TEMPORARY AND CIRCULAR MIGRATION: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE, CURRENT POLICY PRACTICE AND FUTURE OPTIONS IN HUNGARY

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the era of knowledge-based societies the most valuable workforce, the role of highly qualified workers and particularly of researchers has become more and more appreciated. Regarding competitiveness research and innovation are considered by determining significance to which is essential providing a suitable number of staff engaged in research and development sector. The increasing demand of highly qualified workers has been observed as an everyday phenomenon at international level. Mitigating adverse effects of brain drain is not only a sensitive problem of developing countries since also developed ones have to deal with this phenomenon. Over the past decade this has been similarly demonstrated by the growing number of countries with conscious migration policy. A sharp competition is going on for researchers and workers with high qualification, respectively more and more countries will introduce selective migration policy measures to recruit foreign workers.

Concerning specific legal dispositions, for the time being the Hungarian legislation does not include any provisions which promote the circular migration of third-country nationals. However the Strategy of Hungary in the area of freedom, security and justice for the period 2009-2014 sets down that when shaping the strategic orientations for migration, it is important to bear in mind the inter-sectoral character of the tasks related to migration and the multidimensional approach.

Circular migration and mobility in the scientific field is supported through fellowship exchange programmes, exchange of researchers and other ways of international scientific cooperation conducted mainly through intergovernmental agreements. Under this relation from our partner countries we have the most developed cooperation with Serbia and Ukraine.

As written in the previous EMN study “Satisfying labour demand through migration in Hungary” our labour market is characterised by low participation rate and labour market activity. Compared to other Member States Hungary ranks low in the official numbers of employment rate. The reason for the small market participation might have its root in low retirement age, low salary compared to other Member States, the poor health condition of the population and the relatively broad access to income replacement benefits by those who lost their jobs or were threatened by unemployment. The conclusion which can be drawn from it is that there is a considerable reserve of native labour force which should be able to meet the demands of the labour market. Moreover, whereas
since the EU-accession outflow migration has been remained limited in numbers, there is no major concern in general about brain drain to other Member States. Therefore, until today international labour migration has never been a top-priority issue on the policy agenda in Hungary. Furthermore, as the majority of the migrants belong to the Hungarian ethnic minority, there has been no comprehensive state effort to promote migration in general, not even circular migration. There is no major political and social demand for policies and actions on this field and unfortunately this situation is not expected to change in the near future.

According to the current migratory trends, the proportion of migrants in relation to the host population is still very low compared to other European countries. It only constitutes approximately 2% of the whole population. The reason of this lies in the fact that Hungary is a small country and is not a main destination country for migrants but rather a typical transit country along the migration routes towards the Western countries of the European Union. Immigration is mainly a demand-driven, sub-regional labour migration, often based on seasonal or temporary employment.

Since May 2007 the activities of the EU regarding the Eastern and South-Eastern regions have become more intensive. The countries of this region are of priority for Hungary, therefore we consider it important to continue and strengthen the dialogue and the practical cooperation with these countries, especially with the Western Balkan countries and Ukraine. For Hungary the visa liberalization and the visa exemption of these countries are also of great importance.

As mentioned above, migration flows of third-country nationals have been dominated by returning ethnic Hungarian minorities from neighbouring countries, and as a result of this in the recent years policy debates have focused – within the framework of diaspora policy – on simplified visas and facilitated naturalisation procedures for these preferred groups.
I. INTRODUCTION: PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY FOLLOWED

The purpose of this study is to provide a comprehensive overview how circular and temporary migration is estimated in Hungary when it comes to addressing labour market needs and shortages. The aim of this paper is also to present the regulation of admission of third-country nationals concerned. Last but not least this essay should manifest the basic need in Hungary to further elaborate and promote a comprehensive approach at the level of central administration and other relevant institutions in the understanding of migration and mobility as possible positive forces in the development of both the country of origin and the host country.

1.1 Methodology

The present study is based on a research conducted within the narrow framework of the insufficient quantity and quality of existing information sources regarding the issue of temporary and circular migration. The lack of a coherent Hungarian migration policy widely impresses the question and makes a deep analysis very complicated. At the time being migration is dealt as a marginal issue when debating about demographic changes, low employment rates or competitiveness. Though the newest Hungarian legislation in 2007 in the field of migration keeps up with the present trends of migration, it has been merely a harmonisation with EU-law, without a clear vision. Temporary migration schemes are as a result of the above mentioned only sporadically represented. Nevertheless despite the fragmented databases, inaccurate and in some cases missing data, the present study tries to give an overview as comprehensive as possible. It describes within the limits of its methodological possibilities and constraints the main trends and national aspects of temporary and circular migration.

The present National Report draws its conclusions from the following main sources:

- research work: analysis of national legislation concerning migration and employment, other relevant legal sources, policy papers, statistics, reports and recent studies.
- experts of the Department of Cooperation in Justice and Home Affairs and Migration of the former Ministry of Justice and Law Enforcement (after the governmental changes, officially as from September 2010 Department of European Cooperation within the re-established Ministry of Interior): the
Department is appointed as the national contact point for the EMN. Since this department is also responsible for formulating the policy in the fields of migration and asylum, and is in charge of legislative tasks as well, mainly the colleagues of the department contributed with necessary information to the present study.

- other ministries and governmental bodies were contacted as well in order to provide more precise replies to some of the questions. Cooperation with these ministries and bodies was effective and was built on already existing working relations and on the national EMN network. However following the radical governmental changes after the elections in April 2010 the competences regarding migration and employment are still not precisely defined between the legal successors (Ministry of National Resources and Ministry for National Economy) in the labour and social field. With regard to the questions concerning economic migration, the member of the national EMN network within the former Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour was contacted. Statistical data concerning education was provided by the former Ministry of Education and Culture and the statistics of the Office of Immigration and Nationality were consulted as well. The Public Employment Service, the Hungarian Central Statistical Office and the National Office for Research and Technology were also contacted for relevant data.

1.2 Definitions

Although on EU level – with a particular emphasis on ways and means to develop a balanced partnership with third countries – temporary and circular migration are identified as guiding principles in the development of an EU policy on legal migration, these definitions have not yet been defined and laid down in the Hungarian legislation and policy making. Hungary does not have a labour migration strategy or any regulation reflecting clear preferences on how to facilitate circular and temporary migration in the labour market (with the exception of Hungarian minorities from the neighbouring countries). However the sporadic reasoning behind the relevant existing legislation is double: besides the protection of the Hungarian labour market and the security approach, the improvement of the competitiveness, the attractiveness for highly skilled workforce, the importance of meeting the demand of labour shortages, and the demographic elements appear as well. Even though the comprehensive conception is missing, there are more and more manifestations of certain aspects of a national migration policy and in spite of the fragmented picture the main problem fields will be hopefully soon formed.
The present study tries to adapt the substance of these definitions to the existing categories of the Hungarian framework. As a basis the study refers to the following international framing: circular migration is the fluid movement of people between countries, including temporary or more permanent movement which, when it occurs voluntarily and is linked to the labour needs of countries of origin and destination, can be beneficial to all involved. (Global Forum on Migration and Development). Circular migration involves a form of migration that is managed in a way allowing some degree of legal mobility back and forth between two countries [COM (2007) 248 final]. However, the length of the stay is a controversial issue. According to several efforts and research papers on circular migration, it can mainly be distinguished between a restricted and an expanded definition of this phenomenon. The restricted definition considers circular migration with repeated short stays and returns. The expanded one considers it as entailing the return of migrants in their working age after a relatively long stay.

As in Hungary precise national definitions with minimum or maximum duration of time are at the present unavailable, temporary and circular migration cannot be nationally defined. Due to this fact the national understanding of these categories can only be the existing frameworks for seasonal workers, researchers and students.

II. APPROACH TO CIRCULAR AND TEMPORARY MIGRATION IN HUNGARY

2.1 National vision, policy and programmes

As mentioned before, the employment rate in Hungary is still one of the lowest in the European Union, so the Hungarian employment policy is aiming first to gradually increase employability of native population in order to raise economic activity and the employment level. Notwithstanding the fact that employment policy focuses mainly on measures keeping domestic workers active on the labour market, it has been taken few measures to quicken and simplify administrative procedures at issuing work permits for third-country nationals. The administrating time for permission procedure has been shortened and according to the general rules the validity of work permits has been changed from one to two years. All these kind of measures has certainly facilitated employment of migrant workers and made it easier for employers to recruit them. However, most part of these measures has sprung up due to transposition
obligation of some EU directives and other EU-law and was not truly considered as part of a purposeful migration or employment policy.

Despite the facts written above, a significant milestone in the field of migration occurred in April 2009 when the Government adopted the decision no. 1057/2009 (IV.24.) on the Strategy of the Cooperation in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice of the European Union¹ (hereinafter referred to as: Strategy) for a period of five years. It should be underlined that this document is the first officially adopted document which draws up guidelines and goals to be fulfilled in the field of migration, asylum and integration. It emphasizes that Hungary must seek to promote the entry and stay of legal migrants in line with the needs of the economy and science, the links between legal migration and demographical trends have to be taken into account, particularly in case of migrants staying on a long-term basis in Hungary. The strategy also states that in the field of legal migration the circular migration of highly-skilled migrants needs to be encouraged to the benefits of the Member States and third countries and to the benefits of the migrants themselves. It stresses the importance of promoting the adoption of legislative measures that makes the international mobility and employment of persons working in scientific positions possible without barriers. For the future, the strategy aims at preparing a comprehensive migration strategy assessing all implications.

The involvement of migrant diasporas in the development and implementation of migration and development policy is not institutionalized, however through the NGO platform for international development cooperation (HAND association) and through the Africa platform, with whom regular consultations are taking place, the representatives of the diasporas are also listened to.

Hungary is also active in the Mobility Partnership with Moldova in which community financing is involved and which focuses also on migration and development.

2.2. National legislation, conditions, criteria and enforcement

As mentioned in several migration related documents the Hungarian migration policy has been largely shaped by the harmonisation process and by the transposition of the relevant EU directives, the Schengen acquis and other primary and secondary law of the European Union. On the 1st of July 2007 two new pieces of legislation with regard to migration entered into force from which the Act II of 2007 regulates the entry and stay of third-country nationals.

Concerning employment of third-country nationals the several times amended Ministerial Decree No. 8/1999. (XI.10.) of the Social and Family Affairs Minister on Work Permits Issued to Foreign Nationals in Hungary² has been replaced with two separate Decrees. The Ministerial Decree No. 16/2010 (V. 13.)³ on the work permits issued to third-country nationals in Hungary contains the general rules and the provisions on different types of work permit and regulates the procedure how to obtain it. The second piece of legislation concerned is the Government Decree on the Rules of the employment of third-country nationals in the territory of Republic of Hungary without work permit obligation⁴ which lays down the specific rules, namely the exemptions from obtaining a work permit and the procedural rules.

2.2.1 Occasional and seasonal employment of third-country nationals

Agriculture differs in its labour characteristics from other sectors of the economy. Seasonality hits almost all productive area and labour activity is quite often ad hoc or temporary. This constantly changing character justifies the differentiated, flexible term and form of employment due to efficiency and effectiveness reasons.

It is self-evident that the pattern of labour migration is specific to each migrant group. When examining the situation of migrants on the Hungarian labour market, in general (including also citizens with the right of free movement) the following trends have been observed. Among migrants with the right of free movement Romanian citizens are predominantly. They offer skilled work, 

² 8/1999. (XI. 10.) SzCsM rendelet a külföldiek magyarországi foglalkoztatásának engedélyezéséről.
³ 16/2010. (V. 13.) SZMM rendelet a harmadik országbeli állampolgárok magyarországi foglalkoztatásának engedélyezéséről.
⁴ 355/2009. (XII. 30.) Korm. rendelet a harmadik országbeli állampolgárok Magyar Köztársaság területén történő engedélymentes foglalkoztatásának szabályairól.

The EMN has been established by Council Decision 2008/381/EC and is financially supported by the European Commission
seasonal work, house holding and nursing services. Slovakian migrants are typically cross-border commuters; they are mainly employed in local transnational companies or in seasonal work. When speaking about third-country nationals, Ukrainian migrants are typically cross-border commuters, also engaged in seasonal work.

Considering foreign employees in seasonal employment particularly in the agricultural sector, their ratio seems to be decreasing in the future. As it can be seen prime source have been the neighbouring countries, but now in Romania and Ukraine economic development improves local employment and causes rise in earnings. Even the latest employment surveys and figures reveal that daily Hungarian salary in the sector is rather low. Considering other circumstances, it is truly assumable that foreign employees would not take the chance to come to work here as they also have to face increased costs when moving, such as higher housing costs.

In 2004 the seasonal agricultural work permit has been introduced in Hungary in order to increase the number of foreign workers in agriculture, since there were not enough native workers available in this sector. To satisfy the special characteristics of seasonal work a new and more flexible procedure came into force due to which the duration of employment with a work permit in a 12-month-period may be defined in more instalments. This solution makes possible for the third-country national to enter the territory of Hungary for the purpose of seasonal employment more than once with fewer administration and travel expenses. The seasonal work permit is a special, non extendible authorisation which may be issued exclusively for activities in crop production (cultivation), animal husbandry and fishing.

As regards the labour authorising procedures, seasonal employment in agriculture may be allowed up to 150 days within 12 months. The 12-month period should be counted from the earliest commencement date of employment that is indicated in the first issued seasonal work permit of the employee. The authorising procedure must be carried out on the basis of the labour market examination, at the same time certain facilities are provided by the law. The employment of third-country nationals is necessary to be approved by labour centres pursuant to the examination of the Hungarian labour market situation. Labour market situation analysis means that in case of a seasonal work permit 15 days before the planned starting date of the employment the future employer has to announce his or her workforce demand to the competent labour centre. The issue of a work permit is only possible, when no Hungarian or EEA citizen or a relative of such has applied for the job concerned.
To sum up, work permit is not easy to obtain and this is why the procedure has often been criticised by foreigners and employers. In many cases the procedure has been considered as an administrative burden by being too long and bureaucratic. This is the situation particularly in cases, when it is already decided that the vacancy shall be filled with the third-country national concerned, and it seems obvious that the applicant cannot be substituted by any national or EEA citizen. In this respect the whole authorising procedure becomes a waste of time.\(^5\)

Hungarian legislation distinguishes between visas for stays of up to three months and visas for stays exceeding a three-month period. Connecting to seasonal work permits, seasonal employment visas are long-term visas granted for a maximum period of one year. This visa entitles the third-country national to single or multiple entry and to employment for a period of longer than three months but up to six months. When applying for a seasonal employment visa the third-country national must be already in possession of a valid seasonal work permit.

In 2006 labour centres issued 2216 seasonal agricultural work permit out of which 1897 were granted to Romanian nationals, 284 to Ukrainians, 4 to Serbian-Montenegrin whilst the rest 31 to other nationals coming from non-European countries.

According to the data provided by the Public Employment Service, in 2007 the labour centres issued 37 586 general and 907 seasonal agricultural work permits. The number of permits issued dropped significantly as compared to 2006. The number of general permits fell by 14 919, and that of seasonal ones by 1309; considering these two types of permits, the decline was due mainly to the decrease in the number of employees of Romanian citizenship by some 15 thousand.\(^6\)

Pursuant to the Labour Market Yearbook 2008, altogether 29 349 permits were issued out of which 28 698 were general and 651 seasonal agricultural work permit. This means a significant decrease compared to the previous year. The 2 main nationalities to which seasonal work permit were granted are Ukrainian (358), Romanian (249) and others (44).

\(^5\) Viktoria Acs: Satisfying labour demand through migration in Hungary, EMN Study, June 2010.
In the year 2009 altogether 9,730 permits were issued which means a decrease to 33.15% compared to the previous year. Out of the total the labour centres issued 9,364 (-44.4%) general and 366 (-44.78%) seasonal agricultural work permits. The radical decrease is due to the abolition of labour market restrictions towards all EEA nationals, especially towards the overriding majority of Romanians. In 2009 there was a minimal interest shown in getting seasonal agricultural work permit. From the total number of seasonal work permits 276 were issued to Ukrainian nationals and 76 to Serbians.

2.2.2 Employment of third-country nationals in simplified procedure

Hungarian agriculture has hundred year old traditions in treating seasonal employment and associated problems of agricultural labour migration. Labour employment policy introduced recently some new regulations to support and facilitate these working conditions.

The rules of temporary employment have been changed by the Act CLII of 2009 on Simplified Employment. Simplified employment covers labour relationships with less administrative burden than regular employment relationships according to the general rules laid down in the Labour Code. Following the general elections in spring 2010 a new Act on Simplified Employment (Act LXXV of 2010) replaced the relatively new Act CLII of 2009. The new legislation entered into force on the 1st of August 2010. The aim of this modification was to increase demand, to reduce undeclared employment and to improve employment security in the field of casual works in private households (i.e. babysitting, housekeeping, gardening). As a consequence the booklet of temporary employees (in Hungarian: "alkalmi munkavállalói könyv") which was introduced in 1997 in its present physical form will not exist further on and will be replaced by a blank contract. The new form of temporary employment should equally support control and hinder employment abuse.

In order to understand the introduced changes, we have to see the general problems of using the booklet in a nutshell. In the year 2008 several interviews were made between the parties concerned on the advantages and disadvantages of this booklet. According to the completed discussion paper "Employment with temporary work booklet in the light of interviews with employers and
employees⁹ published by the Institute of Economics of Hungarian Academy of Sciences the temporary work booklet has been mainly used for seasonal, temporary employment in accordance with the legislator’s intentions. Nevertheless, it has to be stressed, that in most cases the booklet wasn’t used in compliance with the specific rules of the provisions laid down. Its reasons and so the decisions whether to evade taxes were mostly influenced by a rational calculation of costs and benefits associated with evasion.

The new regulation changes the previous rules of temporary employment in several other aspects, inter alia:

i) the establishment of the temporary employment relationship;
ii) measure of common charges and taxes; and
iii) reporting obligations.

The scope of the new Act has been narrowed to cover seasonal work within the field of agriculture, tourism and temporary work. However, in the frame of simplified employment third-country nationals – excluding those with permanent resident or immigrant status¹⁰ – are only allowed to carry out seasonal agricultural work. According to the definition on seasonal agricultural work in case of a work relationship between the same employer and employee the period of temporary employment shall not exceed 120 days in a calendar year.

The present Act also stipulates that on application by a third-country national the competent tax authority and the health insurance service shall be notified without delay by the public employment service¹¹ to generate a tax number and

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¹⁰ The third-country national is considered a permanent resident (settled) if she/he has an immigration permit or a settlement permit both issued before the entry into force of the New Aliens Act (the Act II of 2007). The new types of permanent residence permits issued under the conditions of the new act are: the interim permanent residence permit; the national permanent residence permit (the same status is provided as previously by the immigration or settlement permit) and the EC permanent residence permit. Permanent residents are entitled to an indefinite period of stay in Hungary and also to a number of rights laid down in the Constitution (eg. voting rights at local elections) and in sectoral acts.

¹¹ The Hungarian Public Employment Service (PES) has gone through a continuous modernisation process during the last 15 years. In October 2002 the Ministry of Employment and Labour issued a regulation on the duties and competence of different institutions of the PES. National Employment Office, 20 County Labour Centres, 173 Local Labour Offices and 9 Human Resource Development and Training Centres constitute the institutional framework of labour market administration in Hungary. Recent reforms aim at giving the PES a stronger role in implementing and monitoring
a social security number. As a general rule, the establishment of the legal relationship occurs by this request before commencement of work. Meeting the requirements of a simplified procedure, the notification obligation may be fulfilled via centralized electronic means (internet), by phone or from the 1st of December 2010 also by text message (SMS).

2.2.3. Researcher mobility

As written in the EMN Hungarian Policy Report 2009 and also mentioned in the introductory notes, the last year developed strategy states that in the field of legal migration the circular migration of highly-skilled migrants needs to be encouraged to the benefits of the Member States and third countries and that of the migrants themselves. The strategy also stipulates that in line with the Commission Communication “Researchers in the European Research Area: One profession, multiple careers” and the Commission Recommendation on the European Charter for Researchers and on a Code of Conduct for the Recruitment of Researchers, it is important to promote the adoption of legislation that makes the international mobility and employment of persons working in scientific positions possible without barriers.

The European Union – having recognised that the globalisation of the economy calls for greater mobility of researchers and there is a lack of researchers in key areas in Europe – created the Council Directive 2005/71/EC on a specific procedure for admitting third-country nationals for the purposes of scientific research. The primary objective of the new regulation is to ease the admission of highly qualified third-country researchers for stays of more than three months for the purposes of carrying out research projects. Research organisations – public or non-profit organisations or innovative enterprises – which are approved under the new approval procedure shall be entitled to employ third-country nationals in a quicker and simpler way than before.

The transposition of this directive to the Hungarian law was already in 2007 completed. On the one hand the rules have been transposed into national


Available at: http://emn.sarenet.es/Downloads/download.do;jsessionid=977861bfb9a9a573f150254747112810?fileID=977 (08.10.2010).


The EMN has been established by Council Decision 2008/381/EC and is financially supported by the European Commission
legislation by Act II of 2007, on the other hand the Government Decree 181/2007 (VII.6.)\textsuperscript{15} regulates the approval of research organisations that want to host third-country national researchers and lays down the rules of the hosting agreements. The main challenge with regard to this category was to lay down the conditions and the procedure under which a research organisation can be approved by the competent authority. Such research organisations have the right to conclude hosting agreements with researchers from third countries, facilitating their admission to the country.

It can be said that this new regulation is favourable, since it makes it easier for third-country nationals who would like to pursue scientific research to enter and reside in the territory of Hungary. The procedure has become simple and there are less administrative obstacles that third-country nationals have to face with. A third-country national researcher does not need a work permit from the 1\textsuperscript{st} of January 2010 if he/she pursues his/her activity by an approved research organisations under the conditions of a hosting agreement. This rule is favourable as well, since otherwise it would be their task to ask for the issuance of the work permit.

As regulations on a stay exceeding 90 days fall within the competence of national authorities there is no uniform routine among the Schengen Member States. According to the Act II of 2007 the application for a residence permit should be submitted to the Hungarian Consulate in the home country and will be judged by the competent Hungarian regional directorate. If there is no Hungarian consulate in the country where the applicant has his/her habitual residence the application can be handed in at any Hungarian consulate. Those already residing in Hungary may lodge their application directly to the competent regional directorate of the Office for Immigration and Nationality. Pursuant to the general rules the regional directorate shall adopt a decision concerning applications for residence permits within twenty-two working days. However, in case of a residence permit for research the applications shall be evaluated within ten working days.\textsuperscript{16}

The period of validity of the residence permit corresponds to the period of validity of the hosting agreement with a maximum of five years. The period of validity may be extended corresponding to the extension laid down in the hosting agreement but it cannot exceed another five years.

\textsuperscript{15} 181/2007. (VII. 6.) Korm. rendelet a harmadik országbeli állampolgár kutatókat fogadó kutatószervezetek akkreditációjáról, valamint a fogadási megállapodásról.

According to the information on residence permits for the purpose of scientific research provided by Office of Immigration and Nationality, in 2008 25 residence permits were granted. The five main nationalities to which residence permits for the purpose of scientific research were granted are the following in descending order: Indian (4), Turkish (3), Ukrainian (3), Russian (2) and Vietnamese (2). During 2009 44 residence permits were granted for the purpose of scientific research. The five main nationalities are the following in descending order: Indian (15), Egyptian (5), Russian (3), Ukrainian (2) and Georgian (1).\textsuperscript{17}

Hungary requires a written undertaking of the research organisation stating that in case a researcher overstays the organisation is responsible for reimbursing the costs related to his/her stay and return, but only if the researcher himself/herself does not have the sufficient financial resources. Such an undertaking is a compulsory element of the hosting agreement concluded between the research organisation and the researcher.

The office having the competence to approve research organisations is called the National Office for Research and Technology which is a government office supervised currently by the Minister of National Resources. The procedure is different for public and private research organisations. In case of budgetary agencies and higher education institutions which pursue scientific research and research and development as their main activities, the procedure is ex officio. All the other research organisations have to submit an application to get an approval and they have to fulfil the specific requirements listed in the Government Decree. The applicant has to attach documents proving that in one of the last three years preceding the date of the application it spent at least 10 % of its budget on research and development or at least 10 % of its full-time employees are employed in the area of its research and development activity.

According to the Researcher Mobility Forum 2010 which was held on 9 September this year by the National Office for Research and Technology the situation of researcher mobility in Hungary can be characterised as follows:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strengths</th>
<th>Weaknesses</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• traditionally vigorous scientific teaching and training</td>
<td>• moderate number of researcher, trifling number of female researchers in leading positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• research institutes with world standard</td>
<td>• low wages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• favourable conditions for supporting incoming researcher mobility (e.g. short admission procedure to Hungarian territory, no work permit obligation)</td>
<td>• complex and non-transparent admission procedure to grants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• researcher training is not conform with economic demand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• deficient co-operation between business and university researcher organisations</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Possibilities</th>
<th>Risks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• growing number of researchers in the business sector</td>
<td>• aging researcher society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• growing number of incoming researchers, more and more applicants with the intention to re-integrate</td>
<td>• continually less young person chooses scientific career</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• more and more programmes for supporting researcher mobility and career building</td>
<td>• brain-drain</td>
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</table>

The international mobility of researchers has not changed a lot over the past year; the number of foreign researchers working in Hungary has increased by 9.4%, so the total number of foreign researchers was 698 in the year 2008. However, the number of scholars coming from neighbouring countries shows a decline of 20 percent. In tertiary education the number of accepted PhD-students shrunk significantly compared to 2007 since from 2007 to 2008 the number of foreign PhD-students in higher education decreased from 468 to 369 persons. In 2007 foreign researchers coming from EU Member State represented a share of more than 70%, nevertheless in 2008 this ratio was hardly higher than 63%. In parallel, arrivals from non-EU countries showed an upward trend by more than
one and half times while the number of researchers arriving from non-European countries increased by 11.1 percent.\footnote{18}

\section*{2.2.4. Students}

"The establishing of a modern, innovative higher education system that reacts to the demands of the economy is essential from the perspective of dynamising research and development. We support an increase in the proportion science and engineering-training, the participation of students in research work, an increase in the flexibility of training towards economic demands, an increase in the attractiveness (and frame numbers) of enrolling in these professions, rapid transferring of technological results into text books. A pre-condition of this is that through the education policy tools the development of teaching of the natural sciences should also strengthen in public education. We support the national and international mobility of students and educators, and an increase in the willingness of domestic institutes to accept foreign students."\footnote{19}

Notwithstanding the fact that we can find some good sounding objectives laid down in Hungarian policy papers, Hungary has no special strategy for attracting non-EU students. For instance while Hungarian nationals and persons with the right of free movement and residence have the right to participate in higher education in some cases without paying tuition fees as well, in the lack of international agreement or reciprocity third-country nationals are always subject to pay tuition fees for higher education. Among third-country nationals coming to Hungary with the purpose of studying the most frequently chosen field of study is medicine. In 2007 there were around 2600 medical students from non-EU countries. This number has been increasing with each year.

A residence permit may be issued on grounds of pursuit of studies to third-country nationals accepted by an establishment of secondary or higher education accredited in the Republic of Hungary and admitted to the territory of the Republic of Hungary to pursue as his/her main activity a full-time course of study, or to attend a course in an establishment of higher education which may cover a preparatory course prior to such education. The validity period of a residence permit issued on grounds of pursuit of studies shall correspond to the

\footnote{18 Data provided by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office, available in Research and Development 2008 at: \url{http://portal.ksh.hu/pls/ksh/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/tudkut/tudkut08.pdf} (08.10.2010).}

duration of training, if it is less than two years, or shall be at least one year or maximum two years if the duration of training is two years or more, and it may be extended by at least one or at most by two additional years at a time.\textsuperscript{20}

In case of studies the third-country national needs to submit a certificate from the relevant educational institution or a document to verify his/her student status. In the academic year 2007/2008, the number of foreign students participating in higher education in Hungary was 15 459 from which 6 955 students were third-country nationals and 8 504 students were EU nationals\textsuperscript{21}. In the academic year 2008/2009 the number of foreign students participating in higher education in Hungary was 16 916 from which 7 606 students were third-country nationals and 9 310 students were EU nationals. In 2008 8 687 residence permits whilst in 2009 8 639 residence permits were granted for study purposes.

In 2008 the five main nationalities to which residence permits for the purpose of pursuing studies were granted are the following in descending order: Serbian (1 152), Iranian (1 124), Ukrainian (815), Chinese (752) and Israeli (682). During 2009 the five main nationalities were: Serbian (1 194), Iranian (1 182), Ukrainian (816), Turkish (788) and American (698).

All countries that allow students to work impose restrictions with regard to the time spent working. However, these limitations differ among the Member States. While some countries simply state that employment may not conflict with the students’ study schedule (e.g. Belgium, Estonia), legislations of other Member States contains either annual limitations (e.g. France) or the hours that students may work per week are limited. There are also Member States that adopt a combination of limiting the hours of work per week and/or the possibility to work full time during vacations or for a certain number of months per year. In case of Hungary third-country nationals with a residence permit issued on grounds of pursuit of studies may engage in gainful employment during their term-time for maximum twenty-four hours weekly, and outside their term-time for a maximum period of ninety days or sixty-six working days yearly. Although a number of Member States have introduced measures in their national legislation facilitating the job search for third-country national graduates, in Hungary non-EU nationals having a residence permit for the purpose of study have to leave the country when their residence permit expires. In case they would like to work in Hungary

\textsuperscript{20} Act II of 2007 on the Admission and Right of Residence of Third-Country Nationals, Section 21
\textsuperscript{21} Data provided by the Ministry of Education and Culture, available in Felsőoktatási statisztikai kiadvány 2007 and 2008 at: http://db.okm.gov.hu/statisztika/fs06_fm/ (08.10.2010).
they must apply as all other third-country nationals pursuant to the relevant
general rules.

2.3 Cooperation with third countries

2.3.1 Mobility partnerships

Within the framework of the Moldova Mobility Partnership Hungary is
participating among others in a project entitled “Strengthening the Republic of
Moldova capacity to manage labour and return migration” (2009-2011). In this
context the principal feature of the project is to inform potential migrants about
ways of legal migration to the EU and legal employment in the Member States as
well as about the risks of illegal migration and provide assistance for returning
migrants. The project constitutes a new political framework for comprehensive
dialogue and cooperation on migration by bring added value both to the EU and
the third country on the management of migration flows. It has identified three
main areas of special importance: facilitation of legal migration, prevention and
fight against illegal migration and further promotion of the link between
migration and development.\textsuperscript{22}

2.3.2 International co-operation for supporting mobility

Regarding students there are several scholarships and exchange programmes
available for third-country nationals not only in the framework of the European
Union but also due to the particular initiative of Hungary. As an example,
through the Hungarian Scholarship Board Office the Hungarian Minister for
National Resources offers scholarships for foreign students and professors of
higher education institutions as well as research fellows who intend to gain
further professional experience in Hungarian institutions of higher education or
research. Scholarships can be applied for under two systems:
1) bilateral agreements (at the present with Afghanistan, Yemen, Mongolia,
Palestine, Ukraine, Vietnam) and
2) the so-called “Scholarship Pool”, a scholarship system of various types of
scholarships.\textsuperscript{23}

Concerning the international mobility of researchers, the National Office for
Research and Technology publishes calls in the framework of intergovernmental
cooperation on science and technology to support the exchange of scientists for

\textsuperscript{22} For the signed joint declaration see: www.iom.md/.../086_EU-MD%20Mobility%20Partnership%20Declaration.pdf (08.10.2010).

\textsuperscript{23} For more information see: http://www.scholarship.hu/
research and development projects on a bilateral basis. These bilateral agreements are prepared and concluded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whereas their implementation is the responsibility of the National Office of Research and Technology. Hungary has concluded 37 intergovernmental science and technology agreements. The number of bilateral projects is between 500 and 600 in a year. The primary objective is to promote mobility and international cooperation, organising seminars and workshops in the field of interest of science and technology.

Prior to EU membership, Hungary already took part in the EU’s Research & Development framework programs and other European research and development programs (EUREKA, CERN, COST, etc.). In order to reach the restated Lisbon competitiveness goals, from 2007 the EU also launches a new program, the Competitiveness and Innovation Program (CIP), alongside the 7th Research and Technology Development Framework Program (FP7).²⁴ The Government’s mid-term (2007-2013) science, technology and innovation policy (STI) strategy emphasizes the necessary of researcher mobility and the importance of scholarships, grants or other exchange programmes. It says: “With targeted programs the Government shall offer incentives for research & development mobility so that researchers temporarily carry out work at other research centres or businesses. It will similarly offer incentives for the acquiring of experience of corporate developers, and the strengthening of expert contacts in public sector and public interest research centres.”

As a result of that, the National Office for Research and Technology and the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund have published for instance a call for proposals titled “MOBILITY” for the period between 2008 and 2010²⁵ to support the international mobility of researchers in order to promote research careers. The aim of this call is not only to promote the scientific careers of experienced researchers with PhD degree or at least 4 years of full-time employment as researchers but also to promote the Hungarian exploitation of experience acquired in third countries, by supporting researchers returning to Hungary. There are three priorities eligible under the call: i.e. outgoing mobility, incoming mobility and reintegration of researchers carrying out basic, industrial or applied research in the fields of technical, natural, life and social sciences. Outgoing mobility helps researchers with Hungarian nationality to gain international

experience by supporting their research projects at a prominent international research unit. In terms of the study’s subject is the incoming mobility of utmost importance as researchers with non-Hungarian nationality get the possibility to work at an internationally acknowledged Hungarian research unit, by so advancing the international research and development cooperations and knowledge transfer. The third activity which was added this year to the other ones aims to help researchers who worked in a third country outside Europe for at least 36 months prior to the submission of their proposal to establish a research unit in Hungary.

There are several other projects which support not only researcher mobility but also promote Hungarian history and culture. For instance the Domus Hungarica Scientiarum et Artium scholarship programme was established in 1997 by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the former Ministry of Education. In the frame of this fellowship the Domus Hungarica Committee offers scientific scholarships to Hungarian researchers, as well as foreign researchers whose mother tongue is not Hungarian but whose field of research is related to Hungary. Through this scholarship the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Ministry of National Resources wish to enable researchers representing Hungarian science abroad to participate in Hungarian scientific life and research carried out at institutes of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as well as the universities.

2.4 Other aspects

Due to the lack of reliable data there is no evidence available to indicate that third-country nationals to what extent are interested in returning to the country of their origin or in moving to other Member States instead. Although with the transposition of Directive 2003/109/EC with the Act II of 2007 the formal regulative framework exists, the vision how to deal with intra-EU mobility or circular migration is not on the horizon. According to the Directive absences of long-term residents from the Member State for periods of less than six consecutive months (and not exceeding ten months in total within the five-year period) or for specific reasons provided for by national law (e.g. military service, secondment for work purposes, serious illness, maternity, research or studies) is regarded as not interrupting the period of residence. Pursuant to the provisions laid down in Act II of 2007, temporary absence from the territory of the Republic of Hungary of less than six consecutive months shall not be deemed as discontinuity of residence, if the combined duration of absence does not exceed

26 For more information see: http://www.domus.mtaki.hu/
three hundred days over a period of five years. Any information on the functioning of this provision has not yet been available.

Due to the Hungarian elections this spring followed by several structural changes in the public administration the transposition of the EU Blue Card Directive\textsuperscript{27} is expected to start only in spring next year which due to the Hungarian EU- Presidency in the first half of 2011 implicates a major extra workload to the policymakers. Under all circumstances it can be said, that there are two main conceptions of issuing a Blue Card. Under the first idea the hitherto existing system of two authorisation procedures would remain henceforth. Since in Hungary the residence permit and the work permit are not incorporated into a single document two authorities, namely the Office of Immigration and Nationality and the employment centres are involved in the issuing process. At the moment not only the authorities involved are different, but also the applicants, since it is the third-country national who has to submit an application for a residence permit, while in case of the work permit, it is the employer who asks for the issuance. Nevertheless, the rules of this procedure will have to be changed in due time, if the relevant EC directive on the single permit enters into force. This so called one stop shop system complies with the second conception.

III. DATA ON CIRCULAR AND TEMPORARY MIGRATION

In accordance with the non-proactive but casual steps in the Hungarian migration policy, the current situation shows that there is a shortage of information about third-country nationals staying legally in the country, with particular emphasis on their geographical distribution, their educational and professional background and skills as well as the reasons that brought them to Hungary. Further research should be undertaken and the statistical systems should be further improved.

Data sources of traditional migration statistics are drawn up on the basis of authorisation and public registers. In order to quantify migration, various kind of data sources can be used like (1) residence permits database of the Office of Immigration and Nationality, (2) population register, (3) registers of the National Health Insurance Fund and of the Hungarian Tax and Financial Control Administration (4) population census (5) work permits database on employment of migrants by the Public Employment Service and labour force surveys. Unfortunately there is some inconsistency in the data since administrative data are strongly connected with the aim of the data collection and the regulations beyond that. Due to this fact diverse data sources cover different segments of migrants and give various – and also limited – information on migrant groups covered. In case of circular migration the lack of the national definition hinders also the establishment of a reliable database in this field. Contents of administrative data collections are also subject to continuous changes and depending on the focus of the authorities’ data collection.

Within the narrow framework of reliable data the main information sources on migration in general are the Office of Immigration and Nationality and the Hungarian Central Statistical Office.

The Office of Immigration and Nationality has an overall responsibility concerning the decision-making in admission procedures (certain types of visas, residence permits, permanent residence permits, registration certificate and registration card); decision-making in asylum procedures; the implementation of the Dublin Regulation; the fulfilment of tasks related to illegal migration; citizenship; tasks related to the Country of Origin Information System and database, the central visa, asylum and migration register; the management of reception centers, temporary accommodations and community shelters. Its Director General works under the supervision of the Minister of Interior.
The Hungarian Central Statistical Office conducts surveys, processes, stores and disseminates data relating to migration and asylum. The Office provides data for the Parliament and public administration, social organisations, local authorities, scientific bodies, economic organisations, the general public and the media, as well as for international organisations and users abroad. Official data regarding the socio-economic situation as well as the changes in the population of the country are published by the office. The Hungarian Central Statistical Office is a professionally independent administrative body under the direct supervision of the Ministry for Public Administration and Justice.

To sum up the main reasons for the unsatisfying data collection, the main problems are the following:

a) The provided figures are incomplete as they do not cover all foreigners residing in Hungary.
b) Available data are not always recorded.
c) Employment statistics are based on issued work permits or notifications, and not attached to a person. Therefore, the numbers provided by the employment centres have to be treated with reservation.
d) There is only a narrow circle of information available on emigration and the outflow of migrants.
e) Data collected by diverse bodies or authorities are not always suitable to be linked.
f) The interpretability of data sources is not always identical.
IV. CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, there are three main factors that have influenced Hungarian policymaking in the field of (circular and temporary) migration so far. The first one has been Hungary’s accession process to the European Union which has shaped formally the Hungarian legislation. The second one has been the large proportion of ethnic Hungarians among the migrants in Hungary which makes migration policies very closely linked to diaspora policy. The third factor is the public opinion, which realizes migrants coming mainly from the Eastern neighbours of the country in relation to the problems of economic transition and unemployment. Labour migrants have a negative image and are easily associated with cheap and illegal labour.

Recent non-representative national and European researches show that Hungary is ranked among the Member States with the highest occurrence of xenophobia. This mostly results from the fact that the host population is often not aware of the real number of migrants living in Hungary, their legal status, their familial, employment and financial situation, and their contribution to the Hungarian economy and culture. Therefore actions supported by the European Integration Fund which aim at raising the awareness of the Hungarian population and creating a more open Hungarian society are of utmost importance.

As we can see, there is a strong need for the development of a more complex and long-term migration policy. A precise political debate on migration is also recommendable to define national interests and specify long- and short-term goals to be achieved through migration policies, as well as the main target migrant groups and tools to be used. More clearly, it appears to be essential to elaborate and develop a comprehensive migration and integration policy that takes into account the labour market and other needs of the country and defines the number and composition of the migrants needed. Debates should be based on the consensus of a variety of political and social actors, NGO-s and

28 In Hungary xenophobia is even mentioned as one of the main barriers, as the Hungarian society is one of the most xenophobic, intolerant and closed societies in contemporary Europe. Since 2007 the EU Integration Fund started to fund several multicultural awareness raising and anti-xenophobic projects. However, according to the Hungarian experts, a major drawback is that antidiscrimination actions are only experimental and project-financed and consequently are fragmented, temporary and do not have long lasting effects. [B. Frouws MSc, Drs. B.J. Buiskool: Migrants to Work, Innovative approaches towards successful integration of third country migrants into the labour market. Final Report. DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, Zoetermeer, March 4, 2010 p. 73.].
stakeholders of public administration, including experts, employers’ organisations and migrants’ associations. These debates and documents should serve as normative basis and reflect Hungary’s needs according to economic, demographic, cultural, and social conditions. Policymakers should clearly describe what type of migration is desired and implement effective policies pursuant to previously laid down aims and needs.

Examining the development of the Hungarian migration policy, we can conclude that Hungarian migration policy could be described mostly as passive and reactive, consisting of unrelated and ad hoc activities which do not involve long-term perspective or deeper analysis.

Migration policies should be recognized by policymakers as a key part of the solutions to current and future problems related to population (i.e., essential facts of demographic decline as low fertility, prolonged life expectancy and aging population which lead to a weakening of human resources). Moreover, an increasing foreign labour force can help by satisfying shortages in the national labour market since representatives of some professions are not available in the country, or else there is no willingness among the native population to accept non-attractive jobs. Effective labour market monitoring and structured circular migration schemes are required to manage short-term labour migration, especially from neighbouring countries.

Hopefully the present paper contributes also to this process as another call for a coherent Hungarian migration policy that understands not only the economic benefits of migration but its role in a tolerant, various and competitive world.

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ANNEXES

I. Foreign researchers and scholars in Hungary (2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>From a EU Member State</th>
<th>From not a Member State but from Europe</th>
<th>From not a European county</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Of which female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreign researcher with a non Hungarian nationality</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign scholar</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


II. Inflows of seasonal foreign workers by nationality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>1,252</td>
<td>1,673</td>
<td>1,897</td>
<td>0,580</td>
<td>0,249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>0,280</td>
<td>0,596</td>
<td>0,284</td>
<td>0,303</td>
<td>0,358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0,001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former USSR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0,001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldova</td>
<td>0,004</td>
<td>0,031</td>
<td>0,031</td>
<td></td>
<td>0,019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0,023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia and Montenegro</td>
<td>0,003</td>
<td>0,007</td>
<td>0,004</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,539</td>
<td>2,307</td>
<td>2,216</td>
<td>0,907</td>
<td>0,650</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### III. Foreign pupils/students in full-time education

#### 13. Külföldi állampolgárságú övodások, tanulók és hallgatók a nappali oktatásban, nappali tagozaton

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School year</th>
<th>Kindergarten</th>
<th>Primary (general schools)</th>
<th>Vocational schools</th>
<th>Secondary schools</th>
<th>Tertiary education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995/1996</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>2 363</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>2 046</td>
<td>6 330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996/1997</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>2 465</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>2 255</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997/1998</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>2 699</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>2 573</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998/1999</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>3 228</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>3 038</td>
<td>7 111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999/2000</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>3 630</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>3 566</td>
<td>7 711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001/2002</td>
<td>1 048</td>
<td>3 561</td>
<td>685</td>
<td>4 640</td>
<td>8 556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002/2003</td>
<td>1 554</td>
<td>5 002</td>
<td>747</td>
<td>5 459</td>
<td>8 895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003/2004</td>
<td>1 530</td>
<td>4 761</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>5 305</td>
<td>3 371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004/2005</td>
<td>1 608</td>
<td>4 577</td>
<td>882</td>
<td>5 353</td>
<td>9 464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005/2006</td>
<td>1 663</td>
<td>4 615</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>5 152</td>
<td>10 974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006/2007</td>
<td>1 664</td>
<td>4 496</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>4 921</td>
<td>11 518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007/2008</td>
<td>1 603</td>
<td>4 399</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>4 281</td>
<td>12 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008/2009</td>
<td>1 629</td>
<td>4 224</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>4 075</td>
<td>13 061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009/2010</td>
<td>1 516</td>
<td>4 200</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>3 657</td>
<td>15 035</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1) 2001/2002 till the general school level, in the case of vocational and secondary schools data includes the part-time students and students with special educational needs.
2) 1999/2000 includes also the 5th grade of secondary general schools.
3) The data of vocational schools contains the data of apprentice vocational schools, from 2001/2002 the data of vocational and special vocational schools.
4) Data of general and vocational schools together.
5) The data of school year 2002/2003 are modified according to additional data submission.

Source: data provided by the Ministry of Education and Culture, available in Felsőoktatási statisztikai kiadvány 2009 at [http://www.nefmi.gov.hu/miniszterium/statisztika/oktatasi-statisztikak (08.10.2010)].
### IV. Number of foreigners studying in Hungary breakdown by nationality

#### Academic year 2008/2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of origin</th>
<th>Higher-grade</th>
<th>College level</th>
<th>University level</th>
<th>Basis-</th>
<th>Master-</th>
<th>Undivided</th>
<th>In-service training</th>
<th>PhD, DLA</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Of which female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>All</strong></td>
<td>177</td>
<td>1 353</td>
<td>3 396</td>
<td>6 017</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>4 776</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>16 916</td>
<td>8 377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From this</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1 370</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2 827</td>
<td>1 091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>1 284</td>
<td>2 555</td>
<td>5 212</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>3 048</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>13 189</td>
<td>6 898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>