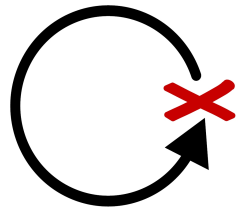




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METOIKOS Project

Circular Migration Patterns Migration between Ukraine and Hungary

Ayse Caglar
Tibor Sillo
Ignacy Józwiak
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The METOIKOS Research Project

Circular migration patterns in Southern and Central Eastern Europe: Challenges and opportunities for migrants and policy makers

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

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

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Executive Summary

This paper analyses the circulatory migration patterns between Ukraine and Hungary in the context of historical legacies and the recurring changes in the border regime regulations between these countries especially in relation to EU enlargement. It argues that it is not possible to understand the migratory flows from Ukraine to Hungary without considering the regional specificities and historical ties where the movement of borders resulted in the presence of Hungarian minority populations in all of the neighbouring countries of Hungary, without considering the place of these Hungarian minority populations within Hungarian national ideology and state politics, and without considering the impact of EU enlargement and Schengen borders. The changing volume and the composition of the migratory flows from Ukraine to Hungary draws attention to the profound impact of the 2008 economic crisis, which was felt very severely in Hungary. The bipolarity and the directionality of the migratory flows are broken in the context of this crisis, the EU enlargement and the implementation of Schengen borders, and the persistent state politics of Hungary vis-à-vis its minorities abroad. The migratory flows between these countries are now multi-directional instead of following a circulatory pattern. The nature and the pattern of the current migratory flows between Ukraine and Hungary urges us to put the concept of “circularity” of these flows into scrutiny by addressing the question of temporality and the directionality of such flows.

Keywords: circular migration, Hungarian minorities, multi-directional migratory flows, Hungarian border politics

1. Introduction

Migration between Ukraine and Hungary is shaped by the regional specificities and historical ties that exist between these countries.

Almost all Ukrainian migrants in Hungary come from Transcarpathia (Transcarpathian District, Ukr. Zakarpattya) which shares a border with Hungary, and where the migrant population is 80% “Ukrainian”.

The region belonged to the Hungarian Crown within Austro-Hungary between 1867 and 1918. Then in 1919, in accordance with arrangements of the Treaty of Trianon, it was granted to Czechoslovakia. In November 1938, under the First Vienna Award, Czechoslovakia, and later Slovakia, were forced by Germany and Italy to cede the southern third of Slovakia and southern Transcarpathia to Hungary. In 1944 the Red Army entered Transcarpathia, and after World War II Transcarpathia was incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and turned into Transcarpathian District (Ukr. *Zakarpatska Oblast*). It remained in this shape after the collapse of the USSR in 1991, forming an integral part of Ukraine (since 1991). The region has always been inhabited by multiple ethnic groups (Ukrainians, Ruthenians, Hungarians, the Roma, Germans, Jews, Romanians and others). One might say that in the case of Transcarpathia, it is not only people that move, but also borders, and the cross border movement of people seems to be closely related to „the movement of borders”. This seems to be the case in migration from Ukraine to Hungary. Still, it is to be stressed that most of the people going to Hungary from Ukraine live not only in the Hungarian-Ukrainian borderland, but also in the border zone.

Mobility of the borders is usually accompanied by the cross-border movement of people: expulsion, voluntary mobility and population exchange. This was indeed the case with Transcarpathia after both world wars, though the mobility of both domestic and international citizens was tempered by many laws in the soviet period which changed in response to political and economical factors. Voluntary migration was largely restricted to marriage, and less often to political career (though in the case of the latter, the voluntariness can be disputed). Possibilities of obtaining a passport were very limited and it was forbidden to keep one at home. The general regulations of the time made it, in theory, easier to enter a foreign country (even if a visa was required) than to leave the Soviet Union. The restrictions were abolished only in 1991, but still the question of voluntariness should be raised. As the (post)soviet economy collapsed, surviving “at home” was difficult; the work places were either closed or were not able to pay worker salaries workers for months. Under such conditions people were forced to leave the country for shuttle trading (the trips that would last from a couple of hours to a couple of days) and to search for work, which was mostly badly paid but still better than at home.

Movement between Ukraine and Hungary started relatively early, already in 1991/1992, as a result of visa-free movement and the abolishment of passport restrictions. The introduction of local border traffic was an important factor for making this mobility easier. In 2003, further integration into EU structures lead to the establishment of Hungarian visas for Ukrainian citizens; they were free of charge and relatively easy to obtain. Additionally there existed some simplifying procedures for the Hungarian minority (for example letters of recommendations of the cultural institutions accepted by the Hungarian consulate). In 2008, after Hungary joined the Schengen zone, the procedures became complicated and fees were introduced (35-50 EUR). However, in 2007-2008, Hungary became the first neighboring country to sign an agreement on local border traffic with Ukraine, facilitating the mobility within a border zone.

Despite the changes in the border crossings and visa regimes, migrations continue, with each legal change bringing along new patterns of circularity. Most of the labour and circular migrants from Transcarpathia come from Beregovo / Beregszász *raions* bordering Hungary. Migrants' stays in Hungary, as well as their strategies of obtaining visas, crossing the border and their success in getting a work place in Hungary vary.

In this paper, we examine the legal and socioeconomical background of circular migration between Ukraine and Hungary, we describe different migratory and circularity patterns to understand this phenomenon in its complexity and we make suggestions to overcome the problems the migrants from Ukraine to Hungary are facing. In our research we point not only to Ukrainian and Hungarian economies (which serve as push and pull factors) but also to the international and global context of politics and economy. The latter seems to be crucial in understanding the changes in Ukraine – Hungary migration.

2. Research Design and Methodology

2.1. An overview of the research already undertaken

One of the major challenges for our qualitative research was finding relevant and reliable statistical and survey data. Here we refer to, draw on and comment on the existing research on Ukrainian-Hungarian migration¹. The first question in the field was about the number of migrants from Ukraine working in Hungary.

Looking for statistics, we found a survey from Panta Rhei Social Research Group, *Employment of Ukrainian citizens in Hungary* (2010), which speaks of about 20,000 Ukrainians working in Hungary (OEP 2009) with working permits. According to this survey, about 5,000 are settled, naturalized Hungarians and another 6,000 are illegal workers. Only around one third of the 20,000 are in fact with working permits.

In a report published by Hárs Ágnes és Tóth Judit (2010), in the chapter *Migration and Labour Market in Hungary Facts, Causes and Perspectives*, Ágnes Hárs reviews the statistics and research on the number of foreigners in Hungary, specifically focusing on the problems of evaluation.

Gergő Pulay researched Romanian construction workers in Hungary between 2002 and 2005. His main focus was the construction workers' foreign citizenship, and the resulting disadvantages for these workers in the labor market. The time of his fieldwork corresponded to a time of economical boom. Yet, despite the aspect of Hungarian workers' ethnic self-awareness and their better situation before the 2008 economic crisis, Pulay's observations cast some light on the circumstances of Romanian and Ukrainian workers.

In 2007 Romania became an EU member and therefore the legal situation of all Romanians in Hungary changed. This might change the view of Hungarians about their Hungarian Romanian colleagues.

Statistics show that today Ukrainian women are granted residency in nearly half of all cases (52.6 to 47.4%). 77.5 % of all work permits are issued to men and only 22.3 % to women. In general, we know much less about Ukrainian women working in Hungary.

¹ This is the continuation and extension of the chapter 3 of our "Background Report"

Table 1: Number and distribution (%) of migrants from third countries (person) economic status based on the of the OEP-data, 2009

Economic status	Third countries	Ukraine	Serbian	Russian	Chinese	Vietnam	other third country*	
The number of migrants,								
Employees		21316	7957	1 514	755	3575	779	6736
Entrepreneurs, private payers' contributions		7339	1229	256	443	2017	679	2715
Unemployment benefits		534	235	24	33	10	2	230
Other recipients		2021	731	67	102	126	95	900
Students		1 183	364	132	92	38	67	490
Pensioneers		2580	1837	7	349	4	3	380
Minors		5 193	1224	1 8 1	271	1296	525	1696
<i>Total</i>		<i>40166</i>	<i>13577</i>	<i>2181</i>	<i>2045</i>	<i>7066</i>	<i>2150</i>	<i>13147</i>
<i>Share %</i>		<i>100</i>	<i>33.8</i>	<i>5.4</i>	<i>5,1</i>	<i>17. 6</i>	<i>5.4</i>	<i>32.7</i>
The distribution of migrants,%								
Employees		53. 1	58.6	69.4	36.9	50.6	36.2	51.2
Entrepreneurs, private payers' contributions		18.3	9. 1	11.8	21.7	28.5	31.6	20.7
<i>Together</i>		<i>71.4</i>	<i>67.7</i>	<i>81.2</i>	<i>58.6</i>	<i>79.1</i>	<i>67.8</i>	<i>71.9</i>
Entrepreneurs: assets ratio		13.4	14.5	37.0	36.1	46.6	28.7	13.4
Unemployment benefits		1.3	1.7	1.1	1.6	0, 1	0.1	1.7
Other recipients		5.0	5.4	3.1	5.0	1.8	4.4	6.8
Students		2.9	2.7	6.1	4.5	0.5	3.1	3.7
Pensioneers		6.5	13.5	0.3	17. 1	O, 1	O, I	2.9
Minors		12.9	9.0	8.3	13.3	18.3	24.4	12.9
<i>Total</i>		<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

* The difference between the total and the largest numbers of migrant issuing countries, calculated as the difference between the data. Source: Hárs Ágnes és Tóth Judit calculations based on National Health Insurance data.

We face the difficulty that irregular work such as care work rarely appears in statistics. Our information on female migrants in Hungary from Ukraine comes from a small, qualitative, methods-based study with all the advantages and disadvantages of such studies.

In Melegh Attila, Kovács Éva, Gödri Irén (2010), the chapter „Even the airport wasn't as in China“, looks at migration experiences of non Hungarian speaking Ukrainian and Chinese women living in Hungary. 15 Ukrainian and 15 Chinese women were interviewed. Another study on circulating women was done some years before by the Hungarian filmmaker Litauszki János. He followed five Transcarpathian women from their homes to the textile factory in Hungary in 2004.

At the National Labour Center in Budapest, Neuman Laszlo has been collecting data on construction workers, industrial workers and unionization for many years.

In the early 2000s many more Ukrainian men worked in construction and industry. But the organization rate was low. Even in 2000 only 17,000- 18,000 out of 268,068 construction industry employees, including small firms' employees, self-employed and casual workers, belonged to unions.

In 2011 union representatives Kemecsei József and Ilagi Gyula, Gyula president of Federation of Construction, Wood and Material Workers' Unions (Építő, Fa- és Építőanyagipari Dolgozók Szakszervezeteinek Szövetsége, ÉFÉDOSZSZ) admitted the very low unionization (now ca 5,000 out of 200,000) and the missing contacts to Ukrainian migrants.

Another important sector for immigrant work is agriculture. Here, we refer to Kubatov Márton's work (2011), which focuses more on the legal aspects than on the experiences of employees and farmers. His work is important for our research in relation to undocumented/ undeclared workers. "Undeclared and illegal work is a serious problem, in the European Union - concerning the extent there are no objective data, but, unfortunately, it is certainly an increasing trend."

Illegal work is "migrant work" is an often heard argument without backing. Many migrants do seasonal work illegally, but the majority of undeclared laborers are usually the unemployed, retired and other Hungarian citizens with low first incomes who work without contracts. "Labour inspectors deemed that 3-4 per cent of those detected in 2006 were foreigners and this proportion decreased in 2007" (Hars and Sik 2008).

As foreigners in Hungary are able to acquire residence permits by establishing a company, research on self-employed third country citizens in Hungary is relevant to explore the migrancy from Ukraine to Hungary. Domokos István, an expert from the consulting company "Hungariroda", underlines this factor, as do Neumann László and Hárs Agnes, in their studies. According to the statistics, 10 % of all micro companies with 0-1 employees in 2005 were owned by foreigners (GKM statistics).

Examples of self-employment include male construction workers and female sex workers. As stated before, the Ukrainian construction workers have a low unionization rate and are not seen as potential candidates. Thus the unions neither provide assistance to them nor show an interest in them.

The situation is different in the case of female sex workers. The Hungarian Sex Worker Association organizes and engages in research on this topic. They also reach out to foreigners by distributing information sheets in Romanian and Russian.

Another problem we faced was: in Ukraine a person in his or her fifties may be a pensioner. In Hungary, on the other hand, the proportion of the retired in the inactive population is lower. Only 39% of the inactive are retired. Those who are retired and disabled form an important group in the agriculture sector, but in other sectors, as in the past twenty years, thousands of people have lost their work places and in those years. The ration of inactive population increased and moreover, it was easier to achieve disabled status. (Kubatov 2011). One of the local experts interviewed in Beregszas also confirmed that many Ukrainian retired women work in care work.

What happens if someone tries to cross the border without having a visa? Surveys by Helsinki Committee and Menedek, two organizations who help migrants and refugees, as well as the statistics by OIN and Police inform about the treatments and procedures available to these people.

It turns out that often refugees were "refouled"² to Ukraine.

2.2 Fieldwork

Our research is based on fieldwork done in Hungary and Ukraine where we surveyed the existing data and discussed this material with stake holders, policy makers, experts and migrants in Ukraine and

² Refoulement is an unlawful and violent return of an asylum seeker.

Hungary. We were able to gather the most valuable data through participant observations and „hanging out“ with migrants. During our voyages on trains, buses, *mashrutkas*, and taxis between Budapest, East Hungary, in the different cities and villages in Transcarpathia, we got to know the migrants. We waited together at borders in bus and train stations, in offices, embassies and hospitals; and we talked in bars and other places of interest. We had time to talk to the migrants and to listen to their conversations with one another.

Our language competencies (Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarian, Italian) allowed us to access migrants' own preferred language (which was not necessarily the state language), to express their migratory experiences.

The research lasted from November 2010 to May 2011 and consisted of several visits and stays in Transcarpathia and Hungary. Each of us had already had experience in Ukrainian – Transcarpathian – cross-border – migration issues. Research on circular migration between the two countries is a part of our wider work and experience in the region. Our informants were mainly “migrants” – people who keep travelling to work to Hungary or had this experience in the past. Our main fieldwork location was the town of Beregovo / Beregszasz (in addition to its surrounding villages), while most of the expert interviews were conducted in Uzhgorod (and some in Beregszasz). By experts, we refer to academics/researchers, journalists and entrepreneurs who deal with Ukrainian-Hungarian migration at work, either in theory or practice. Some additional interviews with the migrants were conducted in Solotvyno / Aknaszlatina and Chop/Zahony border crossing (here, we refer to trains, cars, queues) and on the cars and buses travelling from Beregszasz to Budapest or Nyiregyhaza (through Luzhanka/Beregsurany border crossing). In Hungary, not counting the already mentioned trains, cars and buses, the interviews were conducted in Budapest. We reached migrants through our personal contacts in both countries, but some of the interviewees were met accidentally and the snowball method repeatedly brought us to new contacts. Last but not least, one of our team herself is a circular migrant. Kornélia Hires László in Hungary, now works in Ukraine and studies in Budapest. Her experiences were valuable to us as they allowed us an entry to an *emic* perspective.

Confronted with varying estimations, opinions, and media coverage which can be biased, this type of fieldwork poses challenges. We could not find corresponding statistics, but all our inquiries in Budapest directed us to Romanian women from the Hungarian minority doing this job. “Ukrainian women are working in Hospitals” was the standard response we got. After more than a half year of research we got in touch with a driver, who used to bring Ukrainian women to Hungary. According to her, the majority of these Hungarian Ukrainian pensioners either work in care work in Hungary, or they travel to countries like Austria where they work in Ski resorts with tourist visas during the ski season.

3. Socioeconomic and legal framework of migration between Ukraine and Hungary – borders, policies and the economy.

3.1 An overview of legal aspects of Ukrainian-Hungarian cross-border movement.

To understand this phenomenon, it is essential to sum up the laws and regulations, which were adopted in relation to border crossing, in a chronological order. We outline a periodisation that will help us to understand some of the trends in circular migration and highlight the legal and illegal employment opportunities. We believe these laws provide some prospects for those citizens who travelled abroad for work purposes.

Simplified procedures for crossing the border existed for the inhabitants of the border zone already in the Soviet period, but it was only in the early nineties they were used intensively. This possibility ended in 2003 with the prospects of Hungary joining the EU in 2004, but the mobility and circularity didn't stop (Gereoffy 2008:25; Osztapec 2010). A simplified form of document was used in combination with an identity card. Obtaining this document required much less financial contribution for Transcarpathian residents and the document was issued within a shorter span of time. In addition, the document enabled limited access to the surrounding border zone, allowing Transcarpathian residents to stay 10 days. However, people qualified to possess this simplified border crossing document were also permitted to apply for and acquire an international passport, which acted as a valid travelling document to all parts of Hungary for the duration of a month. It was advisable to use this international passport when one was planning to travel beyond Nyíregyháza and for longer periods.

Visas to Hungary for Ukrainian citizens were established in 2003 due to the further integration into EU structures. Like in Poland, they were free of charge and relatively easy to obtain. Additionally there existed some simplifying procedures for the Hungarian minority (for example, letters of recommendation from the cultural institutions accepted by the Hungarian consulate). From 2008, due to Hungary becoming part of the Schengen zone, the procedure became complicated and fees were introduced (35-50 EUR). However, Hungary was the first neighboring country to sign an agreement addressing local border traffic (2007 – 2008) through Ukraine.

With the conventions which came about on 1 November 2003 between Ukraine and Hungary, Hungary and Serbia, and Hungary and Montenegro the ethnic Hungarians living in Transcarpathia and in Vojvodina are required to apply for a visa when crossing Hungary's borders. It is referred to as the 'Polish model'. As a result, any Ukrainian citizen can obtain visas free of charge, in exchange for Hungarian citizens entering Ukraine without any visa requirements. In accordance, the Hungarian uniform Schengen visas issued by Hungarian embassies and the residence permits issued by Hungarian authorities apply to the entire Schengen area.

Before the Schengen visa system was introduced, a separate visa was required for each EU Member State, for example, when one wanted to travel to Germany, they had to travel to obtain it from the German Embassy in Kiev. This acquisition took a long time, and in addition to the visa costs there were travelling expenses. Therefore, citizens of Ukraine had a further opportunity to acquire, at a local level and free of charge, visas entitling them to travel.

Hungary joined the European Union on 1 May, 2004 and the prerequisite for the membership was the introduction of visa requirements in 2003. The requirements commencing from 2003 did not contain any extra options for Hungarian national, as opposed to ones introduced in 2006.

On 1 January 2006 a particular kind of document called the national visa was introduced. This document entitled Hungarian nationals (in addition to the special travel allowances for the period of 5 years) to live within the borders of Hungary over those 5 years with any disturbance or intervals. The visa restricts its holder from travelling abroad into any other EU country (later this condition was amended). To obtain this visa one had to produce documents which were incredibly difficult to obtain such as those proving close family connections.

This type of visa was supposed to be an alternative form of travel for those (in particularly living in Vojvodina and Transcarpathia), who also possessed the above described Hungarian identity cards. In this sense it was a compromise, which facilitated Hungary's inclusion to Schengen. The acquisition of this visa - as it has been previously mentioned - was almost impossible, and it was very rare for any applicant to be successful in their attempt.

Hungary became the full member of the Schengen zone from 21 December, 2007 and the options for visa applicants changed significantly. Up to that stage, citizens of Ukraine and Serbia had a possibility to obtain a visa to enter Hungary free of charge. However, this option was terminated with Hungary's Schengen membership and from this point onwards the citizens of both countries were required to pay 35 Euros as visa charges.³ The visas issued up to that point were issued free of charge and no additional documents were required when submitting the applications. Having joined the Schengen zone, Hungarian authorities obliged tourist visa applicants to obtain documents that could only be obtained from Hungary, and this paper work could take up to 5 days and cost 25,000 Hungarian Forints (roughly about 95 Euros).

An agreement was signed on 18 September, 2007 concerning local border traffic. This agreement stated that people dwelling on Ukrainian soils, including nearly 90% of the Transcarpathian Hungarians, are allowed to enter Hungary without significant administrative difficulties. These citizens are permitted to cross the border and go as far as a designated border strip of 35 to 50 kilometres. This special type of document was issued with a charge of 20 Euros and was essentially an equivalent of a visa seal that was placed in the holder's passport. With this document, the Hungarian national holders could enter Hungary without need of the so-called 'border-crossing stamps' but they were expected to live in a particular area of Ukraine and were not permitted to go beyond certain Hungarian territories (i.e., the surrounding area of Nyíregyháza).

Another simplifying procedure for Transcarpathians of Hungarian ethnicity is the institution of a liability statement, introduced by The Hungarian Foreign Ministry in 2008. It is a documents where an organization assumes responsibility for all activities of travellers in the Schengen zone (including all responsibility for criminal acts). Similarly, Hungarian ethnic applicants are entitled to visa fee refunds, which could be exercised through either body. This fee is financed by the Hungarian state, thus supporting once again the cultural and kinship ties between the countries. In comparison with the restricted travelling document, this obtained visa attached with a liability document allows its holders to stay in Hungary and other Schengen zone states over the course of 90 days.

Here we see the significance of the Hungarian Card, since it is the prerequisite both for the visa fee refunds and for the liability statement. As a result, a number of Ukrainians have also handed in their application for this identity card so they can travel free of charge in the Schengen zone. This came to light in the summer of 2010 when a screening was carried out at the authorities that were issuing these documents (the Hungarian Fidesz government, which was in power when the Status Law, allowing some citizenship rights to the Hungarians living in the neighbouring countries, was introduced in 2001). According to the 2001 census there were 152 thousand of those who claimed to be Hungarians in Transcarpathia.; nevertheless by the summer of 2010, 165 thousand applicants had been granted Hungarian identity cards. To be granted this document, one needs to be over the age of 14; based on the 2001 census, the number of above-14s should have been between 100 and 120 thousand (minors and non-ethnic Hungarian family members are entitled to the survivor's replacement card).

The Amendment Act of Hungarian Citizenship was adopted by the Hungarian National Assembly on 26 May, 2010, which simplified the procedures of gaining citizenship. This amendment states that to become a citizen of Hungary one does not need to be resident in Hungary and does not need to pass a citizenship test; it is perfectly sufficient to speak the language and applicants are not required to supply a proof of Hungarian address or income. Hungarian citizenship can be applied for at the Hungarian foreign representations office and at the designated Hungarian authorities. With this opportunity a free way towards the European Union is opened and it becomes possible for Transcarpathian Hungarians to work without a work permit in any Member State.

³ Source: http://www.mfa.gov.hu/kulkepvisolet/Beregovo/hu/Konzuliinfo/altalanos_schengeni_taj.htm

Many people are fearful, since Ukraine has yet to make a clear statement on a dual citizenship amendment, which also targets those who are Ukrainian citizens. Ukrainian officials have, however, voiced their disapproval and termed the amendment to be anti-state. Additionally, 20 individuals who have attended their Hungarian citizenship oath ceremony have been persecuted by the Ukrainian Internal Affairs Division (SBU) and proceedings were instituted against them.

3.2 Social and economical framework

Ukrainian, and in general, post-Soviet economy started to decline in the years 1991 and 1992 due to the political chaos after the collapse of the USSR. In the Soviet period, none of the republics were economically independent which gave rise to problems of supplying products, material, and in some cases, workers for household and industry. The early years of independence meant an enormous economical crisis for Ukraine and its citizens. About the same time (1992) travel restrictions in Ukraine were cancelled. Until then, it had been easier to enter the neighboring country (as a visa-free regime existed between the member countries of the “socialist bloc”) than to leave the USSR/Ukraine. In the same time (1992) local cross-border movement was introduced between Ukraine and Hungary and one could go up to Nyiregyhaza without a passport. This was the time when the shuttle trade boom between the two countries started and the market in Nyiregyhaza became a popular destination for people from *beregivskiy raion*.

I had a car, and those days you didn't need a visa or passport [...] I don't remember how far from the border you could go, but it was enough to go to the market in Nyiregyhaza. I used to go there almost every day in the morning and around lunch time I was back home. We were earning good money, those were very good days... (“L”, the unemployed from Beregszász, aged 55 also used to work at construction sites in Budapest and Komárom)

It was also in the years 1992 and 1993 when people started going to work illegally in Hungary- very often to Budapest or to western Hungary. For most of them it was the first contact with Hungary.

I can't remember when it was when I first went to work to Hungary, 1992 or 1993. A friend of mine had some relatives there, he went first and I joined him later. We worked at the construction site near Budapest for about two months, then we came back for some time and went back again. [...] I remember, when I was going there for the first time on a train, a Hungarian ticket inspector took my ticket and then claimed I had no ticket and he wanted me to pay the fine. I told him it was my first time in Hungary and I didn't know the rules. Fortunately, some old lady confirmed that she saw me giving the ticket to the previous inspector. [...] I was still employed in the mine in Solotvyno, but we earned almost nothing and there were big delays in receiving the salaries, we didn't earn much in Hungary, but it was better than here anyway. (“R”- the former miner from Solotvyno, aged 41)

The migration from Transcarpathia to Hungary continued through the entire 1990s. Men mostly worked on construction sites and in industry, while women worked in light industry (like sewing). It is interesting to compare migration from Transcarpathia and Transilvania, where men, just like in Transcarpathia, worked mostly on construction and industry, while women did the housework. There were few women from Transcarpathia doing housework and some of them could not find jobs in housework because it was dominated by women from Transilvania.

My mother was cared always by women from Romania. Just once a Ukrainian lady did this. But after two weeks she quit. She wasn't used to 24 hour shifts. She spoke Hungarian like the Romanians, but she was a nurse and was used to 8 hours shifts. We accompanied her to the train station back to Transkarpathia (“L”, male, Budapest, aged 62).

Introducing visas hardly changed the dynamics of mobility on Ukrainian-Hungarian borders (Mitraeva 2011, Mitraeva and others 2010:17-23) as visas were free of charge and relatively easy to obtain. This meant people would continue to go to work and shuttle trading carrying tourist visas. Moreover there were some programs for Transcarpathian Hungarian students to study in Hungary. What potentially might have discouraged Transcarpathians from going to Hungary was the introduction of fees in January 2008 and the new restrictions on amounts of cigarettes on entire borders of the EU. Still, the holders of the Hungarian Card were able to claim the fee they paid back from the Hungarian state. After the introduction of the restrictions, the shuttle trade decreased, but didn't disappear and, migration and circularity, though in limited numbers, continued.

This provides us with the context of bilateral agreements between Hungary and Ukraine (in the EU period we can speak only about local border traffic), international agreements between the EU and its neighboring countries (for example, visa laws), regional agreements (for example, Carpathian Euroregion, V4 and their agreements with Ukraine and other neighboring countries) and changes in visa regime, which are connected to all of the above-mentioned arrangements. For example, the case with the local border traffic which, from the Ukrainian side serves as a path towards visa free movement between entire Ukraine and entire EU (Mitraeva 2011, Mitraeva 2010). From this point of view, mobility of people through Hungarian-Ukrainian border serves as an indicator of the entire Ukrainian-EU movement and migration. Still, the specificity of the region remains and makes eventual parallels difficult.

A year after Hungary (and other Ukrainian EU member neighbors) joined Schengen, both Hungary and Ukraine were struck with economical crises. According to many sources within European countries, Ukraine was the country which experienced the worst crisis and Hungary, together with Latvia, experienced the crisis strongest among the EU countries. This had a dual impact on Ukraine / Transcarpathia. The level of unemployment increased and at the same time the wages decreased. These conditions gave people more incentive to leave the country. However, as Hungary, the common destination of circular migrants, faced similar problems to those in Ukraine, the destination country for the Ukrainians changed.

The Ukrainian economy and labour market are characterised by low wages and often uncertain conditions. In 2008, the employment rate was 53.5% (60% among men and 48.3% among women). In October 2010, the average income in Transcarpathia was 2,353 UAH, 203 Euros and the minimum wage was 907 UAH, 78 Euros. The monthly average was 418 UAH, 36 Euros and an average wage per hour was 9.33 UAH, 80 cents. The income in agriculture is almost half of the average income. The decline of the Ukrainian economy in 2009 was over 10% and production in Transcarpathia dropped by 50% within a year. According to official data, unemployment was 9.9% (2010 for Ukraine 8.8%, in 2008 6.4%) but these numbers do not represent the actual situation, as few unemployed register, land owners are not entitled to benefits and migrants are not included in the statistics. What is more, those who are employed often don't receive their wages on time often have forced holidays and are given fewer working hours.

In Transcarpathia the dominant form of production is agriculture. The manufacturing sector includes metal processing and engineering (e.g. castings, metal cutting machines, computer equipment manufacture), the food industry, light industry, building industry, mining and energy, but most of the industrial estates are no longer operating. And despite the foreign investment in Transcarpathia, mostly Hungarian and multinational companies from the USA, Slovakia, Germany, Russia and Japan, the construction sector diminished by 30% in 2009 compared to 2008. In 2010, there were more bankruptcies (50% in all branches and 38% in construction bankruptcies and closures) than in 2009 (<http://www.karpatinfo.net/article116484.html>). At the same time, there was high fluctuation: more

companies were founded than were closed or declared bankruptcy. The crisis abroad and the resulting decline in the job market meant that Ukrainian construction workers stayed in the region (<http://karpatinfo.net/gazdasag/2010/09/19/csak-latszat-krizis-enyhulese-az-epitoiparban>).

The official employment rate in Hungary is around 57% mostly due to the relatively high performance of the shadow economy. But even factoring in the off-the-books employment, the rate is still low. Increasing the employment rate is one of the main goals of the Lisboa Strategy, yet in Hungary this goal is not being met, despite the government's efforts to increase the employment rate in recent years (Wetzel 2009). The institution of an "occasional work permit", aimed at facilitating employment, has been extended and can now also be issued to non-Hungarian citizens. In this type of work permit the employer can write the day of the employment him or herself and can pay taxes towards the Hungarian state in the form of fee-stamps" (Gereoffy 2008).

Economic crises in both countries resulted with the paradoxical "small scale local construction boom" in 2009 and 2010 in Ukraine. People who worked in Portugal and Italy stayed there as the labor market in those countries had not changed as dramatically as it had in Hungary. It was also too far to go back home or circulate. The situation for those who worked in Hungary was different. They came back to Ukraine and started to build and renovate their houses with their savings.

4. Types of circular migration

Circular migration for the purposes of this research is defined as international, temporary, recurrent migration for economic reasons. A typology of circular migration needs to take into account at least three dimensions:

- a) the legal or irregular nature of the movement – and hence the regulated or unregulated character of the phenomenon.
- b) the level of skills and education of the people involved (semi/low-skilled vs. high-skilled). And
- c) the length of time of each stay and return (short-term, medium-term and long-term circularity).

On the bases of legal conditions, types of work, frequency of travelling and the duration of staying, we have identified six main types of legal circular migration:

Seasonal legal labour migration (migrants based in the country of origin) – spontaneous or regulated

It usually applies to agriculture with its specific recruitment of a foreign seasonal workforce. The rules and procedures towards other EU Member Countries' citizens are the same as for Hungarian citizens and all three simplified forms of employment (casual labor, agricultural seasonal work, tourist seasonal work) may be used. Third-country nationals may be employed only in seasonal agricultural employment with the exception of those immigrated or settled in Hungary, with resident status. Any third country citizen may apply for seasonal work within a time limit of 60 days a year. Permits are issued by the job center. A work permit is necessary but no proof of the non availability of members of the Hungarian/EU workforce (Kubatov 2011) is required.

Circular legal labor migration (migrants based in the country of origin) - spontaneous

Ukrainians with Hungarian citizenship may travel and work in both countries. This might include skilled workers as well as businessmen and pensioners.

After my husband died I decided to sell our house in Eger [Hungary] and buy a cheaper one in my home town Mukachevo. But you know, I'm still an active person even if I don't drive trucks anymore, but I could work in Germany as a Hungarian in care work. („L“, female, pensioner, Eger/Mukachevo, age 66)

I went to car mechanic school in Debrecen for two years. Then I came back to Ukraine and was [legally] employed. My salary is incredibly low. Only with some extra irregular work I'm able to survive. [...] I'm applying for Hungarian citizenship to work in the EU, according to economic situation, in Hungary or other countries. („O“, male, state service, Solotvyno, aged 24)

Circular legal labor migration (migrants based in the country of destination) - spontaneous

This refers to people with low or mid-level skills who are long-term migrants in the destination country but are having difficulties finding a job in this period (e.g. because of the current economic crisis) or are under-employed (have temporary or unstable jobs below their skill set). These people circulate between immigration and origin countries to: carry out household repair work, do farm work temporarily legal in their country of origin

This group of people is very often not focused on Hungary and is ready to go to any place where there is the possibility of employment and of earning relatively good money. Among those interviewed, some people also went to Germany, Russia, Slovakia and Czech as well as bigger cities in Ukraine (treating this also as a migratory experience).

I have been working since '93 in Hungary. First with a tourist visa; every two months we went back home. In the crisis of 1997 I stayed in Ukraine. We went to Siberia to work there for half a year with a contract, but were not paid well. Then we worked again in Hungary near Budapest. We decided to establish a company in 2008 in Hungary because this was the best and only way to work legally. (“Y” male, construction worker Budapest, age ca 40)

In addition, we can speak about two types of semi-legal circular migration:

Circular semi-legal labour migration (migrants based in the country of origin)– which may or may not follow a seasonal pattern, and where stay is legal and work is informal. A number of employment sectors are concerned including construction, domestic work, tourism and catering. This type of seasonal migration is technically legal depending on the stay of the migrant: the migrant enters with a Local Border Traffic Permit or before Schengen times the Tourist Visa but her/his employment is irregular as her/his visa does not provide the right to work.

The people involved are semi-skilled or highly skilled people who are unemployed and/or cannot make ends meet in the country of origin and for various reasons (family reasons or simply the impossibility of migrating legally) do not wish to migrate for longer periods. They take advantage of established ethnic networks and engage in circular migration. They work in the caring, cleaning sector (women) or in construction and farm work (men).

“When I was a student I went to Budapest twice to work in the summer at the market. I had a Tourist Visa. It was no problem to get a job. They even promised to hire me. But I had no time anymore. The third summer, by chance, I got the possibility to work seasonally in cucumber harvesting in Germany legally as a student. It was hard physical work but I earned a lot. (“G”,

male, employee Beregszász age 23)

Legal border crossings with a Local Border Traffic Permit (*kishatárforgalmi engedély*) and irregular work

The number of Ukrainians working in this way is decreasing due to more controls and less availability of work. In addition, more unemployed Hungarians are forced to work and in western Hungary the wages are higher and this permit is only valid up to Nyiregyháza (a town 70km away from the border).

I was picking cucumbers in a village near the Austrian border. They said that you earn more in western Hungary. I even had permission to work. [...] they tried to cheat me so I came back earlier than I had planned. Later I used to bring some stuff across the border in Vilok [...] Now I have no passport, so I'm not planning to go anywhere. (Z", male, state service and construction worker, Solotvyno, age 30)

Z didn't know what kind of document he had. This is typical for many migrants – they don't remember the dates, type of agreements or documents they carried.

Circular semi-legal labor migration (migrants based in the country of destination) – spontaneous.

People involved in this kind of migration have low, medium-level or high skills, they are long term migrants in the destination country but are having difficulties finding a job in this period (e.g. because of the current economic crisis) or are under-employed (have temporary or unstable jobs). These people are engaged in circular migration between the two countries to:

buy goods usually from the destination country and selling them at the country of origin. This is an informal trade without a license.

offer transport services to fellow nationals, transporting their belongings from the destination country to the country of origin. This is also a service offered without the appropriate license.

In both cases, custom officers at the countries involved may ask the people involved to pay fines or may ask for bribes to let them through. Still, business is profitable.

Students stay legal in the country and work irregularly in offices or offer different services

I studied in Budapest and worked in different offices.[...] . My experience was in a call center, but at other work places as well we had to do all our legal work ourselves. They don't want to do anything regarding our insurance, tax or status. They prefer to pay a bit extra. So I often worked semi-legally. („M“ female, academic, Budapest/Kiev, age 24)

Irregular circular migration:

In the Ukrainian - Hungarian case we find two types of irregular circular migration:

First a migrant enters with legal documents, works legally but then extends the period of legal stay (known as an over-stayer) or continues without the necessary documents and finds employment in the informal labor market in seasonal or other temporary jobs (in agriculture, catering, tourism, cleaning, private care and in other sectors) where native workers also often work informally

In the early '90s I was an employed construction worker. Then I earned more by being self employed and often we worked undeclared. Later I married in Ukraine and we now have two children. When our first child was born I still worked as a tractor driver legally employed in

Eastern Hungary. In 2007 I decided to come back and now I work in Ukraine mostly undeclared in construction. ("K", male, construction worker, Beregszász, age 32)

This can also be the case with refugees who stay and work in Ukraine and try to get to Hungary to apply for asylum but are not accepted by Hungarian border guards and are handed back to Ukrainian authorities.

I lived in a town in Ukraine and tried to get to Hungary. Twice the Hungarian border guards caught me. They promised to bring me to an Interview for refugees. But instead they brought me back. The Ukrainian border guards were angry. They beat me and arrested me. I was in the border guard prison in Chop twice for several months. Later I tried again to organize my way to Hungary. On the third time, I managed to arrive in Budapest. But then, I was arrested again. Finally, with the help of a lawyer of the Helsinki Committee I could apply for asylum. Now I am a recognized refugee in Hungary. ("A", male, Somali refugee, Budapest, age 28)

5. Concluding remarks with special reference to issues of (re-)integration at the country of origin and the countries of destination

5.1. Integration

In reference to all six different types of circular migration we think the issue of integration has an impact on the living and working conditions of the persons of interest. Given the high level of xenophobic attitudes in Hungarian society as some surveys indicate, the question should be, is integration possible? Even its own minorities are excluded in everyday life and face disadvantages in education, housing and other social issues. Neither in policy making nor in public discourses does the integration of migrants in Hungary seem to be a priority.

According to a survey designed and conducted by TÁRKI in 2009, one third of the respondents openly expressed xenophobic views (they wish that "asylum seekers not be able to step into the country") while 10 % were homophobic (according to them "all applicants for asylum must be upheld". The 2010 survey showed a slightly better picture: 29 % were xenophobic and fewer than 12% were homophobic 71% would give a residence permit to a Hungarian from abroad and only 17% to an Ukrainian citizen and 15% to a foreign Gypsy (TÁRKI 2009).

Hungarian minorities from neighbor countries are welcome, if they come as tourists. But if they come to work, they are seen as foreigners who will work for lower wages and worse conditions, even when they speak Hungarian. At least this is the opinion of many Hungarians. Some of the migrants reflect on this opinion others ignore it.

In 2004 Hungarian citizens voted in a referendum against dual citizenship for minorities abroad. Fear was spread among the citizens that more poor people eligible for pension and other benefits would come. This attitude is in contrast to what Ukrainian Hungarians expect from their co-ethnics. The film "Threadbare" shows how the Ukrainian Hungarian women were totally disappointed with this behavior of the other Hungarians.

One of contributing factor is the Hungarian minority's secure feelings in their Hungarian roots. Some said: "Actually I don't need the dual citizenship because I am Hungarian anyway!"

One might expect that trade unions would take care of this issue. In fact this is rarely the case despite the suggestions like:

“European trade unions, to ensure effective legal protection, should embrace, should involve the seasonal workers in the membership. They should act against the unfair practices of retail chains and illegal employment networks. The social partners should organize information campaigns on dangers and prevention of illegal work” (Projectives Network 2008).

Even someone who speaks Hungarian has to confront a lot of paperwork. Many migrants have negative experiences with the OIN (Office of Immigration and Nationality). Contrary to what is seen in Ukraine, bribes don't work, but it is important to know which officer is helpful or which is a trouble-maker. Often the employers don't do the necessary paperwork and the self-employed have to arrange everything.

Legalization of working- and residence permits does not automatically include integration. The Hungarian government does not provide language lessons, housing or other help for foreign laborers. This refers to Chinese migrants or recognized refugees or Ukrainians and others who have a work permit but do not speak Hungarian.

When I slept at the market place, because I didn't have a place to stay, someone told me that an older lady was dying and I should go to her. I said, okay let's help the lady to die. Somehow I managed to help her to survive. During daytime I worked at the marketplace and in the evenings in the houses of older people. I earned in a few months what my husband in Ukraine had earned in a month! I went back to continue my job as physiotherapist. But as I got sick and arrived three days later, they fired me and accused me of not being ill but “moneysick”. I got angry and decided to leave the country. First I worked two months at home. Then I met some Ukrainian soccer players and with them and the help of a Hungarian Ukrainian woman who is a doctor who has settled in Hungary, I found a working place in a sportclub. They spoke Russian because I didn't speak Hungarian. [A physiotherapist woman]

Housing is one of the biggest problems of all migrants and in comparison to Ukraine, their housing situation and conditions they live in is much better in the country of origin (as almost all of the interviewed live in their own homes, or homes owned by their families):

In Ukraine we have three houses and here in Budapest we do not have one but we sublet an apartment. (“R” –female, employee, Budapest, age 26)

The age of the migrants and the situation with their children are important issues in the narratives of those interviewed. Women below 30 have to deal with problems of integrating their children into the schools. This issue is well documented in Feinschmidt Nyíri Pál „Children not wanted? Foreign children in Hungarian schools (Nem kívánt gyerekek? Külföldi gyerekek magyar iskolában) Budapest(Sik Kiadón 2006). Only one school in Budapest provides extra Hungarian lessons for the immigrant and refugee minors. It is financed by the government.

According to the OEP 1,224 Ukrainian Minors lived in Hungary in 2009. We face two different experiences:

- a) Husband settles in Hungary and wife circulates.

He started to study in Hungary in '93 at Elte.. We had already one four year old child. He wanted me to follow him with the child to Hungary. We didn't speak Hungarian. He spoke fluent English. After his studies he found a job. The boy was in kindergarten and I was at home with the second child. After seven months, when he lost his job and the situation was not good, we decided that I should return to Ukraine. (female, Budapest in: “I thought I had missed the target”, KSH 2010)

b) Husband and wife settle in Hungary and child stays with grandmother in Transkarpathia

I work in the textile factory and my husband in different place in Hungary. It is really difficult to be together in our village. We have different shifts and holidays (Threadbare).

Some legal aspects of integration:

a) Dual citizenship and other aspects of naturalization; b) Hungarian Card (Magyar igazolvány).

Accepting qualifications in both countries:

Ukrainian school qualifications are accepted in Hungary, but acceptance of qualified workers from the third countries depends on the situation of the domestic labor market. That applies, for example, to nurses who could be accepted in different periods. The situation is different in Ukraine, where Hungarian qualifications are not accepted. Some Ukrainian students (for example, from Beregszász) do internship in Hungary as a part of a bilateral agreement.

5.2. Reintegration

Migrants transfer their salary to Ukraine and spend it on consumption or invest in business. Due to the economic crisis and more difficult procedures to obtain a Visa after 2008, more Ukrainians stay and work in Ukraine.

The only positive bilateral agreement facing reintegration we found is the agreement on pension⁴. Ukrainian pensioners coming to Hungary may get their pensions in Hungary according to the years they worked in Ukraine. The pension is paid in Forint on the bases of Hungarian laws according to age and scale. In total only around 1,837 (OEP Data 2009) Ukrainians receive a pension in Hungary. In Ukraine you may get pension according to the years you paid in Hungary into the pension fund.

There are also bilateral agreements which are not beneficial to the mobile people, like the readmission agreements between Hungary and Ukraine and recently those between EU and Ukraine

“The Readmission Agreement between EU and Ukraine was signed on 18 June 2007. It sets out the procedure of readmission of own and third country nationals and stateless persons. On 13 November 2007 a number of EU-Ukraine agreements, including the Agreement on Readmission were approved by the European Parliament. The Agreement foresees a two-year transition period before the new readmission regime between the EU and Ukraine fully enters into force” (Official Journal L 332, 18/12/2007 P. 0048 – 0065).

The “public opinion” as well as some experts in Ukraine claimed that it would result with the increase of the number of foreigners in the country. An argument often heard in Ukraine was:

⁴ Agreement between the Soviet Union and Hungary (Union of Soviet Socialist Republic and the Hungarian People’s Republic on Social Security, signed December 20, 1962, effective April 12, 1963).

“Once it has entered into force the number of foreign citizens returned to Ukraine will increase dramatically” (ECRE, Country Report 2007, Belarus, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine).

The reality shows that Ukrainians are the majority of the readmitted :

“Deportations might be considered a specific version of forced migration. In 2000, 9,006 Ukrainians were returned to their country, 8,296 in 2001 and 6,318 in 2002. In 2004, 4,013 migrants were deported from Poland to Ukraine, of which 3,397 were Ukrainians whilst 616 were third country nationals, mostly Moldovans, Chinese and Georgians, returned under readmission agreements (HRW 2005: 15). In the same year, 22 Ukrainians and 832 migrants from other countries were returned to Ukraine (ibid.: 13). In 2004, 8,000 foreigners were detained and more than 5,000 people were deported from Ukraine, the figures were similar in 2005, too (Düvell 2005).

According to the adviser of UNHCR, M. Butkevych

“... from January till the end of October 2010, as to official data, 404 illegal migrants – citizens of Ukraine, 215 – citizens of CIS countries and 127 citizens of other states were returned from EU countries to Ukraine”(<http://www.euroatlantica.info/index.php?id=3175>).

It seems that for some the readmission agreement may provide an extra source of income.

Investments in border control including biometrical documents, border prisons and detention centers, computers and surveillance technology all generate their own economies.

“Through various assistance programs in 2001-2003, Ukraine received more than 33 million Euros for constructing and equipping border checkpoints; in 2004–2005, the technical equipment of frontier troops at the eastern border was considerably improved (over 11 million Euros). This acted as a buffer, impeding the flow of irregular migrants who had been using Ukraine as a transit route to the West. “ Labour Migration Assessment for the WNIS Region, October 2007, IOM Mission in Ukraine

Basically, Ukrainian circular migrants invest their money in their country of origin but the government does not offer any reintegration assistance.

5.3 Further research

Recent phenomena like: Hungary’s membership in Schengen zone, economic crises, changes in Hungarian Law on citizenship as well as regional and “all-European” dynamics on the labor market and border regime make migration strategies and circularity patterns subject to continuous changes. In our opinion, the topic of Ukrainian-Hungarian migration requires a more multidirectional approach. As we have pointed out, many people from Transcarpathia go to other countries as well, and some of those who used to go to Hungary are considering changing their destination countries. Special attention should be paid to:

- a) Ukrainian citizens applying for Hungarian citizenship and their migration practices⁵;
- b) Hungarian, Polish and Czech labor markets and their demands for foreign labor. It is possible that people who used to work in Ukraine and/or people who obtain Hungarian citizenship would go to Poland (which has got a relatively liberal policy towards employing Ukrainians and EU citizens) or the Czech Republic (which has got a relatively stable economic situation,

⁵ This also raises the question of mutual demographical connections between Ukraine and Hungary.

higher salaries than Poland and has served as a popular destination for immigrants from Transcarpathia);

- c) The recent and future changes in the EU's border regime;
- d) the Ukrainian economy (the main pull factor).

6. Policy Recommendations for Hungarian Policy Makers concerning Circular Migration between Ukraine and Hungary

As Hungary has been quite strongly struck by economic crisis (as one of the two harshest in the EU countries), the attractiveness of the Hungarian labour market has decreased. As a result, greater attention should be paid to provide updated information about the Hungarian labour market for the potential migrants in Ukraine (especially to Ukrainians of Hungarian origin who are more easily engaged in circular migration). This is important to avoid the disappointments and the exploitation of the migrants (with very low wage employment) in Hungary, which in turn works against circularity.

As the laws regarding mobility (of the seasonal workers, about visas and procedures and requirements for naturalization) change very often, it is difficult for the migrants and sometimes for the law-ranking bureaucrats to maintain an overview of the current state of things. Naturalized and non-naturalized Hungarian-Ukrainians are subject to different conditions in terms of their mobility, work conditions (for example, in terms of pay / salaries) and bureaucratic regulations in border crossing and in Hungary. Naturalized Hungarians face less xenophobia but non-naturalized Ukrainian-Hungarians are seen as foreigners, both legally and culturally, who are subject to different kinds of bureaucratic and legal regulations, very often leading to non-equal pay in Hungary and difficulties at the border. This leads to resentment and tension between migrant groups. Obstacles at the borders and the experience of discrimination in the labour market function against circularity.

As circularity and integration are not contradictory, it is important to create more possibilities for legal seasonal work (like in Poland for example). This should also ease the procedures at the border. Long lines and tough controls discourage people from travelling and circulating, and make their incorporation both in Ukraine and Hungary difficult.

It is also important to provide assistance in establishing Limited Liability company in Hungary:

While the entrance to Hungary after Schengen became more difficult, the law regarding establishing LCC decreased the sum from 3 million HUF, approximately 11,400 Euros to 500 thousand HUF, 1,900 Euroes, Ukrainian circular migrants started establishing LCC. The law came into force on September 2007 and the changes were introduced in compliance with EU and Schengen requirements. This became an important venue to get a work permit, which is in turn necessary for the residence permit.

Our fieldwork showed that circular migrants from Ukraine (like other migrants in Hungary) very often face problems in finding appropriate accommodation in Hungary. Some assistance in housing along with simplification of procedures, such as creating special housing offices for the migrants, and simplifying the procedures for renting a house for non-Hungarian citizens, will be an important step in promoting circularity.

In addition, encouraging trade unions and NGOs to monitor and demand equal treatment in the labour market will encourage more Ukrainians and Hungarian Ukrainians to engage more in circular migration.

More attention should be paid to the effects of the discrepancy between the economic conditions and the regulations vis-à-vis Hungarian origin migrants and discourse including “Hungarians living abroad” and “Hungarians from the Carpathian Basin”. Hungarian co-ethnics from the neighbouring countries (especially Ukraine) are often either accepted as a cheap labour force reserve or treated as unwanted and dangerous foreigners. This treatment is in clear contrast to “Hungarians abroad” rhetoric, and the Hungarian-Ukrainian migrants’ tendency to disregard the difference between ethnic origin and nationality. These discrepancies feed into the development of racism and xenophobia both in Hungary and Ukraine. For this reason, it is important:

- to downplay the myth of the lost Hungarian territories and Hungarians in the neighbouring countries,
- to provide conditions for the better treatment of “Ukrainians” in Hungary.

Although, it is mostly Hungarian Ukrainians who are involved in circular migration between Hungary and Ukraine, this group is increasingly moving to other destinations for circular migration (with suitable conditions). In the long run, it would be advisable to organize and provide services to non-Hungarian migrants from Ukraine to Hungary, like language assistance and legal services for the migrants and refugees from non-European countries who are subjected to EU-Hungarian-Ukrainian laws and agreements. Especially for the latter, it is important to have the proper legal information and advice on the borders within the re-admissions agreements to avoid refoulement.

The new Law on Citizenship in Hungary (introduced in January 2011) has already resulted in legal uncertainties and concerns for the Ukrainian State. For those Ukrainians who are interested in obtaining it, it seems to be a complicated and expensive procedure. It is important to provide less complicated alternatives (alternatives to obtaining Hungarian citizenship), promoting legal migration to Hungary from Ukraine as well as making the process easier. For this reason it is important to

1. Provide more assistance to obtain citizenship (including financial help for translations) and ease the process.
2. Provide more possibilities for legal employment in Hungary (especially for seasonal work, as seen in the Polish case) without the citizenship.

As for the European Commission, it should create a framework of **incentives for Member States to help circular migrants acquire skills**

1. **Language training** courses to learn the language of the destination country. This is crucial for the circular migration experience to lead to the accumulation of economic and social capital.
2. **Job training** courses to develop worker skill sets. This is important, for example, for providing expertise for the development of new crops, or for assisting cleaning or caring workers to develop cooperatives through which to organise their circular employment.
3. **Re-training** courses to allow for the utilisation of previously acquired skills. This can allow, for example, Ukrainian nurses or doctors to become qualified care-givers in Hungary.
4. **Funds/training for trade unions and other civil society associations to set up help desks** for circular and in particular seasonal migrants, in particular to provide accessible information on their rights and obligations, as well as to provide free legal aid to those who are faced with abusive employment situations.

Recommendations on the types of stay permits and visas that would facilitate circular migration as well as the development of special welfare provisions or bilateral cooperation schemes are better achieved at the member state level.

The European Commission provides **funding and know how to countries of origin** in the EU neighbourhood (for instance Ukraine, Morocco, Albania) so that they can **develop effective re-integration policies for circular migrants**. In particular,

- **Develop credit schemes for small loans** that would foster the development of small businesses e.g. in agriculture, tourism, catering or generally trade – sectors in which migrants are employed in the destination country and have acquired some expertise
- **Cut red tape** and simplify procedures for setting up a small business or obtaining a trade or other professional license to help foster business development by returning circular migrants
- **Build infrastructure** e.g. energy, transport, telecommunications
- **Assess current policies** Self employment practices in both countries work against people who migrate. Establishing small (very often single person) companies is a big cost. The new tax laws in Ukraine increase the costs of self employment. Lack of possibilities of legal employment and high costs of self employment lead to a situation that more people work illegally.

Consider alternatives to Biometric cards for local cross-border movements, which function as a drawback to mobility.

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