statistics show us that nearly the half of the residence permissions. (52,6 to 47,4%) go to Ukrainian women. In the same time they receive only 22,3 % work permissions. Much less is known about Ukrainian women work in Hungary. There was a high percentage of women among the immigrants in the 70s which is related to the marriages in Hungary. That was the beginning of the family's immigration process. The high percentage of women decreased by the end of the 80s (Reszler and Szaszi 2001:82). As we know from surveys in Italy often women older then 40, even up to 60 and older, work in the care industry. he case of a woman, who receive Hungarian pension. With Hungarian citizenship she may work everywhere in the Eu and live in Ukraine, country of origin, cheap.

Some of the women working in Hungary are excluded from the surveys and statistics. This is a case

with sex workers. Working in this sector is regarded as a criminal offence (Juhas 2010). The issue of sex workers was a part of research on illegal labour migration and employment. It has indicated the fact that many girls aged between 14 and 18 were trafficked from neighbouring Eastern European countries. Approximately one-third of women engaged in prostitution in Hungary were immigrants from Romania, the Russian Federation and Ukraine (Juhas et al 1999). Officially, since 2000, prostitution is no longer illegal in Hungary, but it is still often considered as if it was by some people and still not included in the surveys and statistics.

Living conditions

Housing

Generally speaking, it is difficult to rent an apartment in Hungary. After 1989 state-owned houses were sold, giving rise to a rental market. This market, however, is small and only the more expensive luxury apartments and houses, which are not affordable to the migrants, are available.

Homelessness is a serious problem in Hungary. According to the 2005 survey, *Hajléktalanok – a szavak és számok hálójában* (Homelessness — in words and numbers) around 500.000 people lived in «houses» which don't meet human standards (lack of heating, water, less the 12 sq m per capita).

The very detailed survey lists the different categories of homelessness, bad housing conditions and the citizens staying in prison or other institutions (<http://beszelo.c3.hu/cikkek/hajlektalanok-a-szavak-es-szamok-halojaban>).

Hungarian housing conditions have worsened in relation to Ukraine. 3/4 of Ukrainians working in Hungary own live a house or a flat back in Ukraine, this amounts to 2/3 of the Hungarian citizens of Transcarpathian origin. In 2009 27% of the researched (the research included people who already obtained Hungarian citizenship) lived in their own houses, 23,2% lived in workers' dormitories. When added to average living costs of 32.200, this give a total of between 70 and 75 thousand forints of spendings per month (Juhas et al 2010).

Health service

Even though 66% of workers from Ukraine say they have a social security card they won't see the doctor. Only 41,2% declared to go to the doctor in Hungary. Many don't know that their Ukrainian social security card is valid or that they may use Hungarian health care system even they work seasonally. In 2009 13.600 Ukrainians had an insurance card (out of 40.166 of all third-country nationals). In average a Hungarian receives 112541 HUF a year in Social Insurance (TAJ) and Ukrainian 33518, but Chinese only 14714. Not going on sick leaves for fear of being fired.

Lack of information can be a major problem. Employed Ukrainian workers contribute to the pension funds and because of bilateral agreements may get pension. Many, however, are not aware of this fact. The issue is regulated by the agreement between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Hungarian People's Republic on Social Security, signed December 20, 1962, effective April 12, 1963.

Ukrainian pensioners coming to Hungary may get their pensions in Hungary according to the years they worked in Ukraine. The pension is paid in forints and according to Hungarian laws regarding age and amount of pension. In total there only around 500 recipients of Ukrainian pension in Hungary. Ukrainian pension system includes in one's pension fund they years he or she spent working in Hungary. New bilateral agreement should be signed in early 2011. We should note that that the temporary foreign workers are exempted from pension dues.

Reintegration

As far as we know there is no support for migrants returning to Ukraine. Some programs exist but the number of people who returned voluntarily with the support of IOM is below 100. (IOM reintegration program REAG/GARP). Some destination countries like Czech Republic, Spain and Germany have returning programs for Ukrainian migrants.

Shuttle cross-border movement

Borders seem to exist not only between states but in socialisation as well. For example shuttle-trading men have bad reputation in Ukrainian society and migrating women are often seen as prostitutes. One of the migration's results is the change of such perceptions. As we have already indicated, state borders or administrative borders in the region changed often in recent history. Shuttle cross-border trade is still common in Transcarpathia but the times have changed. Malynovska's calculations in 2006 showed that by crossing the border to Hungary or Poland with a block of cigarettes and 2 liters of alcohol allowed by the customs rules, or with a full petrol tank, one could have earned up to 20 USD per day. Being employed at the other side of the border, one could earn about 200 USD per month which was a higher income than working in Ukraine would provide. Today you may have only 2 packs of cigarettes and one litre of alcohol. The fuel cost is still 60% lower in Ukraine. Shuttle trade in the borderlands, earlier practiced by Ukrainians, has to a large extent been taken over by Hungarians, who can enter the Ukrainian territory without visas.

8. Nation, ethnicity, national ideology and labour market

Hungary and Hungarian minorities abroad

Hungarian national minorities in the neighbouring countries are an integral part not only of national ideology. Hungarian state is constitutionally obligated to represent the interest of Hungarians minorities abroad. The article (3) of the paragraph 6 of the Constitution states that: „The Republic of Hungary bears a sense of responsibility for what happens to Hungarians living outside of its borders and promotes the fostering of their relations with Hungary” (<http://www.mkab.hu/index.php?id=constitution>). This issue is often a part of Hungarian international policy, especially in relations with Slovakia and Romania. On the home level, from time to time one can hear of local conflicts concerning education, names of towns and streets and the use of Hungarian symbolic in those countries. In Hungary, the issue of Hungarian minorities as well as the former Hungarian territories (referred to as „The Greater Hungary” or, in a more politically neutral way, „Carpathian Basin”) are a part of Hungarian cultural and political life, and play important role in national ideology.

Ethnicity meets Economy: Hungarians from Transylvania and Transcarpathia on Hungarian labour market

Gergo Pulay states that ethnic Hungarians from the neighbouring countries don't accept the concept of border.

They feel they are coming to the „Motherland” and feel themselves foreigners in their country of origin. Apart from the nationalistic propaganda in Hungary, usually the country's social reality is different for Slovakian, Serbian, Romanian or Ukrainian Hungarians than they had imagined. Often they are not recognized as ethnic Hungarian but as foreigners („Romanians”, „Ukrainians”). They combine the characteristics of „co-ethnics” and „alien labour migrants”. Depending on status, skills, labour-market power they are more or less self-conscious (Pulay 2006).

Our initial fieldwork indicates a similar phenomenon among Hungarians from Transcarpathia. Most of

our interlocutors recall control and questioning by the Hungarian border guards and customs officers. Hungarian police have often been suspicious and the people - afraid of the „Ukrainians” or „Russians”. People at work, in the shops, railway stations or in the streets would laugh at their accent or some words they would not understand. Transcarpathians very often describe Hungarians (from Hungary) as mean and inhospitable. In fact, Hungarians from Transcarpathia would very often express their disrespect towards „Hungarians”. Here, we may risk the statement that both the image of Hungary as a „mother country” for all Hungarians and Hungarian minorities in the neighbouring countries as „deprived from their homeland” appears to be quite different when confronted with migration experience.

Changes in Hungarian citizenship law and its impact on labour and migration issues

From January 1st 2011 ethnic Hungarians in neighboring countries can obtain a version of Hungarian citizenship. It includes work permission in Hungary and EU, but no right to vote⁶ and social benefits. In Ukraine the dual citizenship, although officially forbidden, is already in possession of more than 100.000 Russians and around 10.000 - 35.000 Romanians. Many Transcarpathians of Hungarian descent consider obtaining Hungarian citizenship in terms of labour and migration possibilities. However, obtaining a Hungarian passport does not necessarily mean planning to work in Hungary. Czech Republic as a common destination for circular migrants from Transcarpathia could be considered as one of the actors of Hungarian-Ukrainian citizenship question, together with countries like Italy or Portugal.

In some parts of Transcarpathia inhabited by Romanians, the discussions over Hungarian citizenship raised the interests in applying for Romanian citizenship. However, Romanian law and procedures are not as precise as in the case of Hungary⁷. Many people find it expensive to apply for Hungarian citizenship. Even if the application procedure is free of charge, completing (and sometimes translating) the required documents requires time and effort.

As citizenship is granted on „historical” and „ethnic” bases, it can be regarded as another example of mutual influence between history, national identity and economy - labour relations). It seems to be too early to for wider conclusions about the new law. That is why we find it relevant to focus on this subject and the way it influences migration and circularity. We cannot be sure what Hungarians from Transcarpathia will do after they have obtained Hungarian citizenship. Even if they decide to go to work abroad, many of them might choose other destination than Hungary (popular destinations for Transcarpathia are Czech Republic or the main destination for Ukrainians: Italy and Portugal). The new Hungarian law may affect the labour markets of other EU countries as well.

9. Concluding Remarks

- Migration between Ukraine and Hungary differs from migration between Ukraine and other destination countries (exp. Poland, Italy),
- For a better understanding of Ukrainian-Hungarian migration, we shall apply the historical as well ethnic, minority and national-ideology perspective together with analysing contemporary economical situation of both countries
- The issue of Ukrainian-Hungarian migration serves as a good example of how economy,

⁶ The right to vote has been a subject of wide discussion In Hungarian political scene but it has't been changed so far.

⁷Detailed information about citizenships (Hungarian, Ukrainian, Romanian) can be found in: Kovacs and Toth 2010; Shevel 2010; Iordachi 2010.

ethnic issues and national ideology mutually influence one another.

- The dynamics of Ukrainian-Hungarian migration might change in the nearer future due to:
 - a) changes in Hungarian Citizenship Law (thousands of migrants will no longer be present in statistics as “Ukrainians” or “Ukrainian citizens” but will still be a part of international migration and circularity),
 - b) the condition of Hungarian economy
 - c) the condition of Ukrainian economy.

Plans for further research:

- Continue research in Transcarpathia (Beregszaszi jaras which serves as a main source of Ukrainian labour to Hungarian market and Solotvyno which provides us with context of Romania with its citizenship politics and non-Hungarian minorities of Transcarpathia) and Hungary (Budapest as a main destination and possibly some smaller towns in the east for the sake of studying the situation in agriculture),
- Follow the international reception of changes in Hungarian citizenship law not only in Romania, Slovakia, Serbia and Ukraine but also (or even most of all) the countries that serve as destination for Ukrainians’ migration?
- Hypothetically: migration to Hungary is about to decrease and the people with Hungarian passports or Schengen visas issued by Hungarian consulates in Ukraine might start going “further” – the question of destination is a question for further research.
- Trace the way the destinations change comparing the METOIKOS results from Poland and Hungary as well as other research focused on Ukrainian migration.