

# **MASTER'S THESIS**

## **Diverging Migration Tendencies of the Youth in Central Europe**

### **Case Studies of Hungary and the Czech Republic**

by

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# DECLARATION

Hereby I declare that I worked out this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature, and I did not present it to obtain another academic degree.

Prague, May 21, 2017

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## **ABSTRACT**

The political and economic changes of the past three decades exercised varying effects on the lives and prospects of young people in Hungary and the Czech Republic. The destructive outcomes of the countries' struggle with the hardships of the global economic crisis pushed many of them to leave their countries and try their chances elsewhere over the past few years. Even though, the prevalent migratory fluxes of Europe may generally be characterized by the Westward movement of a group composed of predominantly young Central and Eastern European men and women, my two countries of research display diverging migratory tendencies. While today's Hungary advocates the threat of emerging as a country of emigration, the Czech Republic's population inflow outrules its emigration, making it gradually turn into a country of immigration. In my research, I wish to reveal the specificities of Hungarian and Czech migratory tendencies and their underlying social and economic reasons. Ultimately, my aim is to provide an understanding of the evolution of current migration tendencies in Hungary and in the Czech Republic, as well as their potential long term effects on the two countries' social and economic structure.

## **KEY WORDS**

Emigration, immigration, youth, unemployment, poverty, education, work, European Union, free movement, Hungary, Czech Republic.

## **RESUME**

Les transformations politiques et économiques des trois dernières décennies ont changé la vie et les perspectives d'avenir des jeunes en Hongrie et en République tchèque. Les effets négatifs de la crise économique mondiale ont poussé beaucoup d'entre eux à quitter leurs pays et de tenter leurs chances ailleurs, au cours des dernières années. Par conséquent, une nouvelle vague migratoire a émergé en Europe, caractérisé par le mouvement d'un groupe composé principalement des jeunes hommes et femmes d'Europe centrale et orientale vers les pays de l'Europe occidentale, notamment vers l'Allemagne, l'Autriche et le Royaume Uni. Par contre, en consultant des données publiées par les autorités statistiques nationales et européennes, on peut constater le fait que les taux de migration sont divergents en Hongrie et en République tchèque. Alors qu'en Hongrie les taux de l'émigration dépassent ceux de l'immigration en créant un déficit démographique, en République tchèque, grâce à l'intensification des immigrations, les taux de migration net montre une image plus positive. Dans le cadre de ma recherche, je vise à identifier et comparer les spécificités des tendances migratoires hongroises et tchèques et leurs origines sociales et économiques, tout en fournissant une interprétation des mouvements migratoires actuels de la jeunesse hongroise et tchèque.

## **MOTS CLES**

Emigration, immigration, jeunesse, chômage, pauvreté, éducation, travail, Union européenne, libre circulation, Hongrie, République Tcheque.

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# INTRODUCTION

The 2004 Eastern Expansion of the European Union gave rise to the intensification of East-West migrations within the European continent. From May 1, 2004, citizens of the New Member States obtained the right to move freely within the borders of the European Union and they migrated in increased numbers to the old Member States. The arrival of new migratory waves originating from the easternmost Member States did not catch the former ones off guard, many of them introduced temporary measures to regulate the inflow of foreign nationals. The aim of these regulations was to keep immigration rates at a moderate level, to avoid jeopardizing the economic stability of the individual Member States as well as of the European Union as a unit. Thanks to these measures, migration of Central and Eastern Europeans showed a gradual growth over the years following the countries' EU accession. Poland experienced significant population outflow over the first decade of its EU membership. Romania and Bulgaria, the two Southeast European countries joining the EU in 2007, quickly became important exporters of cheap and legal workforce too. Though to our day, the countries of Central Europe has not become the forerunners of intra-EU migrations, the political and economic transformations of the past three decades gave way to new migratory trends in these states as well.

Migrations and their socio-economic implications are widely researched in Hungary today. The country's population showed a slight decrease over recent years, due to a combination of factors involving natural decrease, as well as emigration. A demographic survey conducted in the year 2011 concluded that the country's population sank below 10 million<sup>1</sup>. Even though Hungary is not the only country of the European Union facing problems of an ageing population, this tendency is more typically experienced in the more developed Western Member States than in the new accession countries of Central and Eastern Europe. For instance, the Czech Republic, a country located in the same region, sharing common past, institutional and cultural heritage and similar demographic features as Hungary, records consistently growing number of residents within its state borders<sup>2</sup>. This may be explained through the relative growth of birth rates in recent years, but it might also be considerably influenced by the most prevalent migration tendencies recorded in the country.

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<sup>1</sup>Hungarian Central Statistical Office - 1.1. Population, vital statistics (1900–)  
[https://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xstadat/xstadat\\_long/h\\_wdsd001a.html?down=828.1818002314611](https://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xstadat/xstadat_long/h_wdsd001a.html?down=828.1818002314611) visited on 18/04/2016.

<sup>2</sup>EUROSTAT – Statistics Explained: Population and population change statistics, Table: Crude rates of population change, 2013–15 (per 1 000 persons), [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Crude\\_rates\\_of\\_population\\_change\\_2013%E2%80%9315\\_\(per\\_1\\_000\\_persons\)\\_YB16.png](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Crude_rates_of_population_change_2013%E2%80%9315_(per_1_000_persons)_YB16.png) visited on 06/05/2017.

Migrations may significantly contribute to the development of discrepancies between the two countries' demographic and labour market structures today and in the future. Therefore, I aim to provide a comparative overview of the governing migration trends in Hungary and the Czech Republic today, as well as of the main political and economic changes of recent history acting as a catalyst in their development.

The unique nature of my work derives from the fact that it centres around the case studies of Hungary and the Czech Republic, two countries rarely presented in a comparative analysis. The two researched states share similar political and institutional culture due to their common past as parts of the Habsburg Empire and later on, as countries of the Eastern Block. Despite apparent similarities, the comparison of the Hungarian and Czech cases is facilitated by the two countries' contrasting geographical features which destine them to focus on different production areas and methods. Hungary is situated in the Carpathian basin, on the Central European Plain, which is characterized by a fertile soil, high number of sunny hours and equally high rates of precipitation. This makes the country suited for agricultural production, which is a sector of secondary importance within the modern capitalist economic production scheme of our day. The Czech Republic however, is rather mountainous making the country an industrial and mining centre located at the cross-roads of East and West, in the heart of Europe. Consequently, the geographical traits of Hungary and the Czech Republic defined that these countries would take different paths of development, joining a free, offer and demand-based common European market. Applying a comparative method to these two cases therefore, allows me to outline major differences between the current Hungarian and Czech economic production, which bears an impact on the prevalent living and working conditions playing a key role in the motivation of population inflow and outflow in these countries.

The two case studies show a slightly disproportionate distribution within my research, thanks to the lack of related Czech sources published in English language. In the absence of knowledge of the Czech language, I was forced to create an asymmetrical comparison where the Hungarian case's specificities are accentuated through its differences in relation to the Czech one. In a similar fashion, my sources were also significantly limited, by the chosen time scope of my work. My research focuses on current and recent migrations, dating back to no later than the Fall of the Iron Curtain. The study of ongoing social processes is hindered, by the lack of scientific literature available in the field. Nevertheless, migration trends are widely-researched by statistical offices and various labour and demographic institutions on national and international level as well. Therefore, I chose to conduct a quantitative research rather than a qualitative one, concentrating on the critical analysis of data providing information about the size and social composition of present-day migratory waves. As a result of this, my research does not deal with questions of integration and community creation.

Similarly, the possible issues of related political and public discourse are not discussed in detail within my work. Though, I examine various migration tendencies, the comparative analysis of emigrations originating from Hungary and the Czech Republic forms the core element of my research.

In spite of the fact, that my work is not definitively concentrated on the migrations of a single social group, the observation of the transformation of younger generations' migration potential is a recurrent question all throughout my master's thesis. The choice of younger generations is justified by their importance within the labour market and the society. The long-term emigration of young people may entail the loss of a significant part of the sending countries' productive workforce, which might lead to the emergence of skills shortages in certain sectors and to the decline of productivity rates. The permanent outflow of the youth may also have far-reaching demographic consequences: it may contribute to the acceleration of the population's ageing as well as to its eventual decrease. Consequently, examining the migration preferences of the youth may provide essential information about potential prospective demographic and social transformations in the sending countries.

In the next section of my work, I am going to present a brief overview of my sources; useful materials, research projects and initiatives dealing with my subject matter. In my first chapter, I am going to position the development of current migratory movements within a historical and legal context. The second chapter of my research, is going to be devoted to the analysis and comparison of Hungarian and Czech internal and external migration trends, whereas in the third chapter I am going to present the main destinations of current Hungarian and Czech migrations. My fourth, and last chapter is going to be dealing with the examination of return migrations. I am going to conclude my master's thesis by synthesizing my observations regarding the prospective development of migrations in the two researched countries. Ultimately, my aim is to provide an understanding of the evolution of current migration tendencies in Hungary and in the Czech Republic, as well as their potential long-term effects on their social and economic structure.

# OVERVIEW OF SOURCES AND RELATED RESEARCH PROJECTS

The recent nature of the intensification of westward migration of Central and Eastern Europeans determines that currently, there are relatively few reliable sources depicting the phenomenon. National statistical offices face difficulties providing reliable information about the size and composition of population outflow, due to the fact, that the European Union's legislative framework allows the citizens of its Member States to relocate freely from one country to another without the obligation to engage themselves in a lengthy and complicated administrative procedure. Most EU Member States do not require their citizens to report their intention to leave, therefore today, moving from one country to another does not necessarily entail changing the migrants' permanent residence. Although EU citizens living in another Member State may apply for certificates of temporary residence in certain host countries, they are often not obliged to do so<sup>3</sup>. As a result of this, it is possible to infer that the registry of residents may not realistically represent the intensity of intra-EU migration flows, neither in the home, nor in the host countries. The records of foreign police offices, welfare institutions and healthcare service providers may provide a more elaborate image about the proportion of intra-EU migrants residing in a certain country. In this respect, it is recommendable to examine and compare statistical data released by the relevant state authorities in both the sending and the receiving countries.

In addition to the survey results of the respective national statistical offices and the data provided by relevant state institutions, useful information about the nature of prevalent migration tendencies may be found in reports published by international statistical and research institutes. Representing a milestone in the historical development of statistical research, the United Nations Statistical Commission (UNSC) came into existence in 1947<sup>4</sup>. The UNSC does not only act upon its right as the major decision-making body on international statistical activities, but it also sets the official standards of data collection processes, and makes significant efforts to enhance concepts and methods related to the field of research. The Commission consists of the representatives of twenty-four Member States, staying in office for an interval of four years. The UNSC oversees the work of the United Nations Statistics Division which gathers and disseminates data provided by the individual United Nations Member States, in the form of annual summary reports on global demographic and

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<sup>3</sup>Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic – EU Citizens and Their Family Members: Temporary Residence, <http://www.mvcr.cz/mvcren/article/temporary-residence.aspx> visited on April 29, 2017.

<sup>4</sup>United Nations Statistical Commission, <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/statcom> visited on April 20, 2016.

social tendencies<sup>5</sup>. The UN Statistics Division publishes a global-range Demographic Yearbook providing information about the world's population size and composition, the number of births, deaths, marriages and divorces, as well as about the general tendencies of economic activity, educational attainment and migration since 1948<sup>6</sup>. In addition to this, the publications encompass country-specific recommendations regarding the implementation of possible policy reforms and recovery programmes to remedy imminent national and global social problems.

Unlike the United Nations Statistics Division, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) operates within a focus area limited to economic and public affairs concerning its thirty-four Member States<sup>7</sup>. The OECD was founded in 1961 as the offspring of the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) which was created with the purpose of managing the US-financed Marshall recovery plan's implementation, after the end of the Second World War, in 1948<sup>8</sup>. Currently, the OECD functions as a major statistical data provider authority, publishing over 250 new books, thousands of databases, working papers and journal articles on an annual basis. International migratory tendencies play a role of key importance in the economic development of OECD Member States. As a result of this, the Organisation allocates resources to the study of migrant integration processes and to the examination of migration regulation policies. Thus today, the OECD figures among the most significant contributors in the field of migration studies and socio-economic statistical research.

Even though the OECD does not limit its scope to Europe, twenty-one out of its thirty-four current Member States are countries of the European Union. Therefore, the Organisation managed to construct strong bases of cooperation with Europe's leading data provider, the EUROSTAT which was born in 1953 and acquired the status of Directorate General of the European Community in 1958<sup>9</sup>. Contrary to the OECD, the EUROSTAT examines a wide variety of areas, while restricting its range predominantly, to the countries of the European continent. EUROSTAT aspires to provide accurate and high quality statistical data about the effects of social, economic and political phenomena taking place over Europe today. EUROSTAT holds it as a principle to present its research results in a way that is transparent and easy to follow for everyone, to private individuals as to the actors of the political and economic spheres. EUROSTAT is a key stakeholder of the European Statistical System

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<sup>5</sup>United Nations Statistics Division, <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/aboutus.htm> visited on April 20, 2016.

<sup>6</sup>United Nations Statistics Division - International migration, <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/Demographic/sconcerns/migration/migr2.htm> visited on April 20, 2016.

<sup>7</sup>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), <http://www.oecd.org/about/> visited on April 20, 2016.

<sup>8</sup>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) – History, <http://www.oecd.org/about/history/> visited on April 20, 2016.

<sup>9</sup>EUROSTAT – Your Key to European Statistics, <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/about/overview/what-we-do> visited on April 20, 2016.

and as such, its primary preoccupation lies in the collection, verification and standardized analysis of a series of data supplied by national statistical offices. It is therefore, necessary to bear in mind that EUROSTAT surveys do not present different results than the national statistical surveys. Instead this institution develops different approaches to analyzing and comparing data acquired by the individual Member States. The publications of the EUROSTAT resume and interpret standardized information coming from multiple sources, using diverse research methods.

In this fashion, EUROSTAT creates reports on international migration tendencies, measuring the magnitude of migratory flows, the size of population stocks of foreigners, the official number of citizenship admissions, residence permit acquisitions and asylum applications as well as publications dealing with legal measures carried out with the purpose of regulating and managing illegal immigration. Nevertheless, EUROSTAT, as many other international research institutions, provide no information about the reasons underlying the development of migratory fluxes. The analysis of push and pull factors defining migratory waves requires a predominantly qualitative approach to the study of migrations, while most these institutions are inclined to use quantitative research methods. The determination of reasons and motivations fuelling migrations in Europe today, fall under the home countries' realm of interests.

The identification of the origins of the phenomenon may enable the concerned states to understand and ultimately resolve the issue of intensifying emigration tendencies. Still, to our day, a highly-limited number of studies have been conducted in the field. It is nevertheless, noteworthy that the area is more extensively studied in Hungary than in the Czech Republic today. The number and extensity of Hungarian research projects conducted in the field exceed those created by Czech institutions. Emigration, unlike the immigration of labour migrants is not widely-researched in the Czech Republic. Based on the fact, that currently, population inflow to the Czech Republic is superior to the population outflow, it might be understood that immigration is a more recurrent subject in the Czech scientific and public discourse than emigration<sup>10</sup>. It is possible to find sources dealing with the social and economic effects of immigration to the country, while the question of emigration seems to be left out of focus by most scholars and private organizations.

One of the forerunners of the study of present-day European East-West migrations, the "Out of Visegrad" project, was operated under the leadership of the Czech organization, Multicultural Centre Prague, with the assistance of the associations Pasaż Antropologiczny of Warsaw, the Michal Šimečka Foundation of Bratislava and the Anropolis of Budapest, as well as with the financial

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<sup>10</sup>Czech Statistical Office - Demographic Yearbook of the Czech Republic 2014, <https://www.czso.cz/csu/czso/demographic-yearbook-of-the-czech-republic-2014> visited on 30/05/2016.

support of the International Visegrad Fund, in 2007<sup>11</sup>. The project put in place a blog for young expatriates living abroad, and wishing to share their ideas related to the difficulties and the delights of everyday life in a foreign environment<sup>12</sup>. The ultimate aim of the project was “...to contrast observations on migration with the actual experiences of migrants”<sup>13</sup>. Even though the blog entries are currently not accessible, the writings of all together nine young Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks and Polish living in distinct parts of the continent, were regrouped into thematic categories and published in the study “Visegrad Moves - On Migration in Central Europe”, in 2008<sup>14</sup>. The publication is dedicated to review the most prevalent migratory trends in the four Visegrad countries, but fails to support the designated blog entries with scientific literature on emigration from the states of Central Europe.

The shortage of articles on emigration might be explained through the fact that the study was published in the first few years of the re-emergence of the phenomenon. As a consequence, it is highly probable that the authors of the collection faced difficulties gathering sources to create the scientific framework of the young expatriates’ accounts. In addition to this, it can be observed that the entries depicting migratory tendencies in the four countries show a slightly disproportionate distribution, devoting four out of the ten existent contributions to the description of the Polish case. Therefore, as long as the publication briefly treats most aspects of Polish internal and external migrations, it provides a one-sided depiction of the Hungarian and Czech models, accentuating the role of foreign population inflow management while leaving out of focus the emigration of locals. So, the collection cannot be considered as a comprehensive source presenting an unbiased overview of dominant migratory trends in all researched countries. It is nonetheless, important to remark that the leading institution of the “Out of Visegrad” project, the Multicultural Centre Prague is itself, more invested in the exploration of the specificities of immigration to the Czech Republic than in the study of the expatriation of locals. The Centre put in place the “Migration Online” website<sup>15</sup> that intends to connect migration reality, scientific research and migration policy in order to create a detailed overview of current migration trends in the Czech Republic. “Migration to the Centre”<sup>16</sup> is a sub-portal of “Migration Online” and as such, covers only a particular focus area of the main website. “Migration to the Centre” concentrates on the impact of EU policies on the migration and integration processes of the Central and Eastern European Member States.

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<sup>11</sup>Marie Jelínková and Ian Cook, “Visegrad Moves – On Migration in Central Europe”, Prague: Multicultural Centre Prague, 2007, p.3.

<sup>12</sup>Migration Online, <http://migrationonline.cz/>, visited on 21/05/2016.

<sup>13</sup>Jelínková and Cook, p.3.

<sup>14</sup>Jelínková and Cook, p.3.

<sup>15</sup>Migration Online, <http://migrationonline.cz/>, visited on 21/05/2016.

<sup>16</sup>Migration to the Centre, <http://migrationtothecentre.migrationonline.cz/> visited on 17/11/2016.

In Hungary, however, there has been a significant growth in the number public and private research projects aiming to reveal the specificities and push and pull factors dominating present-day out migration tendencies from Hungary. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Centre for Social Sciences Institute for Minority Studies launched a research with the purpose of unveiling the causes of emigration from the country to the United Kingdom, in 2013. The research served as the statistical foundation of the Leave/Stay (Menjek/Maradjak) documentary series depicting the characteristics of the "new mobility"<sup>17</sup> of Hungarian nationals. The survey was released as a complement of the Leave/Stay series' London episode in 2014. An electronic questionnaire composed of twenty-three questions, was answered by 5200 Hungarian nationals residing in the United Kingdom. Although the respondents of the survey cannot be held as representatives of the integrity of the Hungarian community of the United Kingdom, it can still, stand for its segment composing of individuals using the channels of communication through which the survey was distributed<sup>18</sup>. In addition to providing information about which social groups are most bound to consider emigration, the research also brought outstanding results in terms of identifying the major push and pull factors underlying the phenomenon. The results of the research painted an unexpectedly negative picture about the origins of the phenomenon of the current Hungarian outmigration wave. The fact that the overwhelming majority of respondents were young and well-educated, moving to the United Kingdom for fulfilling professional aspirations, created the impression of the emergence of a "brain-drain" mechanism rooted in the UK. It is however, important to remember that the research was led, by a state authority furnishing data that may form the basis of further public and political discourse. Therefore, it is advisable to bear it in mind that the results of this research shall under no condition, be considered relevant for the integrity of the Hungarian expatriate community living in the United Kingdom, and in other countries worldwide. It is equally necessary to take notice of the fact that the research was created as a complementary documentation of the Leave/Stay series' London episode, thus, its results shall be evaluated together with the findings of the film.

The Leave/Stay documentary series was created, by the Budapest and Berlin-based SpeakEasy Project in the beginning of the current decade. The SpeakEasy Project extended its initial media agency profile into the field of documentary film creation, by the foundation of the Leave/Stay series. So, the Project's aim, became to "...produce documentaries on the migration trends, life experiences, dilemmas, motivations and world of the "New Mobility" of Europe as well as organize

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<sup>17</sup>Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Centre for Social Sciences Institute for Minority Studies and Leave/Stay documentary film series, "Dolgozni mentek, inkább maradjanak", Press release, 05/06/2014, p.1.

<sup>18</sup>Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Centre for Social Sciences Institute for Minority Studies and Leave/Stay documentary film series, "Dolgozni mentek, inkább maradjanak", Press release, 05/06/2014, p.5.

and contribute to events that are to forward dialogue on contemporary migration”<sup>19</sup>. The London episode was released in 2014 as a second element of a prospectively eight-episode documentary series. The first episode aspired to create insights into the everyday life of two Hungarian expatriates living in the United States of America, in the city of New York<sup>20</sup>. This episode was a thirty-minutes long piece, created entirely out of the SpeakEasy’s own budget, for promotional purposes. The London episode on the other hand, is a comprehensive one-hour documentary film, closely presenting the migration experience of six Hungarian expatriates and attempting to show the extension of the Hungarian migrant network of London, and the United Kingdom<sup>21</sup>. It is yet, noteworthy, that for the realization of this episode, the SpeakEasy needed to supplement its own budget by external resources. Instead of applying for state funding, the creators opted for raising public donations through crowdfunding. Thanks to the popularity of the first episode, the total of all donations exceeded the budget of the London episode, so allowing the creators to announce the preparation of successive episodes.

As long as the film aims to create a detailed representation of six distinct patterns of migration experiences, its findings still cannot be interpreted through a purely realist reading. The creators of the documentary revealed in an interview led by one of their media partners, the *Külföldre mennék* blog, that the selection of the interlocutors was based on predefined conceptions<sup>22</sup>. Out of the approximately 200 applications received, the SpeakEasy team wished to select half a dozen interviewees representing somewhat extraordinary life paths which could remain easy to relate to, for most spectators. So, it is possible to understand, that certain social and age groups, despite their presence within the Hungarian community of the United Kingdom, were absent from the documentary. The film thus, takes no notice of Hungarian white collar professionals who are equally present on the British labour market<sup>23</sup>. As a result of this, the perspective presented by the film is not complete, similarly to the accompanying statistical research results. However, it is of importance to highlight that the *Leave/Stay* documentary explores so far unknown dimensions of the Hungarian emigration wave. With the realization of the planned six upcoming documentaries set in other immigration cities like Berlin or Amsterdam and a piece dedicated to return migrants, the *Leave/Stay*

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<sup>19</sup>Speak Easy – Menjek/Maradjak (*Leave/Stay*) – Documenting the New Mobility, <http://www.speakeasyproject.com/> visited 25/05/2016.

<sup>20</sup>Indafilm - *Menjek/Maradjak: New York*, [http://film.indavideo.hu/video/f\\_menjek\\_maradjak](http://film.indavideo.hu/video/f_menjek_maradjak) visited on 25/05/2016.

<sup>21</sup>Indafilm - *Menjek/Maradjak: London*, [http://film.indavideo.hu/video/f\\_menjek\\_maradjak\\_london](http://film.indavideo.hu/video/f_menjek_maradjak_london) visited on 25/05/2016.

<sup>22</sup>*Külföldre mennék* - Menjek/Maradjak: London (Translation: I Would Like to Go Abroad – *Leave/Stay*: London), <http://kulfoldremennek.hu/video/67-menjek-maradjak-london> visited on 25/05/2016.

<sup>23</sup>Home Office – UK Border Agency, the Department for Work and Pension, the HM Revenue and Customs and Communities and Local Government, “Accession Monitoring Report May 2004 – June 2008 – A8 Countries”, Crown Copyright, 2008, p.21.

documentary series may provide a significant contribution to the revelation of the mechanisms underlying the current Hungarian outmigration tendencies<sup>24</sup>.

Though the current East-West migratory wave is relatively recent, it dates back only to the past one decade, it is remarkable that in Hungary, its specificities and underlying reasons have been already greatly researched, by state-governed statistical and scientific authorities and private organizations alike, whereas in the Czech scientific milieu, the issue is currently untreated. Thus, it is possible to point out a substantial difference between the way the two countries perceive and treat the subject of emigration: while in Hungary the question forms a vital part of the contemporary scientific and political discourse, in the Czech Republic emigration is virtually absent from the discussions. This important disparity may be explained through the diverging nature of migratory tendencies in the two researched countries, resulting from the different paths of social and economic development that the two researched countries took after the Fall of the Iron Curtain. In the first chapter of my master's thesis, I am going to examine the most important political and economic changes of the past three decades and their demographic and labour market implications, as well as their effect on the prospects of the youngest generations in Hungary and the Czech Republic.

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<sup>24</sup>Külföldre mennék - Menjek/Maradjak: London (Translation: I Would Like to Go Abroad – Leave/Stay: London), <http://kulfoldremennek.hu/videok/67-menjek-maradjak-london> visited on 25/05/2016.

# CHAPTER 1

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### 1. Political and Economic Transition Period

The right of free movement, among other basic human rights, was severely shattered by the regimes of communist tyranny in the Central and Eastern parts of Europe during the second half of the 20th century. However, by the 1980's, the failing of the communist order became evident in most parts of Central-Eastern Europe, resulting in a new wave of public unrests all throughout the Block. The intensification of tensions within the Hungarian society gave rise to a series of street protests and public demonstrations in the capital, as in the larger towns of the countryside. Youth clubs emerged in all major Hungarian cities serving as meeting points for students and young intellectuals calling for a change, organizing demonstrations and exercising an ever-growing pressure on the ruling party.

As a result of the amplifying political tension, the year 1989 marked the end of communist dictatorship in Hungary and the country's first steps on the way to becoming a democratic, capitalist power. The fortification erected along the Western frontiers of the country were demolished and replaced by simple border control points, the Soviet army troops left the country, the office of President of the state was established and the third Hungarian Republic was declared on October 23, 1989<sup>25</sup>. This event was quickly followed up by the announcement of the first free elections for March 1990, which later on, brought the victory of the central-right wing party, Hungarian Democratic Forum (Magyar Demokrata Fórum) led by József Antall, Prime Minister. The Parliament elected Árpád Göncz as the first permanent President of the state on August 3, 1990<sup>26</sup>.

In Czechoslovakia, the communist power managed to persist for a longer time, bringing about sudden changes at the end of 1989. In Mitchell A. Orenstein's words: "Czechoslovak communism remained stable for longer, but when the edifice began to crack, it fell apart more rapidly."<sup>27</sup> As he explains, the event that entered into world history under the name Czechoslovak Velvet Revolution

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<sup>25</sup>Dokumentum film: *Rendszerváltás Magyarországon és Kelet Európában – Mozgóképes Történelem (1988-1990) 1. Rész*, Fekete Doboz Alapítvány; Magyar Televízió 2006. Translation: Documentary film: *Change of Political Regimes in Hungary and Eastern Europe – History in Moving Image (1988-1990) 1st Episode*, Fekete Doboz Alapítvány; Hungarian Television, 2006.

<sup>26</sup>Dokumentum film: *Rendszerváltás Magyarországon és Kelet Európában – Mozgóképes Történelem (1988-1990) 2. Rész*, Fekete Doboz Alapítvány; Magyar Televízió 2006. Translation: Documentary film: *Change of Political Regimes in Hungary and Eastern Europe – History in Moving Image (1988-1990) 2nd Episode*, Fekete Doboz Alapítvány; Hungarian Television, 2006.

<sup>27</sup>Mitchell A. Orenstein, *Out of the Red – Building Capitalism and Democracy in Postcommunist Europe*, University of Michigan Press, 2001, p.5.

came about as a result of the forceful oppression of a student demonstration organized in the city of Prague on November 17, 1989. Even though, the protesting students were beaten up by police forces, they were later on, backed up by thousands of Prague city-dwellers showing the nation's unanimous will of change. As a consequence of their efforts, in December 1989, round table talks started about the future of the country and in June 1990, the first free elections took place in Czechoslovakia. The Civic Forum (Občanské Fórum) created by dissident intellectuals came out as victors of the elections and made Václav Havel the first President of Czechoslovakia. In 1993, Czechoslovakia split into two parts, giving birth to the autonomous Czech and Slovak Republics.

The communist dictatorship came to its end in all countries of Central-Eastern Europe in 1991, as the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact went into action. The vast majority of post-communist states expressed their wish of joining the Western capitalist world, and started their economic reconstruction under the assistance of such dominant global powers, as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the European Union. Consequently, a major shift from a Soviet-type command-based production scheme into a capitalist market economy encouraging price competition took place in different ways in all post-communist states during the 1990's. Modernization processes adopted by Hungary and the Czech Republic showed crucial differences. As long as Hungary kept its former state-owned enterprises available for foreign investors, the Czech Republic, in the spirit of the so-called "voucher privatization"<sup>28</sup>, opted for the distribution of large shares of its state properties among its citizens at an arguably low price rate, resulting in the stagnation of the Czech economy and the country's descent into a second wave of economic recession in 1997.

The openness of the Hungarian markets was rewarded by the arrival of large shares of foreign capital, targeted at the country, stabilizing and further stimulating its productivity and its profits. As Jan Svejnar puts it:

"...until 1997, Hungary was the only transition economy receiving significant flow of foreign direct investment. Analysis usually attribute this success to the fact that Hungary was more hospitable to and had well-defined rules and regulations for foreign direct investment since the early 1980's"<sup>29</sup>.

Hungary's development was, however, paralleled by the strengthening of the Czech economy, welcoming an outstanding amount foreign capital from 1998 on. In addition to this, a general switch from industry-based scheme to a service-oriented system triggered similarly far-reaching effects in the two countries. After the end of the communist era, Hungary abandoned its former path and performed fast expansions in the sector of services, whereas the Czech Republic continued to allocate significant financial and human resources to maintaining the productivity of its industries. Therefore,

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<sup>28</sup>Jan Svejnar, *Transition Economies: Performance and Challenges*, in "Journal of Economic Perspectives", 16; 1, 2002, p.6.

<sup>29</sup>Svejnar, p.16.

even though Czech industries recruited a decreasing number of employees over the 1990's, their importance remained strong within the economy. The advancement of the Czech economy was further intensified by the outcomes of the separation from the less developed Slovak territories, which, in Robert R. Kaufman's words: "...eliminated the need to deal with the social and political costs of reform in the Slovak lands"<sup>30</sup>.

The political and economic transformations of the 1990's took their toll on the society in the form of the growth of unemployment and poverty rates, as well as the intensification of inequalities. The economic disparities of the 1990's thus gave rise to a nation-wide sentiment of pessimism present on all layers of the Hungarian society. The desperation of the older generations coupled with youngsters' negative outlook on the future. Young people of the transition period experienced a changing demand for skills and competences along with the spread of new technologies quickly reshaping the traditional academic environment of post-communist states, necessitating the reorientation of professional preferences and the restructuring of educational institutions. According to Marek Kwiek, the relative balance of earnings within the communist-type economic schemes encouraged only little segments of the youth to pursue tertiary level studies and to obtain qualifications at a higher educational institution<sup>31</sup>. The adoption of a Western-type capitalist system however, implied the intensification of individual competition and generated a new need for a highly-qualified workforce. The redefinition of educational and professional opportunities thus, destabilized Hungarian young people's view of the future and generated a special atmosphere of uncertainty not encountered in any other transition countries.

In the late years of the 1990's, Petr Macek, Constance Flanagan, Leslie Galloway, Lubomir Kostron, Luba Botcheva and Beno Csapo realized a research measuring adolescents' perception of the changes taking place within the post-communist Hungary, Bulgaria and Czech Republic. Their research brought diverging results in the three countries: "Hungarians are pessimistic in their assessment of their own future possibilities, Bulgarians are optimistic despite economic hardships, and Czechs are the most optimistic of all."<sup>32</sup> The pessimism of the Hungarian youth might be seen, as an anxiety over the changing conditions of social and professional promotional opportunities and the potential broadening of social gaps. The optimism of the Czech youth on the other hand, may result from the Czech government's reluctance to introduce sudden, shock-like reforms, and from the

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<sup>30</sup>Robert R. Kaufman, *Market Reform and Social Protection: Lessons from the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland*, "East European Politics and Societies", SAGE Publications Ltd, 2007, p.119.

<sup>31</sup>Marek Kwiek, *Universities and Knowledge Production in Central Europe*, "European Educational Research Journal", 11; 1, 2012, p.113.

<sup>32</sup>Petr Macek, Constance Flanagan, Leslie Galloway, Lubomir Kostron, Luba Botcheva and Beno Csapo, *Postcommunist societies in times of transition: perceptions of change among adolescents in central and eastern Europe*, "Journal of Social Issues", Plenum Publishing Corporation, 54;3, 1998, p.8.

advantageous conditions of the flourishing Czech economy at the end of the 1990's. Consequently, it is possible to infer that political and economic reforms of the transition period generated greatly varying reactions among young people of the two countries: Hungarian youngsters, contrary to their Czech fellows, observed their country's efforts of joining the Western capitalist world with great concerns.

## 2. Joining the European Union

Western capitalist countries and supra-national organizations, like the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union were welcoming the changes taking place in the post-communist states of Central-Eastern Europe. Hungary joined the United Nations in 1955, along with fifteen other countries from all corners of the world. Even though Czechoslovakia was among the original fifty-one member states forming the United Nations in 1945, after the end of the Second World War's bloodshed, the Czech and Slovak Republics submitted two separate applications to the organization prior to their divorce, and became official members of the UN again, in 1993<sup>33</sup>. Shortly after this, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization invited Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland to join its members in 1997. The three countries were officially admitted to the NATO two years later, in 1999<sup>34</sup>.

Joining the European Union however, proved to be a long and complicated process for all Central-Eastern European states. Soon after the decay of the communist era, the European Council declared its commitment to welcome new countries among its Member States and designated a set of transitory arrangements to ensure the balanced flow of development in the accession countries and to protect the interests of the fifteen existing member states. The conditions defined involved the introduction of EU-level environmental standards and the implementation of the common agricultural policy, among various other regulations targeted at the applicants. In order to dissolve the anxieties regarding the potential fast intensification of Westward migration waves originating from the Central and Eastern European countries, certain Member States opted for the application of temporary restrictive policies in the field of immigration. As Andrew Geddes implicates, twelve out of the existing fifteen members established preventive regulations to manage immigration prior to the 2004

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<sup>33</sup>United Nations - Growth in United Nations membership, 1945-present, <http://www.un.org/en/members/growth.shtml> visited on 30/03/2016.

<sup>34</sup>North Atlantic Treaty Organization – Member Countries, [http://www.nato.int/cps/is/natohq/topics\\_52044.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/is/natohq/topics_52044.htm) visited on 30/03/2016.

accession wave. The three states withdrawing from the implementation of immigration control regulations at the time were the United Kingdom, Ireland and Sweden<sup>35</sup>.

The Hungarian and Czech delegations signed the Treaty of Accession, along with eight other new member states, in the city of Athens, in course of a grandiose ceremony broadcasted all around Europe, on 16 April 2003. Though, the ten accession countries obtained full membership rights only a year later, on May 1, 2004. The new Member States thus, entered the European customs union and the Single Market, acquiring the right of free movement of goods, services, capital and labour. The last obstacle was removed from the way of free movement on December 21, 2007, when both Hungary and the Czech Republic joined the border-control-free Schengen zone<sup>36</sup>. However, contrary to the Czech Republic, for Hungary, this did not only imply the removal of check-points from its Western and Northern frontiers, but also the strengthening of its Eastern and Southern entry points, bordering non-Schengen territories. Nevertheless, it is important to note that beside the protection of the Single Market, the countries of the European Union put an equally high emphasis on fostering the interstate mobility of their citizens, through the creation of various initiatives and programmes facilitating their relocation to another Member State.

The European Union's current ten-year strategical plan centres around the enhancement of education, employment, innovation, social inclusion as well as climate and energy treatment across the Member States<sup>37</sup>. The 2020 Strategy was born in 2010, and aimed at the development of smart, sustainable and inclusive European economies providing opportunities for professional advancement to EU citizens across state borders. The programme aspires to provide remedy for the economic problems faced by the Member States through the creation of flagships projects in the five main focus areas. In the aging society of Europe providing high quality education to the youngest generations is an utmost priority. So, the strategical programme gave way to the Youth on the Move initiative with the purpose of improving European educational standards and thus, making its institutions more attractive on an international level<sup>38</sup>. Educational institutions of the EU proved their commitment to the alignment of educational standards across borders and gave life to the Bologna and Copenhagen processes strengthening quality in the fields of tertiary level and vocational education and facilitating

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<sup>35</sup>Andrew Geddes, *Immigration and European Integration - Beyond Fortress Europe*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2008, p.18.

<sup>36</sup>European Union Member Countries – Czech Republic, [http://europa.eu/about-eu/countries/member-countries/czechrepublic/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/about-eu/countries/member-countries/czechrepublic/index_en.htm) and European Union Member Countries – Hungary, [http://europa.eu/about-eu/countries/member-countries/hungary/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/about-eu/countries/member-countries/hungary/index_en.htm) visited on 30/03/2016.

<sup>37</sup>“Communication from the Commission – Europe 2020 - A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth”, European Commission, COM (2010) 2020 final, Brussels, 3.3.2010, p.5.

<sup>38</sup>“Communication from the Commission – Europe 2020 - A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth”, European Commission, COM (2010) 2020 final, Brussels, 3.3.2010, p.32.

the recognition of qualifications all around the Single Market<sup>39</sup>. The higher compatibility of degree certificates and licences allows young people of the European Union to be mobile, and set out for gaining experience in another Member State.

The Erasmus+ programme came into existence in the spirit of fostering interstate mobility of young people. The programme went into action in 2014 as the offspring of the previous, Youth in Action programme which operated with a different structure and a lower budget. The current programme englobes opportunities for individuals and organisations as well. The applicants may study abroad for varying intervals of time in each cycle of their education, they may obtain multiple diplomas through participating to joint-degree programmes or acquire professional experience through internships and voluntary missions set at their disposition by the Erasmus+. The mobility and exchange programmes of the European Union allowed 13 880 Hungarians and 17 916 Czechs to study, volunteer or acquire professional experience through an internship abroad, in the year 2014 alone<sup>40</sup>.

The purpose of these mobility programmes is to provide young people with the opportunity to strengthen their skills and gain experience in a foreign environment. According to Ulrich Teichler, Sociologist and Lecturer of the University of Kassel, short term mobility is a powerful experience bearing impact on the participating young adults' personal and professional development alike. It allows them to gain a better understanding of foreign cultures as well as to improve their language skills, and other competencies including adaptability, assertiveness, and intercultural communication<sup>41</sup>. Short term mobility provides young people with the opportunity to develop marketable skills acting as a facilitator during their transition from school to the labour market currently characterized by strong competition and increasing levels of youth unemployment<sup>42</sup>. Additionally, Teichler highlights that mobility experience makes participants more confident and inclined to stay internationally mobile even after their graduation. Approximately 15-20% of former participants undertake employment opportunities abroad after the completion of their studies<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup>European Commission - Education and Training - The Bologna Process and the European Higher Education Area, [http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/higher-education/bologna-process\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/higher-education/bologna-process_en.htm) visited 04/05/2016, and European Commission - Education and Training - Vocational education and training (VET), [http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/vocational-policy/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/vocational-policy/index_en.htm) visited 04/05/2016.

<sup>40</sup>*Erasmus+ statistics 2014 – Czech Republic*, “EC Erasmus+ Annual Report 2014”, Version 1.0, European Commission, 26 January, 2016, and *Erasmus+ statistics 2014 – Hungary*, “EC Erasmus+ Annual Report 2014”, Version 1.0, European Commission, 26 January, 2016.

<sup>41</sup>Ulrich Teichler, “Chapter 1 – The Impact of Temporary Study Abroad” in Rosamond Mitchell, Nicole Tracy-Ventura and Kevin McManus, *Social Interaction, Identity and Language Learning during Residence Abroad*, European Second Language Association, Eurosla Monographs Series 4, 2015 p.23.

<sup>42</sup>Teichler, p.24.

<sup>43</sup>Teichler, p.22.

Staying internationally mobile gives these young people the opportunity to maximize the number of suitable job opportunities and to start a career of their choice.

The improvement of employment standards and the creation of new work places occupies an important position within the 2020 Strategy. Over the past few years, analysts observed amplifying tendencies of unemployment among young adults and fresh graduates of the EU. In order to provide solution to this issue, the European Union created an initiative “...for new skills and jobs to modernise labour mobility and the development of skills throughout the lifecycle with a view to increase labour participation and better match labour supply and demand”<sup>44</sup>. The success of this flagship project is further supported by the EURES cooperation network which came into existence in 1993 for the first time, and has been given a new role within the framework of the new strategy.

The EURES network operates today, with the explicit purpose of contributing to the enhancement of employment standards and of stimulating the circulation of capital across the Member States of the European Union<sup>45</sup>. The network is composed of the EURES Coordination Office and its partners and associated partners. The EURES welcomes any public or private employment services, trade unions, employers’ organizations and other actors of the labour market among its partners. The mission of the cooperation network is to provide information and consultancy for job seekers and employers in the twenty-eight EU Member States, in Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Iceland and Norway. In the day-to-day practice, job seekers might browse through the offers and tips posted on the online portal of the program or contact one of the one-thousand EURES advisors offering personal assistance in their job search. The network recently gave birth to the Your First EURES Job initiative, providing financial aid for young Europeans aged between 18-25 years, searching for a work placement in one of the program countries, as well as for their employers, in order to facilitate their integration into their new corporate and local environment<sup>46</sup>.

Ultimately, it is possible to state that joining the global markets performed a twofold effect in the new member states: it stimulated the inflow of foreign investment, but it also generated an unprecedented wave of out-migration over the years of membership, due to the principle of the freedom of movement and the initiatives put in place to encourage new citizens of the European Union to act upon this right. Nevertheless, in the countries of Central Europe, emigration rates started

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<sup>44</sup>“Communication from the Commission – Europe 2020 - A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth”, European Commission, COM (2010) 2020 final, Brussels, 3.3.2010, p.32.

<sup>45</sup>EURES – The European Job Mobility Portal, <https://ec.europa.eu/eures/public/homepage> visited on 24/03/2016.

<sup>46</sup>“Your First EURES Job – Targeted Mobility Scheme”, European Commission, Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs Inclusion Unit C3, Luxembourg, January 2015.

to show a steady growth only after the devastating effects of the world financial crisis became evident in the late 2000's.

### 3. Global Financial Crisis of the New Millennium

The recent global financial crisis started out by the unexpected collapse of the American real estate sector, formerly believed to be one of the most stable and reliable spheres of the US economy. As Ebru Terazi and Seçil Şenel explain, the crisis of the real estate sector quickly contaminated the integrity of the financial world, causing the downfall of stock markets and the disruption of worldwide banking systems<sup>47</sup>. The financial crisis manifested in the form of the decline of economic productivity, inflation and the quick rise of unemployment and poverty all over the world. The crisis spread through the American markets by the turn of 2007-2008, and extended to Europe's Central and Eastern parts by the successive year. Terazi and Şenel argues that even though, neither Hungary nor the Czech Republic could escape the destructive economic and social effects of the crisis, the Hungarian state's budget deficits run excessively high, exposing the country to the threat of bankruptcy<sup>48</sup>.

Hungary's fast financial descent resulted in the devaluation of its national currency, raising the value of loans and mortgage plans set in a foreign currency. Thus, thousands of Hungarian families had to face the irreversible multiplication of their debts only weeks after the crisis hit the country. As a result of this, a general state of despair took hold of the Hungarian nation, many families lost their homes, whereas others decided to take a risky second loan to be able to cover the instalments of their first loans. Those opting for taking a second loan, could benefit of a state guarantee on their payment rates. As Terazi and Şenel explains, the country itself, got so deep in the crisis by the end of the 2000's that it was compelled to apply for the International Monetary Fund's and the European Union's common balance support programme, further increasing the country's external debts<sup>49</sup>.

The Czech Republic's small open economy has been strongly dependent on the inflow of foreign direct investment since the 1990's. Although this dependence entailed high levels of productivity and competitiveness, it equally made the Czech economy vulnerable to the changes of the global economic climate. As a result of this, the effects of the financial crisis reached the Czech markets, appearing in the form of a drop of demands, jeopardizing the balanced functioning of heavy industries occupying a central role in the country's economy. The sudden decline of demands shocked

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<sup>47</sup>Ebru Terazi PhD. and Seçil Şenel M.A., *The Effects of the Global Financial Crisis on the Central and Eastern European Union Countries*, in "International Journal of Business and Social Science", 2;17, 2011, p.187.

<sup>48</sup>Terazi and Şenel, p.187.

<sup>49</sup>Terazi and Şenel, p.191.

the country, as Michal Tvrdoň's claims: "...during the years 2004-2008, the Czech economy grew steadily and rapidly, and its growth rate was more than twice higher compared with Eurozone Member States"<sup>50</sup>. Consequently, though the Czech Republic managed to avoid the devaluation of its national currency and the growth of its external debt, it was still forced to face similarly severe social problems caused by the crisis as Hungary.

The financial crisis took its toll on various sectors of the two countries' economy, giving rise to unemployment across the whole of Central Europe. Chris Moreh claims that the employment problems reached the Hungarian public sector as early as the year 2005, but it only expanded to the private sector between 2007 and 2011<sup>51</sup>. In order to tackle the augmenting unemployment, the Hungarian government issued the controversial public-employment programme, offering work placement for job seekers in various different areas. However, often, the positions proposed within the framework of the programme were not aligned with the job seekers' educational and professional background, and offered remunerations at a fixed tariff, giving a monthly total inferior to the current value of minimal wage in the country. Taking this into consideration, it may be presumed that the earnings granted by the public employment programme made the payment of living costs and the reimbursement of loans highly problematic for the families concerned by the issue.

The steady drop of the real value of salaries may be considered another troublesome outcome of the financial crisis striking Hungary. Chris Moreh states: "If we consider the absolute value of earnings in euros, in 2003 Hungary was second to Slovenia alone, while now wages are higher in the Czech Republic, Estonia and Slovakia."<sup>52</sup> Czech wages managed to remain stable due to the country's ability to redirect its focus area from satisfying the declining demands of the domestic markets to production for exports. As Tvrdoň explains, this shift of focus allowed the Czech economy to expand its exports already in the fourth quarter of the year 2009<sup>53</sup>. In his view, even though this enabled the Czech Republic to avoid the sharp economic decline presented by the case of Hungary, it still did not prevent the emergence of a slight inflation and a sizeable growth of unemployment. In a similar fashion, as in Hungary, employment problems took varied shapes in the Czech society: it did not only affect the absolute growth of long-term unemployment, but it also manifested itself in the form of an increase of positions available only on a temporary or part-time basis.

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<sup>50</sup>Michal Tvrdoň, *Consequences of the Global Economic Crisis on the Czech Economy*, "Scientific papers of the University of Pardubice", Series D, Faculty of Economics and Administration. 17 (2/2010), University of Pardubice, 2010, p. 341.

<sup>51</sup>Chris Moreh, *A Decade of Membership: Hungarian Post-Accession Mobility to the United Kingdom*, "Central and Eastern European Migration Review", 3;2, December 2014, p.83.

<sup>52</sup>Moreh, p.81.

<sup>53</sup>Tvrdoň, p.342.

The hardships of the crisis were present on all levels of the two societies to a varying extent. Yet, certain social groups proved to be more sensitive to the resulting negative changes than others. Due to the changing economic climate, youth unemployment became one of the primary preoccupations of Central European governments over the past few years. Since the beginning of the crisis, young people started to face more and more difficulties finding a work placement corresponding to their skills and educational background. As a result of this, young people's career opportunities have been significantly shattered by the persistent conditions of the economy.

#### 4. Current Situation of Young People

Young people, belonging to the 15-29-year age group form about 19% of the Hungarian, and 18.5% of the Czech society<sup>54</sup>. Even though school attendance is compulsory until the age of 16 years in Hungary, and 15 years in the Czech Republic, early school leaving still challenges the two countries' educational institutions. While in Hungary the number of early school leavers remains relatively high, the Czech Republic achieved developments in this field over the past few years<sup>55</sup>. On the other hand, observing the number of young people aged between 30 and 34 years, and having successfully graduated from tertiary level educational institutions, the results seem to be more promising: 28% in the case Hungary, and 24% in the Czech Republic<sup>56</sup>. According to statistical data assessed by EUROSTAT, in the year 2013, there were about 359 000 Hungarian and 427 000 Czech tertiary education students registered at an educational institution in the two countries<sup>57</sup>. The prevalent tendency shows that in both countries the proportion of genders in higher education is slightly unequal, showing a general female dominance. Even though the vast-majority of university applications is submitted for Bachelor programmes in both countries, the number of students pursuing Master and Doctorate level education shows striking differences in the two countries. Based on the 2013 EUROSTAT survey results, it is clear to see that in the Czech Republic about 50% of Bachelor students continue their studies to acquire a Master's degree, and about 10% of them stay for PhD as well. The corresponding numbers for Hungarian students are rather low: approximately 30% of them pursue Master level studies, and only about 3% of them continue into the third cycle of higher education<sup>58</sup>. The possible reasons for such sharp decline may include the loss of motivation,

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<sup>54</sup>Ewa Krzaklewska, "Visegrad Youth - Comparative review of the situation of young people in V4 countries", Council of Europe, Warsaw, 2013, p.11.

<sup>55</sup>Krzaklewska, p.12.

<sup>56</sup>Krzaklewska, p.13.

<sup>57</sup>EUROSTAT – Statistics Explained – Tertiary Education Statistics, [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Tertiary\\_education\\_statistics](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Tertiary_education_statistics) visited on 04/05/2016.

<sup>58</sup>EUROSTAT – Statistics Explained – Tertiary Education Statistics, [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Tertiary\\_education\\_statistics](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Tertiary_education_statistics) visited on 04/05/2016.

dissatisfaction with the quality of education, financial difficulties encountered along the way, and the determination to acquire professional experience and enter the labour market at the earliest possible convenience.

In recent years, the students decided in increasing numbers, to continue their studies in a foreign higher educational institution, predominantly in another Member State of the European Union. According to Nina Wolfeil, Lecturer of the PH Ludwigsburg University of Education, based on statistical data from the year 2006, it can be asserted that the most popular destination for Hungarian and Czech students was Germany, housing 2434 student from Hungary and 2132 from the Czech Republic<sup>59</sup>. In the same year, the second most important host country for students proved to be the United Kingdom attracting approximately a 1000 students from both researched countries<sup>60</sup>. Several hundred other students pursued their higher educational studies in countries like the neighbouring Austria, France, Sweden or the Netherlands<sup>61</sup>. Wolfeil states that the factors contributing to the decision of studying abroad and the choice of the ultimate destination and host institution are manifold, ranging from the demographic distribution of young people in the country of origin, through the complexity of admission policies in the potential host countries, to the extensity and variability of available study programmes provided by the chosen educational institutions<sup>62</sup>. Other important aspects taken into account may include familiarity with the local language and customs, as well as financial considerations such as tuition fee and living costs and the availability and conditions of student loans.

The most popular destination countries housing the highest number of foreign students offer opportunities for talented young people to extend their stays in the country, and search for a work placement. This is recognized as an effective tool to remedy demographic and labour market issues in the countries of Western Europe tackling issues of low birth rates and skills shortage. In Wolfeil's words: "...policies targeted at the retention of foreign graduates are an integral part of the bundle of measures to recruit highly skilled migrants"<sup>63</sup>. Consequently, some of the countries concerned introduced policies to foster the retention of talented foreign graduates shortly after the 2004 accession wave. For instance, the United Kingdom launched the International Graduate Scheme in 2004, meanwhile Ireland initiated the so-called Third Level Graduate Scheme<sup>64</sup>. Wolfeil claims that for these graduates, the study period ultimately functions as a "probationary period"<sup>65</sup> allowing them

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<sup>59</sup>Nina Wolfeil, "Student Mobility from New to Old Member States in the European Union – Changing Patterns after 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2004?", CMR Working Paper, 42;100, 2009, p.12.

<sup>60</sup>Wolfeil, p.12.

<sup>61</sup>Wolfeil, p.12.

<sup>62</sup>Wolfeil, p.9.

<sup>63</sup>Wolfeil, p.3

<sup>64</sup>Wolfeil, p.3.

<sup>65</sup>Wolfeil, p.5.

to get acquainted with the local language and culture as well as with the prospective living and working conditions. Therefore, it may be stated that their integration to the host society reaches a high level by the completion of their studies, which makes them competitive on the local labour market and provides a significant motivation to definitively relocate to the country.

Despite their relatively high-level of educational attainment and strong inclination to be mobile on the international labour market, many young Hungarians and Czechs come to face the changing demand of skills when entering the labour market for the first time. As Ewa Krzaklewska explains:

“Still, a big share of students believes that studies are not enough for finding a job and that a diploma does not guarantee a career – more than half of graduates from the Central Europe believe that the university did not prepare them well for the professional duties.”<sup>66</sup>

However, beside the recurrent issue of skills mismatch, young job seekers also encounter difficulties engaging themselves in long-term work agreements. Even though short-term work contracts allow young people to prolong their employment status and keep enjoying the benefits of the state’s health and welfare benefits, it does not enable them to acquire extensive knowledge, or expertise in their work field. Thus, the lack of consistency among various short-term work placements may eventually, set back the professional advancement of young adults. Even though no straightforward analogy can be found between the level of education attained and the number of suitable employment opportunities available on the labour market, as David N. F. Bell and David G. Blanchflower remarks, there is a general oversupply of graduates in Europe today<sup>67</sup>. As a result of this, well-educated young Europeans proved to be more inclined to encounter difficulties while searching for a work placement, than others with a lower level of education.

The persistent issue of unemployment pairs up with a general lack of entrepreneurial attitude among young people in Hungary, as well as in the Czech Republic. Despite the global success of the Hungarian start-up Prezi, or the Czech Avast Software, only 5% of the Hungarian and 6% of the Czech youth took a chance on establishing their very own private business during the past years<sup>68</sup>. The source of this reluctance towards entrepreneurship is rather hard to define: it may be seen as part of the communist heritage, it might be understood as a culturally-embedded attitude, or as the consequence of the current unfavourable economic conditions. Today, the annual average rate of youth unemployment for those above 25 years of age, is approximately 26% in Hungary and slightly lower, 18% in the Czech Republic<sup>69</sup>. However, it is noteworthy that unemployment rates may show

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<sup>66</sup>Krzaklewska, p.17.

<sup>67</sup>David N. F. Bell and David G. Blanchflower, “Young people and recession. A lost generation?”, University of Stirling, Stirling, Scotland, UK, 2010, p.4.

<sup>68</sup>Krzaklewska, p.19.

<sup>69</sup>Krzaklewska, p.16.

considerable discrepancies throughout the different regions of the two countries. Employment opportunities tend to be more concentrated in the capital and its neighbouring regions, than in the farther, less-densely populated rural Northern and Eastern areas of these states.

Due to the uneven geographical distribution of work opportunities, mobility became a vital part of the mind-set of the youth in Central Europe. Some young people relocated to larger towns, regional centres or to the capital city in order to improve their work opportunities, whereas others decided to try their chances abroad and set out for a foreign destination. Since the outbreak of the global financial crisis, an increasing number of young people migrated to the Western states of the European Union, and by today, an overwhelming number of young people considers the possibility of moving abroad for a shorter or longer period of time in the future. In the next chapter of my master thesis, I am going to analyse and compare the specificities of the current Hungarian and Czech migration tendencies, through the examination of statistical data provided by international research centres and the respective national statistical offices of the sending and host countries.

# **CHAPTER 2**

## **CURRENT HUNGARIAN AND CZECH MIGRATION TENDENCIES**

### **1. Changing Migration Policies at the Dawn of EU-Accessions**

In 2004 when Hungary and the Czech Republic joined the European Union alongside with eight other new Member States, the citizens of these states were granted the right of free movement among the borders of the EU. This however, did not entail automatically receiving free and unconditional access to the labour market of other Member States of the European Union. Even though the principle of free movement is generally viewed as one of the most positive inventions of the EU, the Eastern expansion of 2004 generated anxieties in some of the already existent Member States regarding its potential abuse by the nationals of the new accession countries<sup>70</sup>. The fear of a possible Central and Eastern European invasion led to the application of provisional immigration control regulations in twelve out of the fifteen Member States prior to the 2004 accession wave. The United Kingdom, Ireland and Sweden implemented no measures to limit the access of A8 citizens to their domestic labour markets, instead these countries opted for restricting the admission requirements of their social benefits' scheme, preventing in this manner, the over-exploitation of their welfare systems<sup>71</sup>.

Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain agreed to put in place a series of transitory procedures to cushion the expected negative social and economic effects of a potential new migratory wave originating from Central and Eastern Europe. This led to the creation of a seven-year transition period, composing of three provisional phases to allow the states concerned to adapt their legislation to their changing needs. According to Frigyes Ferdinand Heinz and Melanie Ward-Warmedinger researchers of the European Central Bank, the purpose of the launching of these regulations was "...to ensure that labour migration from one country did not have a sudden and adverse impact on another country's economy"<sup>72</sup>. The first phase of the moratorium entered into effect on the day the new Member States officially joined the European Union, on May 1, 2004, and it ended two years later, on April 30, 2006. At the end of the first provisional phase, Finland, Greece, Portugal and Spain lifted all restrictive policies put in place, and in July 2006, Italy also declared the abolition of all transitory measures.

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<sup>70</sup>Moreh, p.79.

<sup>71</sup>Frigyes Ferdinand Heinz and Melanie Ward-Warmedinger, "Cross-border Labour Mobility within an Enlarged EU", Occasional Paper Series, European Central Bank, 52, October 2006, p.14.

<sup>72</sup>Heinz and Ward-Warmedinger, p.14.

Some other states like Belgium, Denmark, France, Luxemburg and the Netherlands chose to alleviate the conditions of accessing their labour markets<sup>73</sup>. The three-year long second phase ended on April 30, 2009, with the decision that all transitory arrangements must be concluded in all Member States, unless the prevalent economic conditions do not allow so. A few months after the outbreak of the financial crisis in Europe, East-West migration within the European Union showed suddenly intensifying tendencies, convincing some of the old Member States to maintain the transitory measures until the end of the third phase. Countries like Austria and Germany sharing borders with various new Member States, were particularly concerned by the potential negative outcomes of the arrival of a significant wave of Central and Eastern European migrants. This fear was rooted in the fact that historically, Austria and Germany proved to be some of the most appealing destinations for CEE migrants, thanks to their small geographical proximity to the migrants' country of origin and the advantageous wages and welfare benefits they provided for the incoming skilled workforce. The findings of opinion polls released over the 1990's further justified the legitimacy of apprehensions related to the expectable high intensity of immigration to Austria and Germany from Central and Eastern Europe. Khrystyna Fogel, author of the article *The Multistage Nature of Labour Migration from Eastern and Central Europe (Experience of Ukraine, Poland, United Kingdom and Germany During the 2002-2012 Period)*, quotes in her work a survey proving that over 80% of CEE migrants could imagine moving to Austria or Germany provided the opportunity<sup>74</sup>. Therefore, the provisional regulations terminated in countries like Austria and Germany only at the very end of the seven-year moratorium, on April 30, 2011<sup>75</sup>.

The tenacious protection of the Austrian and German labour markets led to the growing popularity of other, more welcoming destinations, such as the United Kingdom or Ireland. These countries provided CEE migrants with the opportunity to settle down and undertake employment on their soil, thus contributing to the growth of their economic productivity. Beside the lack of legal and administrative burden imposed on immigrants by these new destination countries, other important decision-forming factors in their favor, included the knowledge of the country's official language, the familiarity with the local culture and customs, the availability of housing options, the recognition of qualifications obtained in the country of origin and the relative transparency of job openings<sup>76</sup>. Although most EU Member States were gradually convinced by the positive economic changes entrained by the unregulated immigration from the new accession countries to the UK and Ireland,

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<sup>73</sup>Heinz and Ward-Warmedinger, p.14.

<sup>74</sup>Khrystyna Fogel, *The Multistage Nature of Labour Migration from Eastern and Central Europe (Experience of Ukraine, Poland, United Kingdom and Germany during the 2002-2011 Period)*, in "Eastern Journal of European Studies", 6;2, December 2015, p.63.

<sup>75</sup>Heinz and Ward-Warmedinger, p. 14.

<sup>76</sup>Heinz and Ward-Warmedinger, p. 12.

Austria and Germany demonstrated concerns about losing their right to choose who enters their labour market. As Fogel explains, this reluctance was nourished by the fear that "...opening the local labour market would cause a flood of unskilled Eastern Europeans as those who were better-skilled had already gone to countries such as Great Britain or Ireland"<sup>77</sup>. Despite the persistent anxieties about the effects of intensifying East-West migrations in Europe, all EU Member States opened their labour markets to newcomers in 2011, giving way to new era of migrations within the Old Continent. In this chapter, I am going to examine the historical roots and the process of development of Hungarian and Czech migrations to three of today's most popular destination countries, Germany, Austria and the United Kingdom.

## 2. Migratory Tendencies in Europe

Migratory tendencies figure among the most well-researched areas by important global and European statistical institutions as the International Labour Organization, the United Nations Statistical Commission, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the EUROSTAT<sup>78</sup>. In order to gain the most detailed information possible about migratory fluxes taking place within the borders of the European Union, it is advisable to consult the publications of the EUROSTAT, the key stakeholder of the European Statistical System. The primary preoccupation of the EUROSTAT lies in the collection, verification and standardized analysis of a series of data supplied by national statistical offices. The publications of the EUROSTAT thus, resume and interpret standardized information coming from multiple sources, using diverse research methods. Consequently, the weakness of EUROSTAT lies in its limited access to high quality statistical data as well as in its dependence on the credibility of the resources set at its disposition by minor national and subnational statistical offices. In spite of this, EUROSTAT reports provide useful basis for the comparison of country-specific information related to international migration tendencies, the magnitude of migratory flows, the size of population stocks of foreigners residing in the particular Member States, the official number of citizenship admissions, residence permit acquisitions and asylum applications as well as the set of legal measures carried out with the purpose of regulating and managing illegal immigration.

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<sup>77</sup>Fogel, p.63.

<sup>78</sup>Imre Ferenczi, *International Migration Statistics*, in Walter F. Willcox "International Migrations", 1: Statistics, NBER, 1929, p.53; The United Nations Statistical Commission, <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/statcom> visited on 20/04/2016; The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), <http://www.oecd.org/about/> visited on 20/04/2016; EUROSTAT – Your Key to European Statistics, <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/about/overview/what-we-do> visited on 20/04/2016.

Over the past two decades, the countries of the enlarged European Union saw the renaissance of modern, overwhelming migratory fluxes. With the newly-awakening political conflicts in the Middle East and the devastating effects of the global financial crisis, the number of migrants heading to the more prosperous, democratic parts of the world has multiplied since the beginning of the new millennium. Though, it is important to note that the most popular European destinations, such as the United Kingdom, France or the Netherlands cherish long migratory traditions due to their colonial past. The states of Western Europe welcomed millions of immigrants arriving from remote parts of their former empire during the 20th century. In order to effectively manage the inflow of migratory waves, the countries concerned came up with a series of restrictive policies, forming the basis of the immigration control strategies of today's European Union. As a result of this, those third country nationals wishing to reside temporarily or permanently in any of the EU Member States have to go through a sequence of strict and time-consuming admission processes. Beside the thorough administrative scrutiny of immigrants wishing to set foot on the land of what became known as "the fortress Europe"<sup>79</sup>, the European Union opted for intensifying its protection through the creation of strengthened border control points along the frontiers of the Schengen zone. These regulations are targeted at third country nationals forming about 65% of all migrants moving across the states of the EU, whereas citizens of the Member States may relocate freely within its borders<sup>80</sup>.

It is thus, necessary to highlight that, in addition to the external migratory fluxes, the EU is currently experiencing extensive internal movements as well. According to the EU Citizenship Report of 2013, approximately 13,6 million EU citizens resided in another Member State at the time of the survey's initiation<sup>81</sup>. It duly shows the continuous steady augmentation of the intra-EU migrations, that the corresponding number for the year 2015, was about 14,3 million<sup>82</sup>. The report clearly identifies that the current migratory movements in great majority, originate from the Eastern states of the European Union and lead to the Western parts of the continent. The most popular destinations for migrants in Europe proved to be Germany, the United Kingdom and France. As long as the vast majority of long term stays abroad is motivated by the possibility of professional advancement and financial growth, obtaining qualifications at a foreign educational institution has also become a

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<sup>79</sup>Andrew Geddes, *Immigration and European Integration - Beyond Fortress Europe*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2008.

<sup>80</sup>EUROSTAT- Migration and migrant population statistics, [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration\\_and\\_migrant\\_population\\_statistics](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics) visited on 13/04/2016.

<sup>81</sup>EUROSTAT- EU citizenship - statistics on cross-border activities, [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/EU\\_citizenship\\_-\\_statistics\\_on\\_cross-border\\_activities](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/EU_citizenship_-_statistics_on_cross-border_activities) visited on 13/04/2016.

<sup>82</sup>EUROSTAT- Migration and migrant population statistics, [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration\\_and\\_migrant\\_population\\_statistics](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics) visited on 13/04/2016.

frequently cited reason for moving permanently to a foreign country, over the past few years. Consequently, in 2012, there were about 8,5 million EU citizens legally employed in another Member State, whereas the number of students pursuing their studies in a foreign establishment of tertiary level education has exceeded 500 thousand already in the year 2010<sup>83</sup>. Within the European Union, the United Kingdom seemed to attract the highest number of foreign students, which, according to the authors of the report, "...may partly result from the widespread study of English as a foreign language"<sup>84</sup>. It is however, necessary to note that motivations may change over time. Thus, in certain cases, foreign students may as well get integrated into the domestic workforce of their host societies, after the completion of their studies. It illustrates the amplification of long term stays equally well that the number of citizenship applications submitted by residents of another EU country has also multiplied over time. In 2011 alone, approximately 82 000 European residents obtained the citizenship of another Member State<sup>85</sup>. Nevertheless, the commitment to stay permanently in a foreign environment involve not only important administrative changes, but also the adoption of the language of the host country and the gradual adaptation to a different lifestyle.

The lack of administrative burden necessitated by the movement gave rise to the number of service providers facilitating the movement and integration of newly arriving migrants. The intensification of inter-state mobility is supported by middlemen transforming people's will to migrate into viable business opportunities. Robert Forest Harney, American historian, referred to the existence of "intermediaries" in his 1977 article *The Commerce of Migration*, appeared in the "Canadian Ethnic Studies" journal<sup>86</sup>. In this paper, Harney concentrated on providers making a living by offering specific services to migrants. Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen, Research Director of the Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Ninna Nyberg-Sørensen, Research Coordinator of the Danish Institute for International Studies treat Harney's definition in their study *The Migration Industry and the Commercialization of International Migration*. They make the following observation:

"...the growing commercialization of international migration takes on significance: migration has become business, big business. Over the last few decades a host of new opportunities have emerged

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<sup>83</sup>EUROSTAT- Migration and migrant population statistics, [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration\\_and\\_migrant\\_population\\_statistics](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics) visited on 13/04/2016.

<sup>84</sup>EUROSTAT- EU citizenship - statistics on cross-border activities, [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/EU\\_citizenship\\_-\\_statistics\\_on\\_cross-border\\_activities](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/EU_citizenship_-_statistics_on_cross-border_activities) visited on 13/04/2016.

<sup>85</sup>EUROSTAT- Migration and migrant population statistics, [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration\\_and\\_migrant\\_population\\_statistics](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics) visited on 13/04/2016.

<sup>86</sup>Robert F. Harney, *The Commerce of Migration*, "Canadian Ethnic Studies", 9;1, 1977, 42-53.

that capitalize on migrants' drive to move, or on the struggle governments face to manage migratory flows."<sup>87</sup>

It is thus, possible to state that Gammeltoft-Hansen and Nyberg-Sørensen extend the Harney's definition of "intermediaries" to government agencies and private contractors supplying the means of border control and visa acquisition. It is nevertheless, noteworthy that in the case of intra-EU migrations, the role of these suppliers is comparatively little in relation to other service providers or "ground level actors"<sup>88</sup>.

The commercialization of low cost air travel plays a key role in the intensification of mobility and migration tendencies across Europe. International carriers provide regular connections among the big and medium-sized cities of Europe, constantly expanding their network and multiplying the number of flights on the most popular itineraries. Low-fare airlines revolutionized airway travel through making it accessible to wider crowds. Thus, to our day air travel became an affordable and frequently used mode of transit. Due to the short duration of flight times within Europe, distances disappeared and taking on regular visits between the host and home countries became a truly viable option. In a similar way, the role of express delivery and transportation companies grew significantly over the past one decade. Thanks to their services, goods accumulated over a lifetime are possible to move from one corner of the continent to another within a matter of few days, facilitating the geographical relocation of migrants. The developments of telecommunication and teleconferencing on the other hand, considerably alleviated the psychological and emotional burden of detachment from the home society. New technology enables migrants to remain in constant contact with their beloved ones left in their country of origin. In addition to this, the spread of internet usage and the developments of the software industry gave way to new trends in mobility and migration such as the rise of digital nomadism, a new popular lifestyle promoting traveling around the globe while using the new technologies to earn money by working from a large distance.

International recruitment agencies and head-hunters help skilled migrants to find suitable job opportunities in their destination. They put migrants in contact with relevant companies, regulate all administration related to the initiation of the employment and assist migrants' in their relocation to the host country. However, as Ivana Fellini, Anna Ferro and Giovanna Fullin explain in their paper *Recruitment Processes and Labour Mobility: The Construction Industry in Europe*, candidates applying for a work placement prior to their resettlement to the country of destination, often face difficulties during the job seeking process. This derives from the fact that most employers demonstrate a strong preference for the foreign labour force already present on the internal labour

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<sup>87</sup>Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen and Ninna Nyberg-Sørensen, *The Migration Industry and the Commercialization of International Migration*, Routledge, Abingdon, 2013, p.2.

<sup>88</sup>Gammeltoft-Hansen and Nyberg-Sørensen, p.11.

market, hence their familiarity with the local conditions and culture<sup>89</sup>. Nevertheless, the authors emphasize that hiring talents from the external labour market, enables employers to gain access to a vast pool of well-qualified individuals suitable for the new openings, while minimizing the costs related to the employment. Fellini, Ferro and Fullin puts this the following way: “The bargaining power of foreign workers is weaker than that of domestic workers and for this reason, immigrants accept lower pay.”<sup>90</sup> Consequently, passing through an agency representing the migrant workers’ interest can significantly improve the prospects of migrants of finding a suitable employment opportunity. Agencies of this sort, may help migrants secure a placement prior to their arrival to the country, thus minimizing the hardships encountered in course of the resettlement and the integration process<sup>91</sup>.

Nonetheless, the policy of free movement did not only increase the number of migrants, but it also gave way to the multiplication of movement forms and categories. The rationalisation of travel costs led to the appearance of “regular visitors”<sup>92</sup>, organizing short term visits to a certain destination on a regular basis, while keeping their country of permanent residence unchanged. As opposed to visitors, trans-migrants ultimately change their place of residence but maintain active ties with their country of origin. “Transmigration”<sup>93</sup> often involves the undertaking of regular trips between the destination and the home country, the active involvement in the life of national communities living abroad, or even the initiation of international bank transfers between the migrants and their relatives having stayed in the home country. In a similar way, “circular migration”<sup>94</sup> also usually encompasses the undertaking of a series of moves between the country of origin and the destination. However, in this case, the migrant may practice legal economic activity in both countries, thus contributing to the growth of two economies at a time. As a result of this, “circular migration” is generally believed to be beneficial for the migrant and for the concerned countries as well.

It is noteworthy however, that in case of intra-EU migration, the number of countries involved in the migratory sequence may also vary from person to person. “Serial migrants”<sup>95</sup> are characterized by shifting between several countries, spending a limited amount of time in each location. Oftentimes, “serial migrants” make part of a small, highly-qualified pool of workforce pursuing specialized

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<sup>89</sup>Ivana Fellini, Anna Ferro and Giovanna Fullin, *Recruitment Processes and Labour Mobility: The Construction Industry in Europe*, in “Work Employment Society”, 2007;21, SAGE Publications, 2007, p.287.

<sup>90</sup>Fellini, Ferro and Fullin, p.282.

<sup>91</sup>Fellini, Ferro and Fullin, p.292.

<sup>92</sup>Michail Skaliotis and David Thorogood, *Migration statistics and globalisation: challenges for the European Statistical System*, “Demographic and Migration Statistics”, EUROSTAT, DGINS 2007/93/II/5., p.7,

<sup>93</sup>Nancy L. Green, *L'histoire comparée et les migrations contemporaines course*, EHESS, 2015/2016 academic year/ spring semester.

<sup>94</sup>Skaliotis and Thorogood, p.8.

<sup>95</sup>Skaliotis and Thorogood, p.9.

employment opportunities. It is necessary to highlight, that the choice of official permanent residence for “serial migrants” may not always be in line with the actual amount of time spent in the individual locations, but instead, it might be based upon economic and political considerations. Similarly, “semi-permanent migration”<sup>96</sup> concerns a clearly defined social group, the senior population wishing to spend their years of retirement in a pleasant environment. As long as the working-age population tends to move from the East to the West, seniors show tendencies of migrating from North to South, in certain cases, retaining homes in both the home and the host countries. For “semi-permanent migrants” the choice of permanent residence is often dictated by the social and health benefits offered by the respective states.

In conclusion, it may be inferred that the countries of the European Union experience today a new peak of migratory fluxes. Beside the high number of external migrants, refugees and asylum seekers wishing to enter the heavily protected European territory, the Member States are facing intensifying tendencies of internal movements. Intra-EU migrants are often citizens of the A12 states and tend to move to the westernmost countries of the continent. Young men seem to be in majority among intra-EU migrants. However, the number of migrant women has also showed increasing tendencies over the past few years. In general, European citizens show a growing willingness to be mobile among the Member State for purposes of work, study, business, leisure and other personal motivations.

### 3. Hungarian Migration Tendencies

Hungary’s current demographic and labour market structure has been subject to important changes since the late 1980’s. In order to understand these transformations, it is recommendable to examine the most prevalent migration trends shaping the Hungarian society, and its approach to international migration politics. Today, as it is often advocated by the actors of the Hungarian political sphere, Hungary has adopted the role of a bulwark protecting the Single Market from the inflow of third country nationals, due to its peripheral position within the Schengen Zone. Over the past three decades, Hungary has become a popular transit country for migrants arriving through the Eastern and South-eastern routes crossing Turkey, Greece, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia<sup>97</sup>. Consequently, to our day, Hungary figures among the EU countries most affected by international migratory fluxes.

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<sup>96</sup>Skaliotis and Thorogood, p.9-10.

<sup>97</sup>International Organization for Migration – Hungary – Migration Issues in Hungary, <http://www.iom.hu/migration-issues-hungary> visited on 29/05/2016.

The International Organization for Migration's Hungarian branch accentuates the severity of the issue through evoking statistical information: "According to the latest statistics, Hungary is the second country behind Greece, in number of the apprehended irregular migrants at its external borders with a number of 341 934 irregular border crossings from 1 January to 9 October 2015."<sup>98</sup> It may be of importance to note though, that the IOM fails to provide a clear-cut and transparent definition of the vague notion of irregular migration, leaving space to speculations regarding its possible ways of interpretation<sup>99</sup>. Thus, irregular migration may entail all forms of border crossing activities in defiance with the legal framework of the sending, the transit and the receiving countries. Consequently, it is possible to assert that all unauthorized entries of migrants and asylum seekers fall under this category, irrespective of the aim and the length of their planned stay in the country. Therefore, it is advisable to consult additional resources provided by the national statistical office to reveal more detailed information about the actual composition of the group of irregular migrants entering Hungary.

The Hungarian Central Statistical Office (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal) treats data related to the entries of economic migrants separately from information regarding the registrations of asylum seeking migrants. Based on the current report on the number of registered asylum applications, it is possible to observe a steady growth during the period 2010-2012, with an annual average around 2000 applications filed. From 2013 on however, an extreme growth of asylum request submissions was documented: from a relatively moderate annual average of 18 900 for the year 2013, to the outstanding number of 177 000 by 2015<sup>100</sup>. To our day, the highest number of asylum applications are submitted, by Syrian, Pakistani, Afghan and Kosovar nationals, but the number of Iraqi requesters has also considerably increased over the past two years<sup>101</sup>.

It shall be noted that only a small fragment of these requesters was granted international protection at the end of the application process. Over the past five years, approximately 0.3% of all applicants were granted refugee status, about 0.6% of them received subsidiary protection, and 0.06% of the requesters could stay in the country on the basis of tolerance (Table 1). Therefore, it can be understood that the data disseminated by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office proves that the number of asylum applications submitted to the Hungarian state performed a sudden extensive growth over the year 2015. Despite the overwhelming number of asylum requests, the state granted

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<sup>98</sup>International Organization for Migration – Hungary – Migration Issues in Hungary, <http://www.iom.hu/migration-issues-hungary> visited on 29/05/2016.

<sup>99</sup>International Organization for Migration – Hungary – Key Migration Terms, <http://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms> visited on 29/05/2016.

<sup>100</sup>Hungarian Central Statistical Office - 1.8. Asylum seekers arrived in Hungary by citizenship (2000–) [https://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xstadat/xstadat\\_annual/i\\_wvn002b.html](https://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xstadat/xstadat_annual/i_wvn002b.html) visited on 18/04/2016.

<sup>101</sup>Office of Immigration and Nationality – Statistics - Issue I-IV. 2015 - I-IV. 2016, [http://www.bmbah.hu/index.php?option=com\\_k2&view=item&id=492:statistics&Itemid=1259&lang=en](http://www.bmbah.hu/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=492:statistics&Itemid=1259&lang=en) visited on 29/05/2016.

international protection only to a decent percentage of applicants, presumably due to the country's commitment to defending Europe from the inflow of third country nationals.

<b>Table 1: Distribution of Asylum Applications Submitted to the Hungarian State (2010-2015)</b>				
<b>Year</b>	<b>Asylum Seekers</b>	<b>Refugees</b>	<b>Subsidiary Protections</b>	<b>Tolerated Stays</b>
<b>2010</b>	2 104	83	132	58
<b>2011</b>	1 693	52	139	14
<b>2012</b>	2 157	87	328	47
<b>2013</b>	18 900	198	217	4
<b>2014</b>	42 777	240	236	7
<b>2015</b>	177 135	146	356	6
<b>TOTAL</b>	244 7766	806	1 408	136

Source: own elaboration based on data extracted from the *1.9. Asylum-seekers in Hungary and persons granted international protection status (2000–)*<sup>102</sup>.

Nonetheless, it shall not remain unnoticed that this information is provided, by a state authority conveniently supporting the country's official stance on the need for reinforced immigration control mechanisms. Since the beginning of the current refugee crisis, Hungary promoted the implementation of a new, rigorous set of restrictive protection policies for safeguarding the borderless Europe. Therefore, the idea that the data collected by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office presents a biased image of the reality cannot be discarded. Yet, it is equally important to bear in mind the fact that the Hungarian Central Statistical Office provides the most accurate information available about Hungarian migration tendencies, supplying country-specific information to the most prestigious international statistical commissions like the UNSC, the OECD and the EUROSTAT.

Economic migration, similarly as asylum seeking migration, is presented through a slightly distorted prism by the Hungarian political actors. Maintaining a stable level of immigration is necessary for the country's demographic balance, as according to the 2011 census results, a significant population drop has taken place in the country since the publication of the results of the previous, 2001 census<sup>103</sup>. As a result of this, by 2011, the country's population sank under the limit of ten million inhabitants. This phenomenon may be explained through the intensification of natural decrease which entails that the number of deaths exceeded the number of births, but it may as well be aggravated by other demographic factors as the amplification of emigration tendencies<sup>104</sup>. Therefore, it is necessary to highlight that the evaluation of the role of foreign population inflow to the country may be part of an oriented political discourse, in which the sustainability of demographic balance

<sup>102</sup>Hungarian Central Statistical Office - 1.9. Asylum-seekers in Hungary and persons granted international protection status (2000–), [http://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xstadat/xstadat\\_annual/i\\_wnv003.html](http://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xstadat/xstadat_annual/i_wnv003.html) visited on 29/05/2016.

<sup>103</sup>Hungarian Central Statistical Office - 1.1. Population, vital statistics (1900–) [https://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xstadat/xstadat\\_long/h\\_wdsd001a.html?down=828.1818002314611](https://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xstadat/xstadat_long/h_wdsd001a.html?down=828.1818002314611) visited on 18/04/2016.

<sup>104</sup>Hungarian Central Statistical Office - Emigration from Hungary, i.e. how many of us are there in reality? [https://www.ksh.hu/wsd10\\_emigration](https://www.ksh.hu/wsd10_emigration) visited on 18/04/2016.

occupies the highest importance, whereas other relevant social and economic factors may be disregarded. So, it is recommendable to observe the findings of the statistical surveys regarding economic migration to Hungary with the same apprehension as in the case of asylum seeking migrations.

According to the currently published results of a research led by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office a slight population inflow increase took place in the country between 2011 and 2015, when the annual average number of registrations reached 32 000<sup>105</sup>. So, it may be inferred that beside the rising number of asylum seekers, Hungary also welcomed a growing stock of labour migrants over the past half-decade. It is however, noteworthy that the highest number of immigrants in Hungary are themselves, ethnic Hungarians who were born and raised in the neighbouring countries, arriving to the mother-country in most cases, with the purpose of undertaking employment opportunities<sup>106</sup>.

<b>Citizen of</b>	<b>Number</b>
Romania	30 900
Germany	18 700
China	12 700
Ukraine	8 300
Slovakia	8 300
Other	61 400

Source: own elaboration based on data extracted from the table *Main countries of citizenship and birth of the foreign-born population, 1 January 2014 (¹) (in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the total foreign foreign-born population)*<sup>107</sup>.

In spite of their ethnic belongings, they appear in the Hungarian statistical database under their official nationality which may be Romanian, Ukrainian, Slovak or Serbian (Table 2). In addition to Hungarian immigrants, the country also welcomes significant population inflows from Germany, Turkey and

<sup>105</sup>Hungarian Central Statistical Office - 1.10. Summary data of Hungarian citizens' international migration (2010–) [https://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xstadat/xstadat\\_annual/i\\_wvvn004.html](https://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xstadat/xstadat_annual/i_wvvn004.html) visited on 18/04/2016.

<sup>106</sup>Gergő Pulay, *Ethnicity, the Labour Market and Returning Migrants Between Hungary and Transylvania*, in Marie Jelínková and Ian Cook, “Visegrad Moves – On Migration in Central Europe”, Prague: Multicultural Centre Prague, 2007, p.11-15.

<sup>107</sup>EUROSTAT - Main countries of citizenship and birth of the foreign foreign-born population, 1 January 2014 (¹) (in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the total foreign foreign-born population), [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Main\\_countries\\_of\\_citizenship\\_and\\_birth\\_of\\_the\\_foreign\\_foreign-born\\_population\\_1\\_January\\_2014\\_\(%C2%B9\)\\_in\\_absolute\\_numbers\\_and\\_as\\_a\\_percentage\\_of\\_the\\_total\\_foreign\\_for eign-born\\_population\\_YB15.png](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Main_countries_of_citizenship_and_birth_of_the_foreign_foreign-born_population_1_January_2014_(%C2%B9)_in_absolute_numbers_and_as_a_percentage_of_the_total_foreign_for eign-born_population_YB15.png) visited on 29/05/2016.

China (Table 2). Approximately 23% of all immigrants arrive from the Asian continent, whereas about 3% of them hold the citizenship of an African country<sup>108</sup>.

The geographical distribution of Hungary's foreign population stock shows a rather homogeneous concentration in the capital and its surrounding territories, stimulating the economic productivity of Central Hungary<sup>109</sup>. The central regions of Hungary however, did not only welcome an inflow of foreigners but also a considerable wave of internal migrants, since the 1990's. According to a study published by Irén Gödri and Zsolt Spréder demographers, even though the intensity of internal migrations showed fluctuating tendencies over time, their central orientation remained prevalent<sup>110</sup>. As Gödri and Spréder explain, internal migrations proved to be highly dependent on the changes of the economic climate: showing significant decrease in the beginning of the transition period, as well as during the years of the recent global financial crisis. However, as long as permanent migration may be effectively measured through the number of changes administered in the system of the registration of residence, temporary relocation does not involve any obligation concerning the creation of any tangible administrative traces. Therefore, it is possible to assert that the intensity of temporary internal movement and return migration may only be measured through rough estimations.

Most internal migrants move from the Eastern parts of Hungary to the Central and Western regions of the country, thus demonstrating a strong westward orientation. As a result of this, the regions of Northern Hungary and the Northern Great Plains experienced a phenomenon of depopulation over the past three decades, losing their inhabitants to the more prosperous territories of Central Hungary, Central Transdanubia, Western Transdanubia, showing the highest concentration in Budapest and the surrounding Pest county<sup>111</sup>. The city of Budapest went through a new phase of urbanization in the 1990's when it welcomed a considerable number of internal migrants, presumably due to the multiplication of employment opportunities created by the newly arriving foreign investors. This tendency was however, countered by the emerging new phenomenon of suburbanization at the dawn of the new millennium (Table 3). As Gödri and Spréder claims: "Suburbanization became a typical form of internal migration after 1990. In addition to Budapest, a commuter belt appeared around all larger towns of the country, too, but also around some smaller ones."<sup>112</sup> Nevertheless, the advancement of suburbanization process was stopped by the financial crisis hitting the country in the

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<sup>108</sup>International Organization for Migration – Hungary – Migration Issues in Hungary, <http://www.iom.hu/migration-issues-hungary> visited on 29/05/2016.

<sup>109</sup>International Organization for Migration – Hungary – Migration Issues in Hungary, <http://www.iom.hu/migration-issues-hungary> visited on 29/05/2016.

<sup>110</sup>Irén Gödri and Zsolt Spéder, *Internal migration*. In: Monostori, J. – Őri, P. – S. Molnár, E. – Spéder, Zs. (eds.): "Demographic portrait of Hungary 2009. Report on the conditions of the Hungarian Population", DRI HCSO, Budapest, 2010, p. 105.

<sup>111</sup>Gödri and Spéder, p.105.

<sup>112</sup>Gödri and Spéder, p.111.

year 2007 (Table 3). The crisis proved to have a particularly negative influence on the real estate and the banking sectors, discouraging the purchase of land and property. Consequently, the suburbanization process slowed down, and a new wave of internal migrants moved to the capital, one more time to enhance their professional prospects. This new wave of urbanization coincided with the emergence of a new, striking emigration wave of Hungarian citizens heading to the countries of Western and Northern Europe.

<b>Table 3: Internal Migrations in Hungary (2005-2010)</b>				
<b>Year</b>	<b>Budapest</b>	<b>Other towns</b>	<b>Villages</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
<b>2005</b>	-6 264	-2 125	8 389	222 275
<b>2006</b>	-4 805	-187	4 992	253 562
<b>2007</b>	-1 616	211	1 405	255 221
<b>2008</b>	-2 782	2433	349	242 191
<b>2009</b>	40	-1 051	1 011	213 159
<b>2010</b>	2 225	-2 221	-4	202 158

Source: own elaboration based on data extracted from the table 1.6. *Internal migration 1990-113*.

It is difficult to provide reliable information about emigration tendencies since the country entered the Single Market, and Hungarian nationals obtained the right of free movement within the whole of the European Union. As a result of this, today, it is easier to keep track of the inflow of migrants through the calculation of residence and work permits or social security numbers issued, than estimating the number of emigrants based on the official claims received by the authorities in charge. Nevertheless, it is possible to obtain a relatively complete picture of the mechanisms of emigration through taking a look into the mirror statistics of other European countries, and the databases of international statistical systems, like that of the OECD or the EUROSTAT.

The SEEMIG – Managing Migration in South East Europe project came into existence in the spirit of providing the participating countries with comprehensive information about the prevalent migratory tendencies and their long-term effects on the demographic landscape and the labour market, along with a set of specialized reform recommendations to enhance the resolution of migration-related issues<sup>114</sup>. The SEEMIG project was carried out during a two and a half year research interval, under the leadership of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office. Estimating the number of Hungarian emigrants living abroad proved to be a challenging task for the SEEMIG research team, as the

<sup>113</sup>Hungarian Central Statistical Office - 1.6. Internal migration 1990, [http://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xstadat/xstadat\\_annual/i\\_wnv001.html](http://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xstadat/xstadat_annual/i_wnv001.html) visited 30/05/2016.

<sup>114</sup>SEEMIG – Managing Migration in South East Europe Transnation Cooperation Project, „Helyzetkép a magyarországi elvándorlásról” (Translation: “State of the Art of Emigration from Hungary”) press release, Hungarian Central Statistical Office, October 15, 2014.

available national statistical resources did not paint a realistic picture of the situation. Therefore, they assembled data coming from various independent sources and tested the validity of their results in two different ways of calculation. The first method involved the usage of the findings of the Hungarian Demographic Research Institute's *Turning Points of the Life-Course* programme and the results of the SEEMIG's own Pilot Survey distributed in 30 000 Hungarian households, and came to the result of 343 000 Hungarian nationals residing outside the state border for already longer than one year in 2013<sup>115</sup>. Whereas the second approach elaborated on the Pilot Survey results in the light of mirror statistics of the EUROSTAT and the UK Population Survey. The second calculation technique came to the similar conclusion of 350 000 Hungarian emigrants residing abroad in 2013<sup>116</sup>. It is however, important to bear in mind the fact that these results can under no circumstances, be viewed as representative of the integrity of Hungarian citizens living outside of the country's borders. Although, due to the lack of information available in the field of emigration from Hungary, the findings of the SEEMIG project provide valuable basis for further research in the related area.

The SEEMIG project provided information about the social composition of Hungarian emigrants and their most preferred destinations as well. Approximately 80% of the respondents remained on the territory of the European Union, while about 20% of them left the continent, and set out for destinations like the United States of America, Canada or Australia<sup>117</sup>. In the meantime, Hungarian intra-EU migrants exhibited special preferences for states like Germany, Austria and recently, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. The project equally shed light on the fact that approximately 3% of the interlocutors left the country to pursue studies abroad, about 10% claimed to lead no economic activity in their host countries, whereas the highest number of respondents moved out of the country with the purpose of working abroad. Based on the findings of the project, it may be inferred that in the year 2013, about 84% of all respondents maintained employment status in a foreign country<sup>118</sup>.

Although, the Leave/Stay (Menjek/Maradjak) survey of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Centre for Social Sciences Institute for Minority Studies, focused exclusively on the current emigration to the United Kingdom, it provided useful information about the governing push and pull factors underlying the phenomenon. The participants of the survey could rate ten presumably potential migration reasons, based on their likelihood to contribute to the decision to leave the

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<sup>115</sup>SEEMIG – Managing Migration in South East Europe Transnation Cooperation Project, „Helyzetkép a magyarországi elvándorlásról” (Translation: “State of the Art of Emigration from Hungary”) press release, p.5-6.

<sup>116</sup>SEEMIG – Managing Migration in South East Europe Transnation Cooperation Project, „Helyzetkép a magyarországi elvándorlásról” (Translation: “State of the Art of Emigration from Hungary”) press release, p.6.

<sup>117</sup>SEEMIG – Managing Migration in South East Europe Transnation Cooperation Project, „Helyzetkép a magyarországi elvándorlásról” (Translation: “State of the Art of Emigration from Hungary”) press release, p.9.

<sup>118</sup>SEEMIG – Managing Migration in South East Europe Transnation Cooperation Project, „Helyzetkép a magyarországi elvándorlásról” (Translation: “State of the Art of Emigration from Hungary”) press release, p.11.

country. The higher standard of living and the existence of better job opportunities available in the UK ranked the highest on the list, followed by the dissatisfaction with the internal economic and political situation. The availability of educational and professional advancement opportunities was judged moderately important by the respondents, while the resolution of individual financial and personal problems proved to be the least important factor defining outmigration from Hungary, according to the poll results<sup>119</sup>. Nonetheless, about 38% of the participants claimed to have no intention to ever return to Hungary, and about 35% of them could not imagine moving back to the country in the foreseeable future. Approximately 20% of them exhibited interest in going back to Hungary in the next few years and 6% was contemplating return in about one year, at the time of the survey's realization<sup>120</sup>.

Labour migration has been on the rise since the outbreak of the global financial crisis. However, as Chris Moreh highlights, Hungarians demonstrated a tendency of postponing migration decisions, and set out for destinations with more stable and prosperous economies only in the early 2010's<sup>121</sup>. This however, may as well be explained through the fact that most of the EU15 states opted for the application of a seven year-long immigration control moratorium enabling them to decide about the admission of A8 nationals to their labour market. The moratorium expired in 2011, which year also marks the beginning of the intensification of emigration tendencies in Hungary. Another important aspect of the sudden intensification around the year 2011 is the worsening of the country's economic and social conditions, and their far-reaching consequences on the labour market. Ever since the publication of the SEEMIG and Leave/Stay surveys, there has not been any similar comprehensive research that would provide up-to-date information about the development of emigration from Hungary. Consequently, the issue of emigration a much-debated phenomenon in Hungary, present on all levels of the political and public discourse.

#### 4. Czech Migration Tendencies

Czech migratory statistics show widely diverging properties compared to their Hungarian counterparts, both from a qualitative and quantitative point of view. The Czech Statistical Office shows a considerably less strong preoccupation with the subject of migration compared to the

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<sup>119</sup>Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Centre for Social Sciences Institute for Minority Studies and Leave/Stay documentary film series, "Dolgozni mentek, inkább maradnának", Press release, 05/06/2014, p.4.

<sup>120</sup>Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Centre for Social Sciences Institute for Minority Studies and Leave/Stay documentary film series, "Dolgozni mentek, inkább maradnának", Press release, 05/06/2014, p.5.

<sup>121</sup>Moreh, p.83.

Hungarian Central Statistical Office. As long as the Hungarian statistical authority demonstrates a tendency to publish extensive studies involving data acquired from a variety of sources, with detailed explanations of the possible implications of the results, the Czech office shows a preference for creating brief comparative data tables, with little or no descriptions of any kind. It is important to highlight that the Czech Statistical Office, just as the Hungarian authority, is a state institution. Thus, the possibility of the biased analysis of the collected data holds up in the case of the Czech institution as well. However, the minimalistic data presentation reduces the probability of creating an oriented discourse solely based on the findings of the statistical research.

The Czech Statistical Office's website contains noticeably higher number of publications related to population inflow and immigrant integration than information related to outmigration tendencies. The explanation for this may lie in the fact that the Czech Republic is stricken by the phenomenon of population outflow to a lesser extent than Hungary, whereas it stays more exposed to permanent population inflow as the latter country. This argument is strongly supported, by the data available in the most recently published summary table on migratory moves<sup>122</sup>. Unlike the Hungarian examples, the Czech emigration rates show no consistent growth over time, but instead they exhibit strongly fluctuating tendencies: ranging from the low number of 5 700 for the year 2011 to the rather outstanding 30 800 in 2013 (Table 4). Immigration rates on the other hand, seem to exceed multiple times the number of emigrants having left the country over the past few years. For instance, in 2007, approximately 100 000 immigrant arrivals were registered in the Czech Republic, while the corresponding numbers of emigrants for the same year stayed at the rather modest level of 20 000 departures (Table 4). Since the 2007 peak, a moderation of immigration rates could be experienced in the Czech Republic, which manifested in the form of the stabilization of inflow rates around 30-40 000 new registrations annually (Table 4).

	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2013</b>
<b>Emigration</b>	20 500	6 027	11 629	14 867	5 701	20 005	30 876
<b>Immigration</b>	104 445	77 817	39 973	30 515	22 590	30 298	29 579

Source: own elaboration based on data extracted from the table 2014.H.12. *External Migration: by age and sex*<sup>123</sup>.

<sup>122</sup>Czech Statistical Office - Migration Public Database <https://vdb.czso.cz/vdbvo2/faces/en/index.jsf?page=vystup-objekt-vyhledavani&pvoch=&pvo=DEM11D&zo=N&vyhltext=migration&krok=5&verze=-1&z=T&f=TABULKA&nahled=N&sp=N&nuid=&zs=&skupId=&filtr=G~F M~F Z~F R~F P~ S~ null null &kat alog=all&c=v66~8 RP2007&&str=v66&rouska=true&clsp=null> visited on 14/04/2016.

<sup>123</sup>Czech Statistical Office - Demographic Yearbook of the Czech Republic 2014, <https://www.czso.cz/csu/czso/demographic-yearbook-of-the-czech-republic-2014> visited on 30/05/2016.

The relative lack of mobility of Czech nationals may be understood as the outcome of the successful political and economic governance and the resulting stabilization characterizing the country in recent years, but it might as well be viewed as a culturally embedded property. As the authors of the article *Propensity of Migration in the CEEC: Comparison of Migration Potential in the Czech Republic and Poland*, Karolina Kowalska's and Wadim Strielkowski's explain, Czechs are "...known for low volume of outgoing international migration"<sup>124</sup>. They claim that before the country's EU accession, there was a rather significant 12 000 people volume annual outflow from the country, heading primarily to the neighbouring German-speaking states, such as Germany and Austria. However, it is presumable that this number, just as much as in the case of Hungary, does not include the daily cross-border commuters, who might have been in large numbers in the 1990's, as the two above mentioned destinations were welcoming the inflow of cheap manual labour at that time<sup>125</sup>. This tendency was ceased by the approaching of the country's EU accession and the arrival of massive stocks of foreign direct investment in the late 1990's. The success of economic modernisation, and the increasing presence of global firms and businesses in the country coincided with the introduction of immigration control regulations in twelve countries of the European Union. The decreasing interest in low profile manual labour offered by the neighbouring states may be thus, seen in relation to the multiple changes taking place inside and outside the Czech state borders at the turn of the new millennium. The strengthening of the Czech economy and the arrival of foreign investors in the country led to the creation of new work places in all sectors, allowing the Czech workforce to find work placement meeting their skills and expectations within the state borders. Therefore, it is understandable that several plausible economic and social explanations may be identified in relation to the decreasing mobility of Czech citizens since the transition period.

Even though emigration rates have not showed significant growth since 2004, according to a study published by Dušan Drbohlav in cooperation with the International Organization for Migration, Germany and Austria managed to remain on top of the list of most often chosen destinations for Czech nationals despite the protective immigration measures adopted by the two states<sup>126</sup>. Nevertheless, Czechs demonstrated a new-found preference for countries like Slovakia, Poland, and Switzerland, over the past few decades<sup>127</sup>. In a similar fashion, as in Hungary, the United Kingdom gained popularity among Czech migrants since the opening of the borders. This may be put down to a multitude of potential reasons constituting a set of pull factors of the United Kingdom, making it an

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<sup>124</sup>Karolina Kowalska and Wadim Strielkowski, *Propensity of Migration in the CEEC: Comparison of Migration Potential in the Czech Republic and Poland*, "Prague Economic Papers", 3, 2013, p.344.

<sup>125</sup>Kowalska and Strielkowski, p.346.

<sup>126</sup>Dušan Drbohlav, *Volume II – Czech Republic: The Times They Are A-Changing*, in "Migration Trends in Selected Applicant Countries", International Organization for Migration, Vienna, 2004, p.19.

<sup>127</sup>Drbohlav, p.19.

attractive destination for Central and Eastern European migrants. The possible explanations may be identified in the political and economic advancement of the United Kingdom, the lack of immigration control regulations initiated by the UK at the time of the country's EU accession, along with other important factors determining the successful integration and day-to-day existence of migrants in the host environment, such as a welcoming multicultural atmosphere or the knowledge of the country's official language. English has become the most widely-spoken second language among Czech citizens over the past few decades and thus, seeking work opportunities in an English language-environment has started to become more and more acceptable within the society. Czech emigration to the British Isles remained however, on the moderate level of 33 000 people, according to the survey results of 2011<sup>128</sup>.

Internal migration tendencies, just as international migration trends, show crucial differences in Hungary and the Czech Republic. Unlike the fluctuating Hungarian internal migration rates, in the case of Czechs, it is possible to observe relatively little inclination to be mobile within the state borders, which phenomenon is well illustrated through statics on inter-regional movement (Table 5). However, similarly as in the Hungarian case, the orientation of internal movements in the Czech Republic can be characterized by a strong centre-bound movement, with most people heading to Prague and Central Bohemia. In the meantime, other more peripheral regions like Central Moravia and Moravia-Silesia stay virtually intact by migration<sup>129</sup>. It is though, necessary to note, that the orientation of internal migratory moves is not completely in line with the geographical distribution of employment opportunities in the country, which constitutes a key difference between Czech and Hungarian internal migrations.

**Table 5: Internal Migrations in the Czech Republic (2005-2010)**

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
<b>Region to region</b>	75 669	81 354	98 403	97 914	91 865	91 740

Source: own elaborations based on data extracted from the *Table 1: International and Regional Migration in the Czech Republic (total, 2000-2010)*<sup>130</sup>.

Martina Křížková, the author of the article *Welcome to the Grey Kingdom!* explains that in spite of the inflow of considerable amounts of foreign direct investment to certain rural regions of the country, the number of Czech labourers moving to these locations did not grow much over time. From the end of the 1990's, foreign investors were assisted by the Czech state in the improvement of infrastructural and housing standards of the surrounding areas of industrial plants, with the purpose of making jobs more appealing to the Czech workforce. The creation of the Bory industrial zone, near

<sup>128</sup>Kowalska and Strielkowski, p.346.

<sup>129</sup>Kowalska and Strielkowski, p.347.

<sup>130</sup>Kowalska and Strielkowski, p.347.

the city of Plzeň took about 15 years, starting out with the arrival of the first investor, Panasonic in 1996 and completing with the sale of the last parcels in 2010<sup>131</sup>. Even though today, the zone's forty-five companies provide work for about 11-13 000 employees, Czech labourers are vastly underrepresented among them, making up about 20% of the plant's total workforce. The same tendency can be observed on the Toyota-Peugeot-Citroën automobile plants near the Bohemian town, Kolín and the Slovak city of Trnava. As Jakob Hurrle describes in his contribution *Perfect Location, Low Wages, No Workers – Western Investors in the Visegrad Region Struggle Hard to Meet Their Labour Demands – Observations from Kolín and Trnava*, to our day, TPCA has become the most important foreign investor currently present in the country, directly employing about 3000 workers, and providing work opportunities for 2000 additional employees hired by three other companies in their zone<sup>132</sup>. Nonetheless, most employees of the TPCA plant arrive from outside of the country, which well demonstrates the domestic workforce's lack of interest held in the idea of geographical relocation. As a result of this reluctance, employers are left to substitute the local manpower by labourers from surrounding countries, who thus, start to arrive in an ever-growing number.

The current wave of immigration to the Czech Republic date back to the early 1990's, when Russian-speaking migrants from Ukraine and the deconstructing USSR decided to try their chances in the westernmost Slavic state. In the same time, high numbers of Vietnamese, Mongolian and Moldavian arrivals were registered, whereas smaller groups have arrived from the war-stricken Yugoslavian lands and the states of North Africa as well<sup>133</sup>. As Křížková clarifies, the real boom of immigration hit the Czech Republic, after it managed to overcome its second wave of recession during the transition period. The creation of new workplaces did not only lower unemployment rates in certain regions, but it also attracted large stocks of foreign manpower to the country. As a consequence, by the beginning of the new millennium, about 200 000 immigrants officially resided in the Czech Republic<sup>134</sup>. By the approaching of the country's EU accession though, a series of immigration control regulations needed to be implemented to protect the EU15 states from the flux of third country nationals. As a result of this, the restrictive Act No. 326/1999 Coll. went into action in the year 2000, making the entry and settlement of foreigners in the Czech Republic considerably

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<sup>131</sup>Martina Křížková, *Welcome to the Grey Kingdom!*, "FLEXI-IN-SECURITY: Ten Stories and Photo Reportages on the Situation of Labor Migrants in Times of Economic Crisis," Prague: Multicultural Center Prague, 2011, p.8.

<sup>132</sup>Jakob Hurrle, *Perfect Location, Low Wages, No Workers – Western Investors in the Visegrad Region Struggle Hard to Meet Their Labour Demands – Observations from Kolín and Trnava*, in Marie Jelínková and Ian Cook, "Visegrad Moves – On Migration in Central Europe", Prague: Multicultural Centre Prague, 2007, p.38-43.

<sup>133</sup>Křížková, p.6.

<sup>134</sup>Markéta Arltová and Jitka Langhamrová, *Migration and Ageing of the Population of the Czech Republic and the EU Countries*, "Prague Economic Papers", 1, 2010, p.64.

more difficult<sup>135</sup>. One year later, the regulation was amended to include less strict measures and thus, giving immigration rates a new rise.

Today, most immigrants arrive to the Czech Republic with the purpose of working or studying in the country. Ukrainian nationals are particularly highly represented among the migrants currently residing in the Czech Republic (Table 6). Ukrainian immigration reached its heyday over the 1990's when a significant movement of labour migrants arrived in the country. Among Ukrainian migrants both genders were highly-represented. As long as men arrived in the country often to undertake heavy manual labour on construction sites and in factories, women sought work in supermarkets, department stores and cleaning companies. It was however, not unusual that entire families relocated to the Czech Republic, in order to ensure access to good educational and professional opportunities to the youngest generations. This may provide explanation for the fact that Ukrainian immigrants' average age is still relatively low, between 20 and 45 years<sup>136</sup>. The Czech Republic may appeal to Ukrainian immigrants thanks to its geographical closeness to their home country as well as to the lack of cultural and language barrier experienced in the country.

<b>Citizen of</b>	<b>Number</b>
Ukraine	102 100
Slovakia	91 000
Vietnam	57 600
Russia	31 700
Poland	19 500
Other	132 600

Source: own elaboration based on data extracted from the table *Main countries of citizenship and birth of the foreign foreign-born population, 1 January 2014 (1) (in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the total foreign foreign-born population)*<sup>137</sup>.

In a similar fashion as Ukrainians, Slovak nationals also represent a constantly growing community within the Czech society (Table 6). Due to the shared cultural, historical and institutional traditions of the two states, Slovak citizens show inclination to move to their Northern neighbours from a relatively early age on. Slovak students are highly represented within the Czech educational

<sup>135</sup>Arltová and Langhamrová, p.64.

<sup>136</sup>Arltová and Langhamrová, p.68.

<sup>137</sup>EUROSTAT - Main countries of citizenship and birth of the foreign foreign-born population, 1 January 2014 (1) (in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the total foreign foreign-born population), [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Main countries of citizenship and birth of the foreign foreign-born population, 1 January 2014 \(%C2%B9\) \(in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the total foreign for eign-born population\)\\_YB15.png](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Main_countries_of_citizenship_and_birth_of_the_foreign_foreign-born_population_1_January_2014_(%C2%B9)_in_absolute_numbers_and_as_a_percentage_of_the_total_foreign_for eign-born_population_YB15.png) visited on 29/05/2016.

system, which can be put down to the fact that Czech higher educational institutions provide free admissions to students able to follow classes held in Czech language. The relative similarity of the two languages and the development of shared vocabulary over the decades the two countries spent as one unified state, significantly facilitates the communication between Czech instructors and their Slovak students. Therefore, a significant portion of Slovak young people have decided to pursue their studies at one of the prestigious Czech universities instead of obtaining qualifications in their home countries. These students often stay in the country after their graduation and essentially melt into the country's workforce. Consequently, Slovak immigrants are generally young, they are often aged between 15 and 29 years<sup>138</sup>. According to Markéta Arltová and Jitka Langhamrová, the authors of the article, *Migration and Ageing of the Population of the Czech Republic and the EU Countries*, some of these young migrants eventually, acquire the citizenship of the Czech state, as they are offered the opportunity to receive admission through a simplified application procedure by way of declaration.

Vietnamese represent the highest number of non-European migrants in the Czech Republic (Table 6). The immigration of Vietnamese started in the 1950's, soon after the outburst of the Vietnam war. Czechoslovakia, as a fellow communist state at the time, expressed its solidarity with the Vietnamese nation and granted its citizens the right to enter and settle down on the country's territory. Many immigrants came to study, whereas others wished to work, or start their own business. Practicing commercial activity became widespread among the representatives of the Vietnamese community. Thus, the number of small grocery stores, restaurants and boutiques in the ownership of Vietnamese families has perceivably multiplied over time<sup>139</sup>. Their immigration wave was initially, characterized by a strong male dominance which was gradually balanced by the arrival of female relatives. The Vietnamese population of the Czech Republic fits the productive age limit of 35-50 years, and is identified with strong economic activities<sup>140</sup>.

Some other minor groups within the immigrant population of the Czech Republic include Polish and Russians immigrants (Table 6). Polish immigration was on the rise in the 1970's and 1980's and exhibited an outstanding female majority. As a result of the discontinuous nature of this movement, Polish immigrants constitute a generally old part of the country's foreign population. According to Arltová and Langhamrová, about half of the Polish nationals residing in the Czech Republic today are aged above 45 years<sup>141</sup>. Russian immigrants on the other hand, represent a rather mixed age group as, beside labour migrants, the country welcomes a great number of Russian students

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<sup>138</sup>Arltová and Langhamrová, p.67.

<sup>139</sup>Mild Production - *Banánové děti* (Banana kids) documentary film, Czech Republic, 2009, <http://www.docuart.hu/dokumentum-film/banangyerekek/index.php> visited on 25/05/2016.

<sup>140</sup>Arltová and Langhamrová, p.69.

<sup>141</sup>Arltová and Langhamrová, p.69.

as well. The Czech Republic's current immigrant population can thus, be characterized by the strong presence of Eastern and Central European nations. Although the country is open to accommodating complete families, the proportion of incoming men and women stays unbalanced, bringing results of a male majority. The foreign population of the country is relatively young, fitting the productive age rank of 20-49 years. Migration to the Czech Republic therefore, practices a stimulating effect on the country's economic and demographic tendencies.

Unlike economic migration, asylum migration is present in the Czech Republic to a relatively modest extent. Prior to the country's EU accession, the Czech state received in average 8 000 asylum applications annually, with the exception of the year 2001, when the number of requests submitted exceeded 18 000 (Table 7)<sup>142</sup>. Nonetheless, the number of new applications received by the responsible national authorities performed a steady decrease since 2004, which may be put down to the fact that the Czech Republic is located in the middle of the Schengen zone, surrounded by Member States along all its external borders. So, the number of international protection applications sank under the annual average of 800 between 2011 and 2013, and it slightly exceeded 1 100 in 2014, at the dawn of the current refugee crisis (Table 7).

<b>Year</b>	<b>Asylum Applications</b>	<b>Asylum Granted</b>	<b>Subsidiary protection</b>
<b>2010</b>	833	125	101
<b>2011</b>	756	108	261
<b>2012</b>	753	49	149
<b>2013</b>	707	95	256
<b>2014</b>	1 156	82	295

Source: own elaboration based on data extracted from the tables 2-7. *Number of applications for international protection by citizenship and year 1998–2014*; 2-9. *Asylum status granted by years (1997–2014)* and 2-13. *Subsidiary protection granted - number of decisions in individual years; September 2006–December 2014*<sup>143</sup>.

<sup>142</sup>Czech Statistical Office – Development of the Number of Applicants for International Protection in the CR, [https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/20556729/29002715\\_g2-4.jpg/ce7d9e5d-68da-4c5a-8c01-fa8dda230c92?version=1.0&t=1450435945953](https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/20556729/29002715_g2-4.jpg/ce7d9e5d-68da-4c5a-8c01-fa8dda230c92?version=1.0&t=1450435945953) visited 30/05/2016

<sup>143</sup>Czech Statistical Office – 2-7. Number of applications for international protection by citizenship and year 1998–2014, [https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/39258013/29002715\\_t2-07opr.pdf/c56bae36-c155-4514-a47b-f28bc27d0c04?version=1.1](https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/39258013/29002715_t2-07opr.pdf/c56bae36-c155-4514-a47b-f28bc27d0c04?version=1.1) visited on 30/05/2016, and Czech Statistical Office – 2-9. Asylum status granted by years (1997–2014) [https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/20556729/29002715\\_t2-09.pdf/22b95833-84be-4453-a43c-fea6fd65bab2?version=1.0](https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/20556729/29002715_t2-09.pdf/22b95833-84be-4453-a43c-fea6fd65bab2?version=1.0) visited on 30/05/2016, and Czech Statistical Office – 2-13. Subsidiary protection granted - number of decisions in individual years; September 2006–December 2014 [https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/20556729/29002715\\_t2-13.pdf/09e71531-0e2a-4c08-b595-a9fb93dbf383?version=1.0](https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/20556729/29002715_t2-13.pdf/09e71531-0e2a-4c08-b595-a9fb93dbf383?version=1.0) visited on 30/05/2016.

The Czech state granted asylum to approximately 10% of all applicants, whereas about 25% of them benefited of subsidiary protection (Table 7). These proportions are considerably higher than in the case of Hungary, leaving the impression of a significantly more hospitable host environment. Nonetheless, it is necessary to highlight that the Czech Republic, thanks to its central position within the Schengen zone is not among the countries most directly exposed to issues related to the migration of third country nationals. The Dublin regulations define the role of each EU Member State in the control of immigration to the Single Market, according responsibility to the countries situated on the periphery of the Schengen Zone<sup>144</sup>. As a result of this, the number of requests examined by the Hungarian national authorities exceeds multiple times the stock of applications sorted by the Czech institutions and therefore, the relevance of asylum requests varies on a larger scale in Hungary than in the Czech Republic. The composition of asylum seekers shows equally vital differences in the two countries. As long as in Hungary most requests were submitted by applicants arriving from war-stricken Middle Eastern territories, in the Czech Republic the highest number of claims (44%) were received from nationals of the politically divided Ukraine. Approximately 9% of applicants held Syrian documents, 6% of them arrived from Vietnam, and about 30% of all requesters had no valid identifiers, according to the findings of a survey led by the Czech Statistical Office<sup>145</sup>.

In conclusion, it may be declared that Hungarian and Czech migration tendencies show a diverging nature. Although the two countries are in close geographical proximity to each other, their position within the Single Market differs to a great extent, exposing Hungary to migratory fluxes of third country nationals arriving through the Eastern and South-eastern migration routes to a significantly higher degree than the Czech Republic. Nonetheless, economic migration demonstrates just as considerable discrepancies in the two states, as asylum migration. In Hungary, despite a moderate gradual increase of population inflow, emigration rates have showed a persistent growth over the past five years. The current wave of expatriation from Hungary thus, coincides with the end of the global financial crisis and the expiration of the immigration control moratorium applied by over two-thirds of the EU15 states. In the Czech Republic however, population inflow has overruled outmigration rates during the past two decades. The Czech Republic received significant stocks of foreign direct investment since the late 1990's, which enabled the creation of new workplaces, providing remedy to the rise of unemployment and giving way to a new wave immigration to the Czech Republic. Although Hungarian and Czech migratory tendencies exhibit crucial differences,

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<sup>144</sup>European Commission – Migration and Home Affairs - Country responsible for asylum application (Dublin), [http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/examination-of-applicants/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/examination-of-applicants/index_en.htm) visited on 30/05/2016.

<sup>145</sup>Czech Statistical Office - Applications for International Protection in the CR: 6 most often citizenships 2014, [https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/20556729/29002715\\_g2-2.jpg/98e40461-2d63-4139-8d40-5e470acc93c5?version=1.0&t=1450435945135](https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/20556729/29002715_g2-2.jpg/98e40461-2d63-4139-8d40-5e470acc93c5?version=1.0&t=1450435945135) visited 30/05/2016.

expatriates of these two states show preferences for the same destination countries. Germany and Austria have preserved their leading position on the list of most popular destinations for Central European migrants, but the spread of English language, the general economic and political advancement of the United Kingdom and the lack of immigration quota applied to A8 nationals have encouraged an increasing number of expatriates to head to the British Isles instead, since the beginning of the current decade. Therefore, in the next chapter, I examine the main destinations of current Hungarian and Czech migrations within Europe, with a special focus on Germany and Austria two traditional immigration countries, hosting a persistently high number of migrants from the two researched states, as well as on the United Kingdom, an up-and-coming new destination experiencing a sudden intensification of movements from the Central and Eastern Member States.

# CHAPTER 3

## MAIN DESTINATIONS OF CURRENT HUNGARIAN AND CZECH EMIGRATIONS

### 1. Overview of Popular Destinations

As exhibited throughout the previous chapter, the changes of the economic climate, and the resulting transformations of the labour market exercise a strong impact on the development of migratory waves. The rise of unemployment and poverty triggered by the outbreak of the world financial crisis stimulated emigration from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe to the direction of more prosperous, Western European destinations. The persistent wage gaps and the availability of more varied and better-paying work opportunities acted as catalyst in the sudden intensification of East-West migrations within the European Union in the second half of the first decade of the new millennium. Thus, the economic circumstances are key decision-making factors and as such, they do not only define the intensity but also the directions of present day European migrations.

The ultimate choice of destination is affected, by various personal considerations and expectations. Familiarity with the local language and culture, as well as the existence of shared historical and institutional heritage may all influence the migration decision. According to Mariola Pytlikova, Czech Sociologist and Labour Economist, the presence of a national migrant network in the potential host countries may serve as a key factor in the choice of destination<sup>146</sup>. Potential migrants are more likely to relocate to countries where there is already a community composed of fellow citizens. Newly arriving migrants often rely on the guidance and help of more experienced migrants. Thomas Bauer, Gil Epstein and Ira N. Gang, authors of the article “What are Migration Networks?” identify three advantages that the existence of national migration networks may represent for migrants: “First, they provide information about the host region labour market. Second, migrants’ utility increases with the amount of ethnic goods available in a location. Third, migrants expect previous migrants to help them in the settlement process.”<sup>147</sup> Additionally, established migrant communities are often serviced by a series of specialized providers, ranging from national delicacy

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<sup>146</sup>Mariola Pytlikova, “Where Did Central and Eastern Europeans Go and Why?”, Aarhus: University of Aarhus, School of Business, CIM and Department of Economics, January 2006, [http://www.hha.dk/MARP/6\\_PHDCHAP4.PDF](http://www.hha.dk/MARP/6_PHDCHAP4.PDF) visited on 05/04/2017, p.104.

<sup>147</sup>Thomas Bauer, Gil Epstein and Ira N.Gang, “What Are Migration Networks?”, Discussion Paper No.200, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA, Bonn, 2000, ), p.0 (Introduction).

and grocery shops, restaurants to newspapers and radio programmes available in the national language of the community. Therefore, it is presumable that historical immigration countries with extensive migrant networks are likely to attract a continuously high number of newcomers.

Traditionally, Hungarian, and Czech nationals exhibited preferences for migrating to the neighbouring Germany and Austria, thanks to their close geographical proximity to the home countries and the relatively high wages available in these destinations<sup>148</sup>. Over the transition period, these countries hosted the highest number of migrants from Hungary and the Czech Republic. Nonetheless, a notable number of expatriates chose other popular European destinations, like the United Kingdom, Italy, France, or the Netherlands (Table 8).

<b>Table 8: Main Destination Countries of Hungarian and Czech Migrations (1989-2000)</b>						
	<b>Germany</b>	<b>Austria</b>	<b>UK</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>France</b>	<b>Netherlands</b>
<b>Hungary</b>	53 152	12 950	3 000	2 817	2 961	1 385
<b>Czech Republic</b>	22 038	7 425	7 000	3 038	1 694	1 014

Source: own elaboration based on data extracted from the *Table 1. Foreign Population from the EU8 Countries in EU15 Countries (Except Ireland) by Country of Citizenship, 2000*<sup>149</sup>.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that a significant number of Czech citizens relocated to neighbouring Slovakia, after the Velvet Divorce, whereas a larger group of Hungarians resettled to Sweden<sup>150</sup>. Meanwhile the United States of America and Canada proved to be the most popular overseas destinations for Hungarian and Czech migrants during the years of the capitalist transition<sup>151</sup>.

The 2004 accession wave brought about changes in the legislation of migrations in many of the former Member States. This led to the re-composition of the list of main destinations for migrants arriving from the new Member States. New immigration countries emerged and became excessively popular, while some former destinations lost their popularity, and others managed to remain appealing to a persistently high number of newcomers from the Central and Eastern European countries. For instance, the United Kingdom, a country which fully opened its labour market to EU8 migrants, as early as in 2004, experienced a sudden and sharp growth of immigrations from the states of the Eastern expansion. In the meantime, traditional destinations, like Germany and Austria observed consistent immigration rates, despite the restrictive regulations they imposed on migrants from the new Member States. Therefore, in this chapter, I examine the historical development and prevalent

<sup>148</sup>Pytlikova, p.92.

<sup>149</sup>Marek Okólski, "Europe in Movement: Migration from/to Central and Eastern Europe", CMR Working Papers, 22;80, August 2007, p.6.

During the period covered by the survey the Czech and Slovak Republics were still united under the name Czechoslovakia, consequently the data presented in Table 8 refer to both Czech and Slovak nationals in Germany.

<sup>150</sup>Pytlikova, p.94. and Okólski, p.6.

<sup>151</sup>Pytlikova, p.92.

characteristics of current Hungarian and Czech migrations to the two most important host countries, Germany, and Austria, as well as to an emergent and steadily growing new destination, the United Kingdom.

## 2. Labour Migration to Germany

Over the 20th century, Germany attracted significant migratory waves from different parts of Europe. After the Second World War, the Western, Federal Republic of Germany became an appealing destination to millions of East Germans and Central-Eastern Europeans left behind the Iron Curtain. Elmar Hönekopp, senior researcher of the Institute for Employment Research (IAB) identified six major waves of migration taking place in Germany over the second half of the 20th century. As he explains, between 1945 and the early 1960's, there were two major waves of ethnic German migrants arriving to the country primarily from pre-war German territories<sup>152</sup>. Additionally, approximately three million "Aussiedlers", migrants from the territories of Eastern Europe and the USSR with ethnic German belongings, settled down on the German soil over this period. The third wave was characterized by a greater international openness and orientation towards other countries. In the 1960's and early 1970's, Western Germany signed specialized recruitment agreements with countries like Italy, Morocco, Portugal, Spain, Turkey or Tunisia<sup>153</sup>. Work contracts were issued for foreign workers for a duration of maximally one to three years. According to Hönekopp, about 18,5 million labour migrants arrived to Germany over these years, and approximately a quarter of them, 4.7 million people stayed and fully integrated into the domestic workforce<sup>154</sup>.

In the second half of the 1970's international recruitment processes were suspended due to the outbreak of the oil crisis of 1973. Even though there were no significant waves of newcomers arriving to the country over the fourth wave, the era became a peak period for family unifications. By contrast, in the 1980's, migratory moves within the European continent re-emerged, and a new stream of Aussiedlers and asylum-seekers arrived to the German territories from Eastern Europe and Turkey<sup>155</sup>. The final phase of 20th century migrations within today's Germany came about as a result of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The re-unification of Germany gave rise to both intensive internal and external migrations. In addition to the increasing westward migration of Germans, Eastern Europeans and migrants from the territories of the former USSR also started to arrive in

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<sup>152</sup>Elmar Hönekopp, "Labour Migration to Germany from Central and Eastern Europe – Old and New Tendencies", Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung, Labour Market Research Topics, 23, 1997, p.1.

<sup>153</sup>Hönekopp, p.1.

<sup>154</sup>Hönekopp, p.1.

<sup>155</sup>Hönekopp, p.2.

growing numbers<sup>156</sup>. The 1990's brought the emergence of wars and unrests across the globe, and the number of asylum applicants coming to Germany from war-stricken lands of the Balkans and the Middle East showed equally rising tendencies<sup>157</sup>. As a response to the sudden growth of population inflow, the newly reformed German state initiated a series of recruitment programmes designed to regulate immigration to the country and to provide an institutionalized way to reinforce cooperation with the neighbouring Central and Eastern European states.

Over the 1990's, five programmes were released, targetting foreign workers arriving to the country with the pupose of undertaking employment in many sectors of the German economy, as well as foreign students coming to complete part of their studies at a German educational institutions. These programmes provided the German state with the opportunity to fill existent gaps within the domestic labour market and recruit highly qualified foreign workers for jobs that the local labourers would not be willing to accept, or would do at a considerably higher rate than the incoming Central and Eastern European migrant workers. For instance, Germany tried to tackle its shortage of medical professionals by launching a programme designed for foreign nurses wishing to find employment in Germany. The programme offered work opportunities for four hundred foreign nurses, arriving in majority from the former Yugoslavia<sup>158</sup>.

Another popular recruitment programme was targetting project-tied workers who were employed in their home countries by firms staying in contractual relationship with German enterprises<sup>159</sup>. These foreign labourers travelled to Germany to do work outsourced to them by the German companies in charge of the projects. The number of workers hired from each programme country was defined by an annual quota. In a similar fashion, the German state initiated a programme to regulate the employment of seasonal workers in sectors where the domestic manpower could not sufficiently fill the available vacancies<sup>160</sup>. Within the framework of this programme, migrant workers were given ninety-day work permits which enabled them to stay and work in Germany in the field of agriculture, services and restauration, upon request. The programme of guest workers, on the other hand was designed for young Germans and Eastern Europeans to enhance the mobility of skilled young people among Germany and its Eastern neighbours<sup>161</sup>. This short-term exchange programme provided opportunity for young people to appropriate new skills and learn a new language during their studies, in a foreign environment. The successful candidates of this programme were aged between 18 and 40 years, came from a vocational educational background and had minimum a basic

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<sup>156</sup>Hönekopp, p.2.

<sup>157</sup>Hönekopp, p.2.

<sup>158</sup>Hönekopp, p.10.

<sup>159</sup>Hönekopp, p.8.

<sup>160</sup>Hönekopp, p.9.

<sup>161</sup>Hönekopp, p.9.

knowledge of the country’s language. Similarly as in the case of project-tied workers, there was an annual quota defined for each participating country.

Additionally, a fifth programme aiming to regulate the employment status of cross-border commuters was put in place<sup>162</sup>. Due to the changing political and legislative framework of the 1990’s, it became possible to live and work in two different countries, at a time. Thus, Germany welcomed an increasing number of Czech and Polish workers, living near the German border, in the neighbouring regions. The programme made it compulsory for German employers to take responsibility for the registration of cross-border commuters within the German social security system. According to cautious estimations the changing regulations affected thousands of foreign employees commuting to Germany from abroad every day.

The recruitment programmes initiated by the German state were intended to be mutually beneficial for all parties involved in them. As Hönekopp puts it: “...the goal is to assist eastern European countries by alleviating their labour market problems by providing income transfers that are then available for economic development”<sup>163</sup>. Yet, it is important to note that the programme series carried various added benefits for the receiving German society as well: it allowed Germany to oversee and manage the inflow of skilled workforce to the country, fill gaps within its labour market, prevent the decline of its productivity rates and the extension of its retirement age. Despite the advantages of the initiative, the number of workers employed through these programmes formed no more than half of the total number of foreign labourers registered in the country at the time<sup>164</sup>. Based on the findings of official statistical surveys, it can be inferred that after the reunification of Germany, the number of CEE migrants arriving to the country multiplied, reaching 20 000 average annual registrations by the mid-1990’s (Table 9).

<b>Table 9: Inflow of Hungarian and Czech and Slovak Citizens to Germany (1988-1995)</b>								
	<b>1988</b>	<b>1989</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>1992</b>	<b>1993</b>	<b>1994</b>	<b>1995</b>
<b>Hungary</b>	12 966	15 372	16 708	25 676	28 652	24 853	19 803	19 487
<b>Czech and Slovak Republics</b>	11 978	17 130	16 948	24 438	37 295	22 078	18 316	20 285

Source: own elaboration based on data extracted from *Table 2: Total inflows (1) from Central and Eastern European Countries into Germany 1988-1995*<sup>165</sup>.

<sup>162</sup>Hönekopp, p.9.

<sup>163</sup>Hönekopp, p.19.

<sup>164</sup>Hönekopp, p.13.

<sup>165</sup>Hönekopp, p.5.

During the period covered by the survey the Czech and Slovak Republics were still united under the name Czechoslovakia, consequently the data presented in Table 9 refer to both Czech and Slovak nationals in Germany.

Over the next two decades, Germany welcomed a persistently growing number of migrants coming from Central and Eastern European countries. This allowed the country to maintain its status as one of the most popular destinations for migrants on the continent, in the first years of the new millennium as well. Despite the strict immigration regulations applied by the state to control the expected post-accession migratory waves, an opinion poll conducted at the turn of the new millennium, quoted by Heinz and Ward-Warmedinger, proves that about 31.4% of Hungarian and 42.6% of Czech potential migrants considered relocating to Germany if an opportunity had presented to do so<sup>166</sup>. It is however, unclear how the authors of the opinion poll identified potential migrants. Additionally, it is important to take it into account that surveys of such sort are highly dependent on the respondents' honesty and temporary intentions which might easily change even within a short period of time. Consequently, the findings of the poll may only be evaluated accurately in the context of the early 2000's and considered representative of the intentions of exclusively the chosen pool of respondents.

It is yet, supported by statistical data released by the German Federal Statistical Office (DESTATIS) that an increasing number of Hungarian and Czech nationals settled in the country since the early 2000's. Particularly, over the past eight years, the number of Hungarian and Czech migrants registered in the country has multiplied. In 2008, there were merely over 60 000 Hungarian citizens residing in Germany, to our day however, the Hungarian community counts over 178 000 members, being one of the most significant migrant networks in the country (Table 10). It is nonetheless, noteworthy that 2011, the year of the immigration moratorium's abolition, brought a 20% increase of Hungarian arrivals. According to the survey results, this tendency continued over the consecutive years as well, confirming the German state's apprehensions regarding the intensification of immigration from the new accession countries.

**Table 10: Inflow of Hungarian and Czech Citizens to Germany (2008-2015)**

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
<b>Hungary</b>	60 024	61 417	68 892	82 760	107 398	135 614	156 812	178 221
<b>Czech Republic</b>	34 386	34 337	35 480	38 060	41 865	46 484	49 985	53 908

Source: own elaboration based on data extracted from the table 3 *Ausländische Bevölkerung 2008 bis 2015 – nach Staatsangehörigkeit und Geschlecht*<sup>167</sup>.

Over the studied period, it is also possible to observe a slight increase in the number of Czech registrations, though, their rhythm of growth remained well inferior to that of the Hungarians. During the eight-year period examined by the survey, approximately 19 000 new arrivals were documented,

<sup>166</sup>Heinz and Ward-Warmedinger, p.19.

<sup>167</sup>DESTATIS, "Statistisches Bundesamt Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit – Ausländische Bevölkerung Ergebnisse des Ausländerzentralregisters", Statistisches Bundesamt, 1/2, Wiesbaden, 2016, p.30-37.

bringing a total of 53 908 Czech nationals officially residing in Germany in the year 2015 (Table 10). Still, the growth rate of Czech arrivals stayed low, around 10% annually, even in the years following the opening of the German labour market.

The same survey identified that the majority of Hungarian and Czech immigrants belonged to the 25-45 years old age group. So, it is presumable that most migrants arriving to Germany were already economically active. Though most Hungarian and Czech migrants arrive to Germany, to undertake employment opportunities, it is of importance to note that student migrants are also registered in growing numbers in the country today. German educational institutions have long traditions of housing foreign students. According to Nina Wolfeil, approximately 12% of all students studying in Germany are foreigners today<sup>168</sup>. Chinese students are in majority, but Bulgarian and Polish students are also present in the country in significant numbers. In spite of the fact that Germany introduced tuition fees in some of its federal states in 2007, the country remained one of the most attractive destinations for international student migratory waves up to our day<sup>169</sup>. Currently, Germany hosts the second highest number of foreign students, after the United Kingdom. However, Central and Eastern European students are present in the country, in rather small numbers.

The relatively low presence of school-aged young people may be explained through a lack of familiarity with the German language and an absence of information about the available funding options for pursuing studies in Germany. A special survey released by the Eurobarometer in the year 2012 found that German counts only as the third most commonly learnt second language in the European Union, after English and French<sup>170</sup>. The report concluded that German is the second most popular second language in Hungary and the third one in the Czech Republic. Approximately 18% of Hungarian and 15% of Czech respondents claimed to speak German well enough to have a conversation<sup>171</sup>. The inadequate knowledge of the country's language could often couple with a lack of familiarity with the available funding opportunities to cover the costs of studying and living abroad. Statistics released by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) showed that in 2015, about 177 Hungarian and 155 Czech students studied in Germany, receiving some kind of financial aid from German institutions<sup>172</sup>. These numbers however, do not include students and researchers benefiting of scholarships or fellowships provided by the European Commission.

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<sup>168</sup>Wolfeil, p. 13.

<sup>169</sup>Wolfeil, p. 15.

<sup>170</sup>European Commission, Directorate-General for Communication, "Special Eurobarometer 386 – Europeans and Their Languages", June 2012, p.19.

<sup>171</sup>European Commission, Directorate-General for Communication, "Special Eurobarometer 386 – Europeans and Their Languages", June 2012, p.2.

<sup>172</sup>Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, "DAAD-Länderstatistik 2015 – Tschechische Republik", September 2016, [https://www.daad.de/medien/daad-l%C3%A4nderstatistik\\_107\\_.pdf](https://www.daad.de/medien/daad-l%C3%A4nderstatistik_107_.pdf) and Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst,

Beside those migrants who arrived in Germany on a temporary basis or for the term of a designated work or study contract, there were, every year, several hundred CEE nationals obtaining German citizenship. The European Union Democracy Observatory on Citizenship (EUDO) provides information about citizenship acquisition statistics in all EU Member States. The relevant statistical data for Germany showed that the highest number of foreigners applied for citizenship in the country during the mid- and late 1990's<sup>173</sup>. Even though the most foreign applicants were of Turkish, Kazakh and Russian origin, there were annually, approximately 500 Hungarians and a similar number of Czechs obtaining German citizenship prior to their 2004 accession to the European Union (Table 11). Presumably due to the changing legislative framework, the number of Czech nationals applying for German citizenship has decreased to the annual average of 280 registrations, in the first four years of EU membership (Table 11). The relevant numbers for Hungary were almost double of the Czech ones, with an annual average of 500 applications over the same four-year period (Table 11).

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
<b>Hungary</b>	626	701	525	470	346	282	278	224	301
<b>Czech Republic</b>	561	593	516	454	465	395	617	552	487

Source: own elaboration based on data extracted from the table *EUDO Citizenship Statistics – Citizenship of origin - Germany*<sup>174</sup>.

Germany proved to be an appealing destination for thousands of Central and Eastern Europeans, over the past few decades, thanks to a combination of push and pull factors. It's close geographic proximity to several of the most important source countries, the availability of well-paying job opportunities and sufficient housing options contributed to the rise of the country's popularity. Still, it shall not be disregarded that the preferable living and working conditions available in Germany would not necessarily provide sufficient reasons for CEE nationals to leave their home countries, unless they were not dealing with considerable economic or social difficulties in their country of origin. Therefore, it is possible to identify direct correlations between the economic development of a country, the availability of suitable work opportunities and the migration potential of the country's skilled workforce. As a result of this, the significant difference between the number of Hungarian and Czech migrants discussed above may also be viewed as an outcome of the two countries' unequal economic and social development.

“DAAD-Länderstatistik 2015 – Ungarn”, September 2016, [https://www.daad.de/medien/daad-l%C3%A4nderstatistik\\_108\\_.pdf](https://www.daad.de/medien/daad-l%C3%A4nderstatistik_108_.pdf) visited on 17/11/2017.

<sup>173</sup>European Union Democracy Observatory on Citizenship – Statistics of Acquisition of Citizenship: German Statistics, <http://eudo-citizenship.eu/statistics-on-acquisition-data/?stype=1&coun=Germany> visited on 08/11/2016.

<sup>174</sup>European Union Democracy Observatory on Citizenship – Statistics of Acquisition of Citizenship: German Statistics, <http://eudo-citizenship.eu/statistics-on-acquisition-data/?stype=1&coun=Germany> visited on 08/11/2016.

### 3. Transnational Labour Market in Austria

Austria, similarly to Germany, became a traditional migration country for Central and Eastern European migrants over the twentieth century. It owes this to its special geographical location in the heart of Europe and its generally high life standard, compared to some of its neighbouring states. Organized foreign labour recruitment dates back to the 1960's when Austria initiated its first bilateral employment agreements with countries like the former Yugoslavia or Turkey<sup>175</sup>. Austria, as a free capitalist state, proved to be an appealing destination for East German workers over the 1970's and 1980's, leading to the emergence of two significant migratory waves of labour migrants primarily originating from the DDR<sup>176</sup>. According to Ewald Walterskirchen, economist of the Austrian Institute of Economic Research, during the 1990's however, Austria adopted policies designed after the green-card system of the United States of America<sup>177</sup>. Hence, third country nationals legally residing in Austria for an interval superior to five years, were granted direct access to the Austrian labour market, whereas other migrants had to apply for work permits through lengthy and complicated bureaucratic processes, in order to be able to undertake employment in the country.

At the time of the Eastern expansion of the European Union, Austria was one of the twelve existent Member States opting for the introduction of migration control regulations, to keep immigration from the new accession states at a moderate level. Austria's fears related to being subject to a potential Eastern mass migration were grounded in the fact that it shared 1 256 km of common borders with four out of the ten new Member States<sup>178</sup>. As a result of this, Austria restricted the access to its labour market, it created immigration contingents and limited its provision of services for residents of the A10<sup>179</sup>. In 2008, the state initiated minor modifications on its immigration regulations and relieved restrictions for the skilled Central and Eastern European workforce wishing to enter the country. The policy reform was condition to prevalent circumstances of the domestic labour market, and it was applicable as of January 1, 2008<sup>180</sup>.

It may potentially be put down to the restrictions introduced by the Austrian state, that only a modest growth of foreign population inflow was registered in the country during the seven transitory years. According to statistical survey results, between 2000 and 2007, there were only 7 643 Hungarian and 6 175 Czech and Slovak nationals registered in Austria (Table 12). Nearly 60% of the

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<sup>175</sup>Ewald Walterskirchen, "Chapter 8 – The Dimensions and Effects of EU Labour Migration in Austria", in Béla Galgóczy, Janine Leschke, and Andrew Watt, *EU Labour Migration Since Enlargement – Trends, Impacts and Policies*, Routledge, 2013, p.151.

<sup>176</sup>Walterskirchen, p.151.

<sup>177</sup>Walterskirchen, p.151.

<sup>178</sup>Walterskirchen, p.149.

<sup>179</sup>Fogel, p.62.

<sup>180</sup>Fogel, p.62.

incoming Hungarians were men, while about 60% of Czech registrants were women<sup>181</sup>. Most newcomers were aged between 25 and 45 years, and they were employed primarily in the field of trade, tourism and transport or industrial production<sup>182</sup>. There was a relatively high number of Hungarians hired to do work on construction sites, while a rather significant number of Czechs took jobs in the agricultural sector.

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>Difference</b>
<b>Hungary</b>	10 399	18 042	+7 643
<b>Czech and Slovak Republics</b>	9 979	16 154	+6 175

Source: own elaboration based on data extracted from *Table 8.1. Foreign employees in Austria by nationality 2000-2007*<sup>183</sup>.

The slight increase of immigration to Austria might be understood as an outcome of the fact that restrictions were efficiently preventing the arrival of considerable masses from the new Member States, but these modest numbers might also signify that the limitations gave way to new unregistered or partially-registered employment types. Nonetheless, according to Heinz Fassmann, Josef Kohlbacher and Ursula Reeger, authors of the article *The Re-emergence of European East-West Migration – The Austrian Example*, the latter explanation is not quite probable: “Living in Austria for a longer period of time without being captured in the register is highly unlikely.”<sup>184</sup> Still, it is equally important to take into consideration the possibility that statistics provide a delayed representation of the effects of migratory trends or that they might neglect the importance of cross-border commuters or migrants pursuing no economic activities in Austria.

The outbreak of the world financial crisis brought about significant changes in the formation of migratory movements in Europe. As it was presented in the second chapter, Hungarian emigration intensified after the years following the emergence of the crisis in the country. The sudden decline of the Hungarian state’s economic productivity led to the rise of unemployment and poverty across the country’s regions and provoked the occurrence of a new wave of emigration. Fassmann, Kohlbacher and Reeger point out that this new migratory movement affected particularly deeply the Western neighbour of Hungary: “After 2007 this situation changed. Hungary became a main “exporting” country for migrants due to its disastrous economic performance, rising unemployment and real costs

<sup>181</sup>Walterskirchen, p.157.

<sup>182</sup>Walterskirchen, p.158-159.

<sup>183</sup>Walterskirchen, p.156.

The source refers to the Czech and Slovak Republics under the name Czechoslovakia, consequently the data presented in Table 12 is applicable to both Czech and Slovak nationals in Germany.

<sup>184</sup>Heinz Fassmann, Josef Kohlbacher and Ursula Reeger, *The Re-emergence of European East-West Migration – The Austrian Example*, in “Central and Eastern European Migration Review”, 3;2, December 2014, p.43.

of income.”<sup>185</sup> Migrations in these first initial years proved to be highly temporary and circulatory in nature, and this trend coincided with the decrease of the number of those CEE citizens applying for Austrian citizenship. Prior to the EU accession, the annual average number of citizenship grants issued to Hungarian and Czech nationals were between 250 and 350. During the first five years of EU membership however, this number decreased to about 100 applications for Hungarians, and approximately 60 for Czech citizens, in an annual average (Table 13).

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
<b>Hungary</b>	352	322	249	266	177	123	106	75	56
<b>Czech Republic</b>	275	225	150	126	98	80	38	42	41

Source: own elaboration based on data extracted from the table *EUDO Citizenship Statistics – Citizenship of origin - Austria*<sup>186</sup>.

Between 2002 and 2012, there were about 309 000 CEE nationals arriving to Austria, and about 60% of them, 192 000 migrants returned home or moved on to another country by the end of the decade examined<sup>187</sup>. In this ten-year period, nearly 59 000 Hungarians were registered in Austria, but not more than 40% of them stayed in the country minimum until 2012 (Table 14). In view of Hungary’s adverse economic situation and the opening of the Austrian labour market, it is understandable that the intensification continued in the first years of the current decade as well. The number of Hungarian migrants legally employed in Austria almost doubled between 2011 and 2013, resulting in the fact that to our day, Hungarians constitute the second largest migrant network, after Germans, in Austria<sup>188</sup>. Hungarian migrations showed a continuously growing tendency in these years, the same statement could not be made about the Czech case. Migratory rates remained at a rather decent level for Czechs, bringing the result of about 12 000 people entering and 1000 of them leaving the country on annual basis<sup>189</sup>. Compared to Hungarians, only a modest ratio of 16% of Czech newcomers remained in the country permanently (Table 14).

Even though, the majority of CEE migrants belonged to the economically active, 15-44 years old age group, a remarkably high proportion of elderly people formed part of the Czech migrant community settled in the country. Fassmann, Kohlbacher and Reeger explain this trend through the fact that Austria was an important destination country for Czechs over the post-war years and after

<sup>185</sup>Fassmann, Kohlbacher and Reeger, p.44.

<sup>186</sup>European Union Democracy Observatory on Citizenship – Statistics of Acquisition of Citizenship: Austria Statistics, <http://eudo-citizenship.eu/statistics-on-acquisition-data/?stype=1&coun=Austria> visited on 08/11/2016.

<sup>187</sup>Fassmann, Kohlbacher and Reeger, p.46.

<sup>188</sup>Fassmann, Kohlbacher and Reeger, p.48.

<sup>189</sup>Fassmann, Kohlbacher and Reeger, p.47.

the Prague Spring of 1968<sup>190</sup>. Yet, the percentage of school-aged Hungarian and Czech migrant population living in the country is similarly low as in the case of Germany<sup>191</sup>. In comparison, other Central and Eastern European students, such as Bulgarians, Polish or Slovaks are present in the country in considerably high numbers, potentially resulting from Austria's close proximity and historical ties to the students' country of origin<sup>192</sup>. The Austrian state introduced tuition fees in the year 2001, which caused a slight drop in the number of foreign applications received by local educational institutions<sup>193</sup>. Today, however, Austria managed to retain its high degree of internationalisation, as 19.1% of its students registered at local public institutions are of foreign origin<sup>194</sup>.

<b>Table 14: Inflow and Outflow of Hungarian and Czech Citizens to Austria (2002-2012)</b>			
	<b>Inflow</b>	<b>Outflow</b>	<b>Difference</b>
<b>Hungary</b>	59 127	37 505	+21 622
<b>Czech Republic</b>	16 759	13 949	+2 810

Source: own elaboration based on data extracted from *Table 3. Inflows, outflows and net migration of persons born in CEECs from and to Austria, 2002-2012 cumulative*<sup>195</sup>.

The intensification of population inflow to Austria from the new Member States generated what is referred to as a transnational labour market today. In the article *How to Succeed in a Transnational Labour Market: Job Search and Wages among Hungarian, Slovak and Czech Commuters in Austria*, Roland Verwieb, Christoph Reinprecht, Raimund Haindorfer and Laura Wiesboeck provide the following definition of the notion: “Transnational labor markets bridge immigrants’ home and host societies and serve to realize the potential of job opportunities, higher income returns, and social mobility for transnational migrants...”<sup>196</sup> Transnational labour markets provide grounds for the emergence of new categories of formal and informal employment types, as well as for the strengthening of entrepreneurial attitude of locals and foreigners alike. Self-employment served as a special entrance to the Austrian labour market, even during the provisional years, and this gave way to the creation of small one-person companies founded by immigrants<sup>197</sup>.

<sup>190</sup>Fassmann, Kohlbacher and Reeger, p.50.

<sup>191</sup>Fassmann, Kohlbacher and Reeger, p.50.

<sup>192</sup>Wolfeil, p.12-13.

<sup>193</sup>Wolfeil, p.13.

<sup>194</sup>Wolfeil, p.12.

<sup>195</sup>Fassmann, Kohlbacher and Reeger, p.50.

<sup>196</sup>Roland Verwieb, Christoph Reinprecht, Raimund Haindorfer and Laura Wiesboeck, “How to Succeed in a Transnational Labor Market: Job Search and Wages among Hungarian, Slovak and Czech Commuters in Austria”, in *International Migration Review*, Center of Migration Studies of New York, Fall 2015, p.2.

<sup>197</sup>Maria Luzia Enengel, Heinz Fassmann, Josef Kohlbacher and Ursula Reeger, “Mapping and analysis of types of migration from CEE countries – Country report Austria”, Imagination Working Paper No.1, Institute for Urban and Regional Research – Austrian Academy of Sciences, February 2014, p.17.

Despite the abolition of the transitory restrictions in Austria, many labour migrants from the new Member States kept coming to the country to sign up for seasonal jobs in the field of agriculture and tourism well after the expiration of the immigration moratorium. These short-term migrants arrived primarily from the neighbouring Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia, and were concentrated in the farther, rural areas of the country<sup>198</sup>. The number of health-care professionals and social workers newly arriving to the country showed an equally growing tendency after 2011. These skilled workers were presented in the registry either as self-employed therapists, employees of individual households or as employees of foreign firms providing services to Austrian clients.

Beside the labour migrants setting out for Austria with the purpose of working in a designated sector and settling down in the country for a shorter or longer period of time, the estimated number of cross-border commuters working in Austria but living in the surrounding regions of a neighbouring state has also been on the rise since the beginning of the 2010's. Cross-border commuters, by definition, reside in their home countries and travel to Austria to work on a daily or weekly basis<sup>199</sup>. The emergence of a major wave of cross-border commuters is a particularly Central European phenomenon that is facilitated by the high-quality infrastructure specific to the region and the legislative frame provided by the European Union to manage interstate movements within the Single Market. Today, the Bratislava-Budapest-Vienna axis is well-connected by highways and railways alike, making it possible for commuters to get from their home to their work place quickly. This tendency affects mainly those approximately 4-5 million people who live in rural areas and cities located close to the Austrian border like Győr, Sopron and Szombathely in Hungary, or Brno and České Budějovice in the Czech Republic<sup>200</sup>. A survey quoted in the Imagination Working Paper of the Institute of Urban and Regional Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences found that people's willingness to commute to work across state borders declines with the growth of the distances they would need undertake. The report states that 80% of the survey's respondents claimed that the maximum distance they would be willing to take to get to work is 150 km<sup>201</sup>.

To present-day, the measurement of the number of cross-border commuters remains a challenge for statistical offices. As commuting does not involve the change of the official residence of the worker, possibly, the most reliable numbers could be gained from social security and health insurance reports. The reports of these institutions however, might not clearly distinguish between those foreign workers residing in the country and the ones spending only their work time within the state's borders. Ewald Walterskirchen elaborates on the difficulties of properly tracking the tendency of cross-border commute, claiming: "Apart from the research deficit with respect to commuting

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<sup>198</sup>Engel, Fassmann, Kohlbacher and Reeger, p.20.

<sup>199</sup>Verwieb, Reinprecht, Haindorfer and Wiesboeck, p.2.

<sup>200</sup>Walterskirchen p.149.

<sup>201</sup>Engel, Fassmann, Kohlbacher and Reeger, p.21.

potential in the context of Austria's unique geographical position, there is also a lack of recent historical experience from which commuting potential could be inferred."<sup>202</sup> As a consequence, it is understandable that statistical institutes in charge of producing demographic reports may need to develop new, more elaborate methods to successfully measure the intensity of modern migratory flows arriving to the country, five years after the abolition of transitory migration regulations within the borders of the European Union.

#### 4. United Kingdom, a New Destination

Over the past few years, the United Kingdom has become one of the most popular destinations for Central and Eastern European migrants. Although the westward movement of the residents of the 2004 accession countries resulted in the elevation of immigration rates in most of the fifteen former Member States, the United Kingdom presented a special case of host countries. Stephen Drinkwater, John Eade and Michal Garaphich observed the migration of A8 nationals to the United Kingdom and its effects on the British labour market. As they explain, prior to the 2004 EU accession wave, most Central and Eastern European nations had little or no representation among the immigrant population of the British Isles<sup>203</sup>. It is noteworthy though, that the authors of this contribution had limited access to detailed country-specific information. The findings of the 2001 UK Population Census were presented in a rather generalized way, identifying the number of immigrants arriving from larger, macro-regions instead of specific states, with the exception of such outstanding cases, as that of Poland. As they state in their article: "No breakdown is available for Eastern European countries other than Poland in the 2001 Census. The total number of non-Polish Eastern Europeans in the UK in 2001 was around 187 000."<sup>204</sup> This duly reflects on the fact that the historical development of Polish immigration to the United Kingdom dates back to an earlier period, than in the case of the other A8 countries. The first significant wave of Polish expatriates set foot in the country little after the end of the Second World War<sup>205</sup>. In spite of the fact that the democratization of the Polish political life somewhat stimulated return migration to the home country in the 1990's, a relatively large Polish community remained in the United Kingdom constructing a migrant network facilitating the integration of newcomers into the British society. The stock of Polish immigrants within the British population performed an unprecedented growth in relative and absolute terms as well, over the first

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<sup>202</sup>Walterskirchen, p.165.

<sup>203</sup>Stephen Drinkwater, John Eade and Michal Garaphich, *Poles Apart? EU Enlargement and the Labour Market Outcomes of Immigrants in the UK*, "IZA Discussion Papers", Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA), 2410, Bonn, 2006, p.5.

<sup>204</sup>Drinkwater, Eade and Garaphich, p.5.

<sup>205</sup>Drinkwater, Eade and Garaphich, p.5.

ten years of EU membership. To our day, Polish are the most highly represented A8 nationals in the British society. Citizens of smaller states like Hungary and the Czech Republic, are present in the country in comparably low numbers. It is nonetheless, important to highlight that these communities emerged in the past few years, and are in a significant and constant growth.

Hungarian and Czech immigration to the United Kingdom was relatively low before 2004. According to the UK Population Census of 1991, approximately 13 000 Hungarian and 9000 Czech and Slovak citizens resided in the country on a permanent basis at the time of the survey's creation<sup>206</sup>. After the EU accession, though, both Hungarians and Czechs started to arrive in higher numbers than during the transition period. Despite the fact, that the United Kingdom did not impose any clearly defined migration control regulations on immigrants arriving from the A8 countries, it still initiated some transitory measures. As a result of this, expatriates of the new Member States had to document their arrival through the Worker Registration Scheme which was created with the purpose of overseeing and managing immigration<sup>207</sup>. The Worker Registration Scheme thus, provided a transparent tool for calculating the annual inflow of registered labour migrants to the country. Therefore, Accession Monitoring Reports were created, to give a comprehensive overview of documented immigration from the A8 countries. The reports were born as a product of the cooperation of the Home Office – UK Border Agency, the Department for Work and Pension, the HM Revenue and Customs and Communities and Local Government<sup>208</sup>. Based on the 2008 Accession Monitoring Report, it is possible to see that in the first three years of EU membership, Czech immigration to the United Kingdom exceeded the Hungarian one (Table 15)<sup>209</sup>.

<b>Table 15: Distribution of Hungarian and Czech Applications in the Worker Registrations Scheme (2004-2008)</b>					
	<b>2004</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>
<b>Hungary</b>	3 620	6 355	7 060	8 875	10 865
<b>Czech Republic</b>	8 255	10 575	8 345	7 510	6 520

Source: own elaboration based on data extracted from the *Accession Monitoring Report May 2004 – June 2008*, and the *Accession Monitoring Report May 2004 – March 2009*<sup>210</sup>.

<sup>206</sup>Drinkwater, Eade and Garaphich, p.5.

<sup>207</sup>Drinkwater, Eade and Garaphich, p.4.

<sup>208</sup>Home Office – UK Border Agency, the Department for Work and Pension, the HM Revenue and Customs and Communities and Local Government, “Accession Monitoring Report May 2004 – June 2008 – A8 Countries”, Crown Copyright, 2008.

<sup>209</sup>Home Office – UK Border Agency, the Department for Work and Pension, the HM Revenue and Customs and Communities and Local Government, “Accession Monitoring Report May 2004 – June 2008 – A8 Countries”, Crown Copyright, 2008, p.9.

<sup>210</sup>Home Office – UK Border Agency, the Department for Work and Pension, the HM Revenue and Customs and Communities and Local Government, “Accession Monitoring Report May 2004 – June 2008 – A8 Countries”, Crown Copyright, 2008, p.9.

In 2004, the number of Czech immigrants registered in the UK was more than twice as high as the corresponding number for Hungarians. In the next two years, the annual average number of Czech registrations remained stable, whereas Hungarian applications started to show slowly increasing tendencies. In the year 2007, the number of Hungarian registrations surpassed that of the Czechs.

Due to the nature of the data gained from the Worker Registration Scheme, the Accession Monitoring Reports focused primarily on labour migration to the United Kingdom. In the first few years following the 2004 accession wave, many A8 migrants arrived in the British Isles with the purpose of undertaking employment or starting their own business. Based on the reports, it may be asserted that the general distribution of foreign workforce within the British economy was widespread. The report created vast categories of economic spheres and industries, and provided the number of workers employed in the respective sectors based on their nationality and year of registration. The report thus, helps to understand, that by the end of the first decade of the new millennium, most Hungarian expatriates working in the United Kingdom were employed in the field of Services and Catering, whereas the highest number of Czech immigrants were recruited for Administrative, Business and Management related positions<sup>211</sup>. As a consequence of this, it may be presumed that the proportion of Czechs employed in high profile sectors exceeded the relative ratio of Hungarians. Nevertheless, it is necessary to bear in mind that the United Kingdom did not only welcome labour migrants but it also encouraged and significantly facilitated the inflow of entrepreneurs from the new accession countries.

The flexible British bureaucratic framework and the long-standing traditions of a well-functioning market economy made it possible for foreign business owners to relocate to the United Kingdom and register their firms through a simplified legal process. Therefore, the obligation to sign up at the Worker Registration Scheme did not apply to immigrants arriving to the country with the purpose of setting up a private enterprise<sup>212</sup>. So, it is understandable that the inflow of foreign capital and new, relatively cheap Central and Eastern European labour force stimulated the productivity of the British economy which, in return continued to welcome newcomers in the first years of the current decade as well<sup>213</sup>. The Worker Registration Scheme went out of action on April 30, 2011<sup>214</sup>.

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<sup>211</sup>Home Office – UK Border Agency, the Department for Work and Pension, the HM Revenue and Customs and Communities and Local Government, “Accession Monitoring Report May 2004 – June 2008 – A8 Countries”, Crown Copyright, 2008, p.21.

<sup>212</sup>Home Office – UK Border Agency, the Department for Work and Pension, the HM Revenue and Customs and Communities and Local Government, “Accession Monitoring Report May 2004 – June 2008 – A8 Countries”, Crown Copyright, 2008, p.4.

<sup>213</sup>British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), *The Truth About Immigration in the UK*, United Kingdom, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MHplEJgevqM> visited on 06/06/2016.

<sup>214</sup>Workpermit - Worker Registration Scheme, [http://www.workpermit.com/uk/worker\\_registration\\_scheme](http://www.workpermit.com/uk/worker_registration_scheme) visited on 21/05/2016.

Consequently, since May 1, 2011, no intra-EU nationals have been obliged to submit applications to the British labour authorities before the commencement of their employment contract in the United Kingdom. This however, necessitated the identification of new sources that might provide reliable information about migratory trends in the United Kingdom. The National Insurance Number Registration (NINo) report might provide up-to-date information about the actual composition of the UK's workforce, if it is assumed that all foreign nationals legally employed in the United Kingdom apply for a social security and health insurance number. On the one hand, NINo reports do not reliably reflect on the number workers in seasonal, part-time and illegal employment, as well as on the stock of those not pursuing any economic activity, who are equally present in the British society to a varying extent. On the other hand, NINo reports provide information about the gender, age rank and nationality of new applicants.

Based on the most recent NINo report, it may be asserted that since the beginning of the current decade, in average 20 000 Hungarian nationals applied for insurance annually in the United Kingdom<sup>215</sup>. According to Chris Moreh, in the year 2014 the estimated number of Hungarian citizens holding a British insurance number reached 148 000<sup>216</sup>. Czech insurance registrations remained rather modest, fluctuating between 7000 and 9000 annually, over the past years<sup>217</sup>. These results correspond to the data presented in the Accession Monitoring Reports. Thus, it can be assumed that Czech labour migration to the United Kingdom remained at a relatively low, but stable level since the country's EU accession. As opposed to Czech immigration however, Hungarian arrivals showed heavily increasing tendencies since the late 2000's (Table 16).

<b>Table 16: Distribution of National Insurance Number Registrations of Hungarian and Czech Nationals in the United Kingdom (2011-2015)</b>					
	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>Hungary</b>	17 925	21 760	26 770	22 331	22 197
<b>Czech Republic</b>	7 693	7 755	9 410	9 391	9 388
<b>Difference</b>	10 232	14 005	17 360	12 940	12 899

Source: own elaboration based on data extracted from the table *National Insurance Number Registrations to Adult Overseas Nationals Entering the UK – Top 20 Registrations*<sup>218</sup>.

<sup>215</sup>National Insurance Number Registrations - Table 3: National Insurance Number Registrations to Adult Overseas Nationals Entering The UK - Top 20 registrations, NINo Registrations to Adult Overseas Nationals Entering The UK, Department for Work and Pensions, December 2015.

<sup>216</sup>Moreh, p.87.

<sup>217</sup>National Insurance Number Registrations - Table 3: National Insurance Number Registrations to Adult Overseas Nationals Entering The UK - Top 20 registrations, NINo Registrations to Adult Overseas Nationals Entering The UK, Department for Work and Pensions, December 2015.

<sup>218</sup>National Insurance Number Registrations - Table 3: National Insurance Number Registrations to Adult Overseas Nationals Entering The UK - Top 20 registrations, NINo Registrations to Adult Overseas Nationals Entering The UK, Department for Work and Pensions, December 2015.

In the year 2011, there were about 10 000 more Hungarian applications registered than Czech ones, and by 2015, the annual difference stabilized around 13 000.

The results of National Insurance Number Registration reports are often complemented with other more subjective types of surveys, in order to reveal personal goals fuelling the migration decisions. International Passenger Surveys are distributed to travellers entering and leaving the United Kingdom through the major airports, sea routes, Eurostar stations and at the Eurotunnel shuttle train points. The International Passenger Surveys (IPS) allows British authorities to interview in average 700 000 travellers annually, and to unveil the purpose and length of their visit<sup>219</sup>. The main advantage of the International Passenger Surveys in relation to the National Insurance Number Registration reports and to other such studies based on the findings of the Worker Registration Scheme is that they do not only concerns themselves with those pursuing economic activities, but also with migrants who head to the United Kingdom for purposes of studies, family reunification or leisure time activities. The drawback of the IPS however, is that its results depend to a great extent on the selection of the respondents as well as on their intention to contribute to the success of the survey by giving honest answers.

The IPS surveys proved that over the past few years, the United Kingdom welcomed an increasing number of foreign students in its higher educational institutions. The findings of the IPS surveys are well supported by the statistical data provided by the authority managing all undergraduate and postgraduate level applications, the Universities and Colleges Admissions Service (UCAS). The UCAS is an independent institution aiming to provide assistance and guidance throughout the university application process to prospective students. The UCAS publishes reports showing the number and the composition of the applicants and the list of the most popular tertiary level educational institutions in the United Kingdom, at the end of each application cycle. The UCAS studies provide a confirmation about the amplifying popularity of British universities, among European young people. In 2015, 174 000 university applications were submitted, by non-British nationals through the admission system, and 23% of these applications (40 000) arrived from other EU Member States<sup>220</sup>. Hungarian and Czech students equally expressed growing interest in pursuing their studies in the United Kingdom, since the two countries' EU accession. Thus, the number of Hungarian and Czech candidatures have doubled since 2012, bringing the result of 910 Hungarian

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<sup>219</sup>Office for National Statistics – International Passenger Survey (IPS), <https://www.ons.gov.uk/surveys/informationforhouseholdsandindividuals/householdandindividualsurveys/internationalpassengersurveyips> visited on 21/05/2016.

<sup>220</sup>Office for National Statistics - Statistical bulletin: Migration Statistics Quarterly Report: February 2016, <http://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/february2016> visited on 18/04/2016.

and 1000 Czech applications in the spring cycle of 2016<sup>221</sup>. Yet, students from other EU8 Member States, like Poland, Latvia or Lithuania are registered at the British higher educational institutions in higher numbers than Hungarians and Czechs<sup>222</sup>. Other important European sending countries include Greece and the neighbouring Ireland. The United Kingdom houses also a significant number of foreign students arriving from outside of Europe, in majority from China or India<sup>223</sup>.

The popularity of the British educational institutions may be explained through the good reputation of the country's educational system and the fame of its most prestigious universities. This is well supported by the fact that several British universities and colleges figure among the ten most outstanding universities in the world, based on most ranking systems. Hungarian and Czech schools though, appear only in the 500+ section of the rankings<sup>224</sup>. Marek Kwiek claims: "There are different objections to university rankings and their methodologies [...] but the fact is that Central European universities are not once but permanently absent from these rankings."<sup>225</sup> Beside the excellent quality of education, British educational institutions offer a wide variety of study programmes and internship opportunities, so enhancing the professional promotional opportunities of their students after the completion of their studies. Additionally, it is necessary to note that British educational institutions reduced their tuition fees considerably since 2004, therefore making quality education affordable and accessible to wider audiences<sup>226</sup>. As a consequence, a continuously increasing number of students keeps opting for studying and gaining professional experience in the United Kingdom every year.

Since 2004, a similarly increasing number of Hungarian and Czech nationals set out for obtaining the citizenship of the United Kingdom, stating their desire to be a full-right member of the British society. During the first five years of EU membership, the number of Hungarian and Czech nationals requesting British citizenship remained inferior to 150 annual applications. Nevertheless, as long as Czech requests showed stagnating tendencies until the previous years, Hungarian applications doubled twice over the past five years (Table 17). Until the current decade, most citizenship grants were issued to those Hungarian and Czech citizens who requested it on the basis of

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<sup>221</sup>Universities and Colleges Admissions Service - UCAS March Deadline Analysis: Domicile, Applicants by Domicile at the 24 March Deadline, <https://www.ucas.com/corporate/data-and-analysis/ucas-undergraduate-releases/2016-cycle-applicant-figures-%E2%80%93-march> visited on 20/05/2016.

<sup>222</sup>Wolfeil p.18.

<sup>223</sup>Wolfeil p.18

<sup>224</sup>Topuniversities - QS World University Rankings 2015/16, <http://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/world-university-rankings/2015> visited on 18/04/2016.

<sup>225</sup>Kwiek, p.116.

<sup>226</sup>Wolfeil, p.18.

marital and family relations. However, recently, the number of residence-based applications was also on the rise<sup>227</sup>.

<b>Year</b>	<b>Hungary</b>	<b>Czech Republic</b>
<b>2004</b>	124	103
<b>2005</b>	136	116
<b>2006</b>	109	94
<b>2007</b>	95	80
<b>2008</b>	55	42
<b>2009</b>	76	61
<b>2010</b>	244	98
<b>2011</b>	259	108
<b>2012</b>	509	142
<b>2013</b>	810	176
<b>2014</b>	439	166
<b>2015</b>	708	269

Source: own elaboration based on data extracted from the *Table CZ\_07: Citizenship grants by previous country of nationality and type of grant*<sup>228</sup>.

As a result of all this, it may be inferred that the United Kingdom has become one of the most popular destinations for intra-EU migrants within a relatively short period of time. Since the EU accession of the A8, an ever-growing number of Central and Eastern European migrants has arrived in the United Kingdom with the objective of working, studying or starting their own business. Thus, over time, the United Kingdom gave home to foreign labour migrants, entrepreneurs and students wishing to improve their personal and professional prospects on the British soil. Consequently, national migration networks developed and a complete new sector of services emerged to facilitate the day-to-day life of the expatriates. Due to the fact that, to our day, migration became a widespread phenomenon, a continuously growing number of young people started to pamper the idea of leaving for a shorter or longer period of time, once in the near future. Ewa Krzaklewska author of the “Visegrad Youth” study accentuates the intensity of this tendency the following way: “...in general young people from the V4 countries are willing to be mobile on the labour market, about 2/3 are

<sup>227</sup>Home Office - National Statistics – Citizenship - Table CZ\_07: Citizenship grants by previous country of nationality and type of grant, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/immigration-statistics-january-to-march-2016/citizenship> visited on 02/06/2016.

<sup>228</sup>Home Office - National Statistics – Citizenship - Table CZ\_07: Citizenship grants by previous country of nationality and type of grant, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/immigration-statistics-january-to-march-2016/citizenship> visited on 02/06/2016.

willing to move to another city and about 2/3 are willing to move abroad to take up interesting job offer (for CZ, SK, PL). 49% of young Hungarians (aged 15-29) plan to work abroad once in the future, 10% of them plan also to study abroad.”<sup>229</sup> The consequences of the youth’s increasing mobility may produce far-reaching social and economic effects in the home as in the host societies, resulting in the durable reorganization of the European labour market and demographic landscape, in the long run<sup>230</sup>.

In this chapter, I observed the prevalent characteristics and main directions of migratory waves originating from Hungary and the Czech Republic. The transition period, and later on, the recent global financial crisis gave rise to new wave of East-West movements within Europe. Numerous Hungarian and Czech nationals relocated to other European countries, such as Germany, Austria, the United Kingdom, Italy, France or the Netherlands. Individual subchapters were consecrated to the examination of migrations to two of the most popular, historical destinations or Central and Eastern European migrants, Germany and Austria, as well as to an emergent receiving country, the United Kingdom. As long as the two German-speaking countries became popular destinations for manual labourers and blue collar workers over time, the United Kingdom attracted a large group of young and well-educated professionals in recent years. Recent opinion polls suggest that outmigration from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe may become a permanent phenomenon, causing further economic and social difficulties to the main sending countries. Therefore, in the final chapter of my work, I am going to examine how the two researched countries combat these issues. I am going to provide an overview of return migration tendencies, and related policy reforms and initiatives launched by the relevant state and public authorities of Hungary and the Czech Republic, in order to foster the retention of domestic workforce and the re-engagement of emigrants.

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<sup>229</sup>Krzaklewska, p.20.

<sup>230</sup>Moreh, p.85.

# CHAPTER 4

## PROSPECTS EMIGRATION AND RETURN MIGRATION

### 1. Tendencies of Return Migration

The initiation of the principle of free movement, gave way to the development of multiple new forms of temporary migration forms. As observed in the second chapter, the removal of legislative obstacles along with the rationalisation of travel costs and the development of new technologies contributed significantly to the emergence of new migratory categories and notions. Today, migration no longer necessarily implies complete detachment from the home society, instead, it signifies the vast majority of cases, a temporary relocation during which the migrants keep up with the actualities of life in the country of origin and remain in constant contact with their beloved ones. Reiner Martin and Dragos Radu, authors of the article *Return Migration: The Experience of Eastern Europe* use statistical data provided by the OECD to demonstrate this phenomenon. They explain that in average, approximately 20-50% of all immigrants stay in their destination for an interval inferior to five years. Following this migration experience, some migrants move on to another destination (serial migration), while others resettle in their home countries (return migration)<sup>231</sup>. This chapter is devoted to the analysis of return migration tendencies to Hungary and the Czech Republic and the related policies fostering re-engagement of emigrants and the retention of potential emigrants.

Ira N. Gang, Catherine Y. Co and Myeong-Su Yun economists define return migration in their joint paper, entitled *Returns to Returning*, the following way: "...the migrant, after spending some time in a host country, returns to his or her country of origin"<sup>232</sup>. As it was exhibited throughout the previous chapters, migratory fluxes are greatly dependent on the changes of the international economic climate, which may influence not only the size but also the orientation of movements. Therefore, it is understandable that the times of great economic and political transformations tend to give rise to various different types of inter-state movements. Anzelika Zaiceva and Klaus F. Zimmermann, researchers of the Institute of Labour Economics (IZA) claim that migrants act as "buffers"<sup>233</sup> in the periods of the economic fluctuation. They demonstrate this argument by stating

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<sup>231</sup>Reiner Martin and Dragos Radu, "Return Migration: The Experience of Eastern Europe", Preliminary Version, 2009, p.2.

<sup>232</sup>Ira N. Gang, Catherine Y. Co and Myeong-Su Yun, "Returns to Returning", Working Papers, Department of Economics, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 13, 1998, p.1.

<sup>233</sup>Anzelika Zaiceva and Klaus F. Zimmermann, "Returning Home at Times of Trouble? Return Migration of EU Enlargement Migrants During the Crisis", Discussion Paper Series, Forschungsinstitut zur Zukunft der Arbeit, 7111, 2012, p.1.

that, in times of economic prosperity, migrants fill gaps within the expanding labour markets, whereas in years of economic demise migrants leave the country, so relieving the labour market of workforce surplus. In order to test Zaiceva's and Zimmermann's theory, I examine the ratio of Hungarian and Czech return migrants in the period of the capitalist transition and in the years of the recent economic crisis. It is recommendable to note that these two outstanding events of the past three decades proved to give way to considerable waves of emigration, though their impact on return migration trends are less known.

The transition period brought about the complete restructuring of the post-communist economies. The opening of the borders fostered the sudden intensification of movements on the European continent. Yet, the estimated levels of return migrations remained relatively low in the era. According to Gang, Co and Yun most return migrants opted for resettling in their countries of origin either because they wished to spend their years of retirement in their homes, with their beloved ones, or to put the skills, they obtained in the free capitalist states of Europe, into use on the newly forming post-communist labour markets<sup>234</sup>. Due to the reorientation of the focus areas of economic production, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe experienced significant skills shortages in the first few years of the economic transition. Consequently, returning expatriates bringing relevant and much needed expertise to the country were welcome to fill the opening gaps within the labour market. Gang, Co and Yun provide the following explanation to this trend:

“Foreign work experience may (i) indicate a person's possession of the necessary skills that can facilitate trade with the West, (ii) increase the success probability of joint ventures with Western companies, or simply (iii) demonstrate that they have been exposed to the “Western” way of doing things.”<sup>235</sup>

Still, it is important to bear in mind that this is highly dependent on a combination of determinative factors, including age, professional experience and the development level of the related segment of the economy.

Based on the available statistical surveys of the time, it may be deduced that about 121 000 Hungarian nationals emigrated between 1963 and 1988, and approximately 15.7% of them, 19 000 people returned home in the years between 1977 and 1991<sup>236</sup>. It is an intriguing fact though, that 34% of all these returnees arrived in Hungary in the last three years of the examined interval which coincide with the beginning of the economic transition<sup>237</sup>. Gang, Co and Yun notes that the corresponding numbers for the Czech Republic show a similar tendency, however, the authors do not provide exact data to illustrate this statement. As a result of all this, even though the fall of the Iron

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<sup>234</sup>Gang, Co and Yun, p.2.

<sup>235</sup>Gang, Co and Yun, p.3.

<sup>236</sup>Gang, Co and Yun, p.2, footnote 1.

<sup>237</sup>Gang, Co and Yun, p.2, footnote 1.

Curtain stimulated outmigration from the researched countries, it failed to give way to a similar increase in return migration.

In contrast, the 2008 world financial crisis increased the share of both the emigrants and returnees in Hungary and in the Czech Republic<sup>238</sup>. This disparity may be explained through the fact, that as long as the transition period effectively concerned only the traditional sending countries, the recent world financial crisis affected most receiving countries as well. Resulting from the collapse of big industries, many workers employed abroad became victims of the downsizings and had to return to their home countries. Some of them returned home to apply for unemployment benefit, while others accumulated some wealth abroad which allowed them to take their time searching for a suitable job opening or started their own business<sup>239</sup>. Therefore, in 2009, the year following the outbreak of the crisis in Europe, the number of returning migrants showed elevating tendencies in the researched countries. Nonetheless, official statistics provided by the national statistical offices prove that while the Czech Republic welcomed back a significant number of returnees, the relevant rates for Hungary remained low. So, in the year 2009, there were 21 700 Czech nationals returning home, this number represents approximately 29% of all immigrants, whereas in Hungary, the inflow of 2 300 expatriates was registered, which made up no more than 8% of all new arrivals<sup>240</sup>. This discrepancy might be explained by the fact that, eventhough the crisis presented its negative economic and labour market implications in both countries, it dismantled the Hungarian economy to a greater extent than the Czech one. In the years of the economic crisis, the rates of unemployment and poverty rose in Hungary, and the financial difficulties spiralled into the lives of Hungarian families. So, emigration tendencies performed a sudden growth. However, this growth did not couple with a significant intensification of return migrations, as it was demonstrated by the Czech case.

Stefanie Smoliner, Michael Förschner, Josef Hochgerner and Jana Nová, researchers of the Central Europe Programme of the European Union, provide an overview of the social composition of returnees in their study, “Re-Turn –Comparative Report on Re-Migration Trends in Central Europe”. The authors express that in terms of the age distribution of returnees, the prevalent tendency shows that migrants staying abroad and non-migrants living in the home country, are older than those who opt for the return<sup>241</sup>. Most returning migrants are at the dawn of their economically active years, therefore form invaluable elements of the domestic labour market. The study puts a high emphasis on the fact, that the share of highly educated individuals is outstandingly high in the case of Hungarian

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<sup>238</sup>Stefanie Smoliner; Michael Förschner; Josef Hochgerner and Jana Nová, “Re-Turn – Comparative Report on Re-Migration Trends in Central Europe”, Central Europe Programme, European Union – European Regional Development Fund, 2012, p.34.

<sup>239</sup>Zaiceva and Zimmermann, p.6.

<sup>240</sup>Smoliner; Förschner; Hochgerner and Nová, p.49.

<sup>241</sup>Smoliner; Förschner; Hochgerner and Nová, p.46.

returnees: not less than 43% of them is in possession of a tertiary level diploma at the time of their resettlement in their country of origin<sup>242</sup>. The same statement is not applicable to the Czech case, where the share of returnees with elementary level education is compelling<sup>243</sup>. Even though the two genders are equally represented among both the Hungarian and the Czech returnees, based on the argumentation put forward by Gang, Co and Yun, it may be inferred that return might be a more beneficial choice for women, thanks to the nature of their dominant career choices. The authors elaborate on this theory, stating:

“The results suggest that the types of industries men enter (eg.: heavy industries and construction) do not offer any wage premium for foreign experience; while the industries women enter are exactly those industries, where foreign experience matters (eg.: financial services).”<sup>244</sup>

Yet, the view expressed by the authors paints an overly generalized picture about the two genders’ career choices which may not stand the test of time. Despite this simplification, it can be understood that the decision to return might also depend on several other variables involving gender and chosen profession.

As demonstrated throughout this section, return migration rates did not show significant growth over the three decades examined. In the Czech case, the number of returns increased after the outbreak of the 2008 world financial crisis, however the same tendency could not be observed in the case of the indebted Hungarian state. As a result of thus, the number of initiatives targeting potential returnees rose in the past few years in Hungary. In the next section of my research, I am going to examine the policies and programs launched by the Hungarian and Czech states to retain their human resources, in particular, the most talented workers, highly skilled experts and scientists.

## 2. Retention and Reintegration Programmes

The intensification of outmigration from the 2004 accession wave countries raised concerns both on the part of receiving and sending countries. As it was expressed in the previous chapters, many of the main destination countries responded to the growing interstate migrations by launching a series of immigration control regulations. The home countries however, reacted to the same phenomenon by putting in place strategies to stop and tackle the imminent issue of intensified emigration. This led to the initiation of retention policies targeting potential emigrants as well as to the development of action plans designed to foster the reintegration of possible returnees into the home societies.

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<sup>242</sup>Smoliner; Förschner; Hochgerner and Nová, p.52.

<sup>243</sup>Smoliner; Förschner; Hochgerner and Nová p.53.

<sup>244</sup>Gang, Co and Yun, p.16.

Judit Kálmán, researcher of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, offers a threefold typology of retention tactics<sup>245</sup>. Reintegration policies aim to provide support for return migrants facing difficulties in course of their resettlement in their home countries, after a shorter or longer period of time spent abroad. Return migrants are offered guidance in matters of work placement, housing and administration upon request. Reintegration policies are tools of reactive intervention designed for a small group of the emigrant community returning to the country of origin<sup>246</sup>. Policies of such sort are often combined with projects promoting the advantages of a potential return to reach out to the wider target group of those expatriates contemplating a possible return. The promotion of return migration is realized through regular marketing mechanisms of advertising, public relations campaigns and the establishment of information centres. Publicity is a powerful instrument of communication enabling the home countries to encourage return migration, so it is often used for purposes of active intervention<sup>247</sup>.

Policies focused on the retention of the domestic labour force fall under the category of proactive intervention in Kálmán's analysis. Programs preventing the continuous growth of outmigration tendencies are often complex and costly, as they require a considerable amount of research to gain a profound understanding of the underlying social and economic issues, sufficient financial resources to effectively tackle them and an international legislative framework supporting their realization. The free movement of workforce is an essential attribute of the Single Market lying at the core of the European Union. Therefore, the stimulation of interstate mobility is highly encouraged by the EU, which is in defiance with the interests of Member States experiencing increased population outflow. Kálmán explains:

“One of the reasons for this is the conflict between goals, principles and instruments at different levels of government. At the EU level, the free movement of labour is one of the main pillars of the common market, as well as a common economic interest, while at the level of Member States this mobility has a range of negative consequences...”<sup>248</sup>

Even though retention programmes vary significantly dependent on their scope and methods, their target audience is a rather homogeneous and easily identifiable social group. Their activities are, in the vast majority of cases, focus on the economically active, well-educated young professionals forming an invaluable part of the domestic labour force. In spite of the fact, that there is no clear-cut, unified definition of the social group of the highly skilled migrants, the notion is often used to refer to those well-paid, middle class working professionals settled in a foreign country who hold minimum

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<sup>245</sup>Judit Kálmán, 2.7.1. *Public Policies Encouraging Return Migration in Europe*, “In Focus: International Migration”, p.117.

<sup>246</sup>Kálmán, p.117.

<sup>247</sup>Kálmán, p.117.

<sup>248</sup>Kálmán, p.118.

tertiary-level education<sup>249</sup>. Majoritarily, these migrants learn the local language, appropriate the customs of their destination and lead their daily activities in compliance with their surroundings. As a consequence, they often achieve a particularly high degree of integration and eventually, they melt into the host society. John Salt, lecturer of the University College London and researcher of the OECD, observes that well-educated migrants are often welcomed in the receiving country, as "...their presence as immigrants rarely gives rise to even the mildest political debates"<sup>250</sup>. Thus, highly qualified migrants are considered as valuable parts of the labour market, and their emigration is often treated as a significant loss by their home countries. The labour market implications of the migration processes of these accomplished professionals suggests that the receiving countries achieve a so-called brain gain, through enticing talented foreign young people to work or study abroad, stimulating the process of "brain drain" experienced by their countries of origin.

The expression "brain drain" first occurred in a 1963 Report of the British Royal Society, with reference to the outflow of skilled British persons to the United States of America<sup>251</sup>. Although, it pertains predominantly to developing and third world countries since the 1970's. It is often an outcome of "brain overflow"<sup>252</sup>, what entails the overproduction and resulting affluence of skilled human resources. "Brain overflow" implies the insufficiency of suitable job openings available on the labour market and often leads to the elevation of unemployment rates among the intellectuals. So, many talented young people opt for undertaking positions that do not require them to put into use the skills and knowledge they appropriated during their studies. This tendency is well encapsulated in the term "brain waste"<sup>253</sup>, implying the gradual loss of skills due to a misplacement on the labour market. Lastly, those who are not capable of finding an adequate work placement, and do not wish to settle for an intellectually unstimulating position tend to consider emigration as a convenient solution. Well-educated young people leaving their home countries tempted by a promising job opportunity abroad constitute the main subjects of the "brain drain" phenomenon. So, this notion implies that the receiving countries deprive the sending countries of their most skilled human resources, thus slowing down their economic and scientific development. Salt depicts the "brain drain" phenomenon from the sending countries' point of view, stating that: "The nationalist perspective upon the impact of brain

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<sup>249</sup>John Salt, "International Movements of the Highly Skilled", Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, Directorate for Education, Employment, Labour and Social Affairs, International Migration Unit, Occasional Papers 3, Paris, 1997, p.4.

<sup>250</sup>Salt, p.4.

<sup>251</sup>Andreas Breinbauer, "Brain Drain – Brain Circulation or ... What Else Happens or Should Happen to the Brains of Some Aspects of Qualified Person Mobility/Migration", FIW Working Paper, 4, Research Centre International Economics, Vienna, 2007, p.1.

<sup>252</sup>Breinbauer, p.3.

<sup>253</sup>Breinbauer, p.13.

migration emphasises the loss to a country of human capital in which it has invested to another country which has made no investment but reaps the benefits.”<sup>254</sup>

Contrarily, brain migration does not necessarily consist of a single, closed, one-way movement. Furthermore, well qualified young individuals demonstrate tendencies to be generally more mobile on the international labour markets than their less educated fellows. The term of “brain circulation” indicates that the migration of intellectuals may take varied forms and directions, as well as the promise of an eventual return to the home country. As it was demonstrated in the first section of this chapter, returning migrants bring new skills, methods and a fresh perspective to the labour market. In this manner, they hold the capacity to diversify production modes and achieve developments in their designated career field. Thus, it is recommendable to apply a critical approach to the usage of these terms, and differentiate between the categories of migrants they are used in connection with.

Jana Vavrečková and Ivo Baštýř Czech sociologists, conducted a series of face-to-face interviews with highly-qualified Czech return migrants. Their aim was to determine the main push and pull factors influencing the migration decision of experts and high-profile specialists. The researchers found that people’s inclination to migrate is exponential to their level of qualification<sup>255</sup>. Still, it is important to note that migration potential is defined by a range of factors including age, language skills, family circumstances and personal qualities. Based on the answers of their interviewees, Vavrečková and Baštýř managed to identify some of the main motivators of emigration. The significantly higher incomes, better work circumstances and professional advancement opportunities, as well as the possibility to expand their international professional networks figured among the most often quoted reasons fuelling their migration decisions. On the other hand, the survey results also showed that as long as the choice to leave the Czech Republic was based on professional ambitions, the return was motivated predominantly by personal considerations such as the absence of relatives and friends and difficulties presented by the unfamiliar socio-cultural environment of the host-societies<sup>256</sup>. Vavrečková and Baštýř concluded the report by the assumption that: “...the risk of brain drain does not at present represent pronounced quantitative losses in the Czech Republic, but rather qualitative losses”<sup>257</sup>.

A similar research, examining the push and pull factors shaping Hungarian migration and return migration tendencies was carried out by László Személyi and Márton Csanády in 2011. In their

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<sup>254</sup>Salt, p.21.

<sup>255</sup>Jana Vavrečková and Ivo Baštýř, “The Effects of Brain Drain in the Czech Republic and Earnings Motivation for Qualified Specialists to Work Abroad”, Research Institute for Labour and Social Affairs, Prague, 2009, p.57.

<sup>256</sup>Vavrečková and Baštýř, p.58.

<sup>257</sup>Vavrečková and Baštýř, p.58.

paper, *Some Sociological Aspects of Skilled Migration from Hungary*, they set out to reveal the specificities of the relationship among the stability of the Hungarian economic climate and the resulting changes of the general life standards in the country and the willingness of Hungarian expatriates to return to their home countries. The social analysis provided by the authors suggests that return migration is viewed as a viable option for individuals who in the majority of cases, fall outside of the scope of programmes designed to encourage return migration<sup>258</sup>. Return is seen as a reasonable alternative by the middle-aged generations planning their retirement and by individuals still in possession of a property or land in the home country<sup>259</sup>. Yet, the probability to return significantly varies across different professions. For instance, workers in the field of education, research and health care, sectors offering low remunerations and insufficient acknowledgements in Hungary, are generally reluctant to return to the country during their active years<sup>260</sup>. Személyi and Csanády highlights that the key motivators of outmigration are to be found in the low relative and absolute value of earnings and the resulting unsatisfactory life standards. The authors illustrate this argument by claiming that expatriates working in certain sectors abroad may earn up to four times more than their colleagues remaining in Hungary<sup>261</sup>. As a result of all this, the Hungarian research ends on a considerably more sinister note than what could be observed in the Czech case. Személyi and Csanády concludes their study, by stating: “Our results suggest that as long as the above mentioned differences do not decrease significantly, return migration will be moderate. So will the emigration continue while these differences prevail.”<sup>262</sup>

The issue of emigration incites governmental intervention to a considerably different extent in Hungary and the Czech Republic. As exhibited throughout the second chapter emigration rates in the two examined countries showed diverging tendencies over the past three decades. However, it is necessary to bear in mind that in a broader Central European context, neither Hungarian nor Czech outmigration tendencies cannot be considered outstanding. Nonetheless, emigration infiltrates into the Hungarian political and public discourse to a higher degree than to the Czech one. This is well demonstrated by the fact that in the Czech Republic only a few representative cases of retention and reintegration policies were launched since the country’s EU accession, while in Hungary several programmes and campaigns were released to foster return migration.

Up to this point in my research, I could not identify any nation-wide Czech initiatives related to the above-detailed policy area. Nevertheless, the Czech Republic was a member of the initiative

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<sup>258</sup>László Személyi and Márton Csanády, *Some Sociological Aspects of Skilled Migration from Hungary*, “Acta Universitatis Sapientiae”, Social Analysis, 1;1, 2011, p.35.

<sup>259</sup>Személyi and Csanády, p.35.

<sup>260</sup>Személyi and Csanády, p.44.

<sup>261</sup>Személyi and Csanády, p.39.

<sup>262</sup>Személyi and Csanády, p.44.

“Guidance and Counselling for Migrants and Returnees” along with countries like Cyprus, Greece, Slovakia, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom<sup>263</sup>. The project was financed, by the Grundtvig Learning Partnership Project 2009-2011, of the European Commission’s Lifelong Learning Programme. The selected participants of the initiative were provided training, guidance and coaching to facilitate their return to their home societies. As a remnant of the project a portfolio of tools and resources and an online library were created. In addition to this program, the Czech Academy of Sciences initiated a new fellowship programme targeted at Czech experts and scientists living and working abroad. The J.E. Purkyně Fellowship was created in the year 2003, and was awarded to returning scientists since 2004<sup>264</sup>. The programme’s main objective is “...to attract outstanding creative scientists from abroad to work in research institutes of the Czech Academy of Sciences”<sup>265</sup>. Although, it is important to consider that the programme scope includes not only emigrated Czech scientists, but also talented foreign researchers, interested in continuing their research in the Czech Republic. The fellowship is granted for a maximum of five consecutive years, to five to ten successful candidates annually. Therefore, it can be understood that the J.E. Purkyně Fellowship programme takes a qualitative approach to enticing return, rather than a quantitative one. The programme focuses decidedly on a small but invaluable group of experts, essential to maintaining the development of cultural and scientific life in the Czech Republic.

On the territorial level, a noteworthy example of proactive retention programmes was launched by the Ústí nad Labem region. A scholarship programme was founded in 2004 to support young college students with outstanding academic performances who resided in the region<sup>266</sup>. Each laureate of the scholarship received a grant of twenty thousand Czech Crowns each semester during the attainment of their higher educational degrees. Chosen students could extend the validity of their scholarship grants for an additional year after obtaining their diploma. In return for the grant, laureates were expected to work on the territory of Ústí nad Labem region for the same period of time as they received the scholarship. The regional authority revealed that between 2004 and 2011, there were 917 students benefiting of the grant. Though, fresh graduates of the programme reported to face difficulties finding suitable work placements in the region after their graduation. The case of the Ústí nad Labem region’s initiative proves that the success of retention policies is not solely subject to the

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<sup>263</sup>Kálmán, p.120, footnote 4.

<sup>264</sup>The J.E. Purkyně Fellowship <http://www.avcr.cz/en/academic-public/support-of-research/the-j.-e.-purkyně-fellowship/> visited on 05/04/2017.

<sup>265</sup>The J.E. Purkyně Fellowship <http://www.avcr.cz/en/academic-public/support-of-research/the-j.-e.-purkyně-fellowship/> visited on 05/04/2017.

<sup>266</sup>Zoltán Kovács, Lajos Boros, Gábor Hegedűs and Gábor Lados, “Re-Turn – Regions Benefitting from Returning Migrants – Returning People to the Homeland: Tools and Methods Supporting Remigrants in a European Context”, Baseline Report, Work Package 4.2.1., University of Szeged, Central Europe Programme, European Union – Regional Development Fund, p.38.

existence of funding options, but also to the prevalent economic and labour market conditions. It is still, necessary to note that this initiative was not solely targeted at potential young emigrants but also at students leaving the region to obtain their qualifications elsewhere within the state borders.

Contrary to the lack of Czech retention policies, the Hungarian state introduced a series of programmes and initiatives designed to keep the most talented young Hungarians in the country. In 2011, the Hungarian Parliament ratified an educational reform package which entailed the partial adoption of tuition fees at public universities and colleges as well as the introduction of a study contract hallmarked by the name of the then Secretary of State for Education, Rózsa Hoffmann. The contract was designated for students exempt from the obligation to pay a tuition fee due to their outstanding academic results, social difficulties, or physical and mental disabilities. As Chris Moreh explains, the students signing this contract have been obliged to stay and work in Hungary for a certain period of time, after their graduation "...in order to recompense society for what it had invested in their education"<sup>267</sup>. Students failing to comply with the rules set forward by the contract were required to pay part of the initial tuition fee back to the state. According to Moreh, the debated contract gave way to confusions and anxieties related to higher educational enrolment processes in Hungary:

"The finally adopted and currently enforced law sets rather loose terms for this requirement; however, the enduring uncertainties regarding its content and a gloomy media discourse have made university education in Hungary seem less attainable and more risky..."<sup>268</sup>

Therefore, an increasing number of young people has started to consider pursuing their tertiary level studies abroad, in a foreign educational institution<sup>269</sup>. It can be deduced that the Hoffmann law triggered significantly varying reactions within the society, so it be cannot evaluated as a successful policy of "brain retain", in its integrity.

Beside the 2011 comprehensive educational reform, there were other, smaller-scale initiatives launched to keep the most skilled young Hungarians in the country. The Momentum programme was established, by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, in 2009 and its goal was to provide research grants for aspiring Hungarian experts to continue their work in Hungary<sup>270</sup>. In a similar fashion, the SKOP-Albert Szentgyörgyi Repatriation Scholarship (2013-2014) concentrated on the retention of researchers from natural, technical and life sciences background, whereas the Károly Than Scholarship (2011) was created to prevent the emigration of medical professionals<sup>271</sup>. So, it is understandable that the majority of retention projects were targeted at the groups that Személyi and

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<sup>267</sup>Moreh, p.95.

<sup>268</sup>Moreh, p.95.

<sup>269</sup>Moreh, p.95.

<sup>270</sup>Kálmán, p.119.

<sup>271</sup>Kálmán, p.119.

Csanády identified as highly unlikely to return to the country during their economically productive years.

A nation-wide programme fostering retention and reintegration of emigrants was released in 2003 under the name “Project Retour”. The project’s purpose was to find solutions to the “brain drain” phenomenon, to encourage return migration, provide counselling opportunities to potential returnees and create global virtual networks and communities<sup>272</sup>. The project eventually ceased its operations in 2007, due to a lack of financing. The most recent “Come Home Youth” (Gyere haza fiatal!) programme was prematurely terminated in a similarly abrupt fashion, in the summer of 2016<sup>273</sup>. The programme was set up in 2015 and its main objective was to provide financial aid and guidance to 50 chosen Hungarian expatriates wishing to return to Hungary. However, according to statistical data revealed by the organization running the programme, the National Employment Public Nonprofit Ltd. (Országos Foglalkoztatási Közhasznú Nonprofit Kft.), a total of one 105 young returnees benefitted of the programme’s relocation package<sup>274</sup>. The particularity of the “Come Home Youth” programme was that it pronouncedly focused on young Hungarians living in the United Kingdom and working in a sector which is currently at shortage of workforce in Hungary. It could be observed throughout the third chapter that even though the United Kingdom is a popular destination country for Hungarians today, it does, by far, not house the most populous Hungarian migrant community in Europe. In this respect, the choice to concentrate on emigrants in the United Kingdom may seem out of place, though, it is recommendable to bear in mind that the UK has attracted predominantly well-educated young Hungarians who left their home country only recently, since the aftermath of the 2007 world financial crisis. As a result of this, it can be stated that the programme prioritized a specific social group that forms only a small segment of the Hungarian expatriate community living outside the country’s borders today. The “Come Home Youth” was originally meant to finish at the end of 2017, still, the closing of the programme was announced over a year earlier presumably due to a lack of funding.

It can thus, be affirmed that the number and scope of programmes and initiatives enticing return migration and the retention of the domestic workforce is more remarkable in Hungary, than in the case of the Czech Republic. Nonetheless, both countries put higher emphasis on re-attracting a

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<sup>272</sup>Fruzsin Albert, Ágnes Hárs, “Social Impact of Emigration and Rural-Urban Migration in Central and Eastern Europe – Final Country Report – Hungary”, European Commission DG Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion, Gesellschaft für Versicherungswissenschaft und -gestaltung e.V, April 2012, p.30.

<sup>273</sup>Origo news portal, „Leállítják a Gyere haza, fiatal! programot” (Translation: “The Come Home Youth Programme is to be Ceased”), <http://www.origo.hu/gazdasag/20160613-nem-hiv-haza-tobb-fiatal-a-kormany.html> visited on 05/02/2017.

<sup>274</sup>Hitelkalkulátor, Pénzügyek és hírek news portal, „Gyere haza fiatal program 2016/2017 és gyere haza fiatal vállalkozni!” (Translation: “Come Home Youth Programme 2016/2017 and Come Home Youth to Start Your Business!”), <http://online-kalkulator.hu/gyere-haza-fiatal-program-20162017-es-gyere-haza-fiatal-vallalkozni/> visited on 05/02/2017.

small group of well-educated and highly skilled workers and experts, than on initiating a wider re-engagement programme targeted at manual workers and blue collar workers with lower level of qualifications. As it was demonstrated by the cases analysed above, the realization of successful retention and reintegration policies requires an in-depth understanding of the problems fostering outmigration, the development of a realistic programme agenda and its thorough execution, in order to make return a viable option for emigrants. The majority of the above detailed programmes yet, failed to provide a real and sustainable solution to the issue of increasing emigrations and the persistently low return rates. It is important to take notice of the fact that most of the programmes examined, lacked sufficient funding to carry out their operations with success. Though, their failure could also stem from a lack of familiarity with the reasons underlying emigration and prompting a reluctance to return. Most importantly, however, it shall be noted that even the most immaculate programme might fail, if it does not go hand in hand with substantial changes in the areas in need of improvement.

# CONCLUSION

The objective of my master's thesis was to reveal the prevalent characteristics of present-day Hungarian and Czech migration tendencies and their underlying social and economic reasons, in the light of the happenings of the past three decades in Central and Eastern Europe. I aspired to provide a comparative presentation of the Hungarian and Czech cases in a wider Central European context. The comparative analysis of these two cases allowed me to understand that migration tendencies showed considerable disparities in the different countries of the Central and Eastern Europe. While the region in its integrity, was characterized by intensified outmigration tendencies in recent years, at the level of the individual states it was possible to identify crucial discrepancies. My research encompassed various distinct categories of migrations, though its focus remained all throughout the work on emigration. The scope of my work was not outspokenly concentrated on a certain social group, but the examination of the development of young people's migration potential was a recurrent subject of the research. Ultimately, my aim was to interpret Hungarian and Czech migration tendencies in the context of the two countries' political and economic development and to understand the demographic and labour market implications of their potential continuation.

Migration is a social phenomenon particularly sensitive to the changes of the local and international political situation and economic climate. Historically, significant migration waves emerged at times of great tension or change. The emergence of current East-West migrations dates back to the fall of communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe. The opening of borders and the hardships of the economic transition from the command-based Soviet production scheme to a capitalist market economy, inspired many Hungarians and Czechs to leave their countries in the 1990's. Since the two states' EU accession though, Hungarian and Czech migration tendencies show diverging tendencies. Slowly after joining the EU, Czech emigration rates started to decrease, and immigration of Eastern European manual labourers became a pillar of the Czech heavy industrial production, occupying a central role in the country's economy. Hungary however, experienced increasing emigrations since the aftermath of the recent world financial crisis, which shattered the Hungarian economy and gave rise to unemployment and poverty throughout the country.

Joining the European Union allowed citizens of the new Member States to move freely within the borders of the Single Market. Yet, it did not give them direct and free access to the labour market and welfare system of other Member States. Many of the old EU countries, introduced transitory measures to protect their domestic markets from the sudden inflow of Central and Eastern European

fluxes. This however, did not only affect the size of migratory waves in the first seven years following the 2004 accession wave, but it also influenced their orientation. While states like Germany and Austria, two historical immigration countries for Hungarian and Czech migrants stayed important destinations despite the restrictive measures they implemented, other new host countries, such as the United Kingdom, Ireland or the Netherlands became increasingly popular. Germany attracted high numbers of seasonal and contractual workers from the two researched states, since the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, due to its close physical proximity to the sending countries, and the persistently higher wages and better life standards it provided to Central and Eastern European migrants. Austria, a country sharing borders with both Hungary and the Czech Republic emerged as an important destination for permanent and temporary migrants, as well as for cross-border commuters. The changing legislative framework of the new millennium, the high-quality infrastructure characterizing the concerned regions, made it possible for thousands of people to live in one country and work in another. Unlike Germany and Austria, the United Kingdom did not count populous Hungarian and Czech communities prior to the two states' EU accession. It is therefore striking that the UK emerged as one of the most important recipients of current migratory waves from Central and Eastern Europe in a matter of years. Another unique aspect of current migrations to the United Kingdom is the fact that the country welcomes in large numbers highly-qualified young professionals, which raises questions related to the potential existence of "brain drain" from the new Member States.

In order to retrieve the tendency of "brain loss", state initiatives fostering the retention of talented young people and the re-attraction of high-profile young emigrants have been launched in recent years. In Hungary, several state and public projects were created to promote return, while in the Czech Republic the number of such initiatives remained modest. This is presumably due to the fact that the country is stricken by the issue of intensified outmigrations to a lesser extent than Hungary. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the majority of Hungarian projects operated under a limited scope, lacked sufficient funding and did not tackle the reasons underlying the phenomenon of increased population outflow from the country. It may thus be, inferred that as long as the social and economic issues motivating emigration from Hungary are not addressed substantially, this tendency will presumably continue. The growing outmigration coupling with the natural decrease of the Hungarian population of recent years, might in the long run, lead to severe demographic and labour market deficits. However, at present the issue of emigration, on its own does not threaten the stability of the country's economy and the cohesion of the Hungarian society.

Migrations and their socio-economic effects form a highly-debated, controversial topic within the current Hungarian and Czech public and political discourse. Although my thesis does not deal with the analysis of the related discourses in detail, it may provide grounds for further research in the

field. My work provided a predominantly quantitative comparison of current Hungarian and Czech migration tendencies, which may be expanded by a thorough qualitative analysis in the future. The findings of my master's thesis may also be complimented by a more detailed analysis of migrant motivations and experiences in selected countries, which may help to provide a more comprehensive overview of the dynamism of current migrations in Hungary and the Czech Republic.



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