

## **CROSS ROADS, WRONG TRACKS, OR NEW GOALS IN GLOBALIZED EUROPE?**

### **KERESZTUTAK VAGY TÉVUTAK, AVAGY ÚJ CÉLOK A GLOBALIZÁLT EURÓPÁBAN**

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**Cite this article:** Suti, Z. (2015). Cross Roads, Wrong Tracks, or New Goals in Globalized Europe? *Deturope*, 7, 2: 66-82

#### **Abstract**

A variety of motivations are needed to make people move house but, an even more profound determination is necessary to leave one's home country. It is not simple to replant an old walnut tree but, sometimes, owing to the fertile soil and the new, favourable environment, replanting can bring richer harvest. True, in the 21st century the continuously changing and, at times, revolting Europe is opening up for new migrants. Yet, a modern-age adventure-seeking Ulysses has to face many challenges; the Great Unknown might hide good and bad as well, meaning, that the migrants' knowledge and experience is often not enough: they often need much luck to succeed, too.

In a globalized European Union migration processes are organic parts of life but, due to the intensifying nature of the trend a sensitive question needs to be asked from time to time. Is migration a chance or a danger? In consumer societies interpersonal relationships transform lifestyle, as well as people's opinion concerning social mobility. Thus original social roots are being torn off, traditional relationships are fading and this is how a phenomenon called chameleon migration is established. As a result of the formerly mentioned processes temporary migration of work force is replaced by a new type of migration, aimed at uniting families. Thus the question inevitably arises: who stays at home and how do they cope?

Key words: globalized migration, interpersonal relations, torn roots

#### **INTRODUCTION**

At the end of the 20th century inner wars as well as social and political hopelessness were the factors contributing to the intensification of migration tendencies in Serbian society of the time. After the changing of their political systems Central European countries became receiving countries. Migrants primarily arrived from nearby countries and regions with well-prepared interpersonal relationships.

After joining the EU the number of migrants from third countries increased further within the population of Europe as well as Hungary. Most often it was not Hungary but another EU country that was the target country for the new immigrants. Very often the EU would have meant a new opportunity for migrants to break free.

Hungary joined the Schengen zone in 2009, and the simplified naturalization process – dual citizenships – have resulted in a new wave of migration, a phenomenon, which might pose a lot of questions for the country's leaders as well as for the researchers of social sciences. Model-like interpretation of migration paths and the identification of migrants' final destinations have become of utmost importance for researchers. The consequences of migration might hide dangers for both the sending and the receiving countries, because family uniting trends pose new challenges for the researchers, who investigate the problems of social metamorphosis.

In a globalized European Union globalized processes are going on meaning, that migration processes have become powerful worldwide. Although, players in this process most often come from different cultures with different traditions, so, they might look strange for communities in the receiving countries. But they only look strange! Theoretically within the European Union nothing and nobody is supposed to be strange, since people are each other's guests, friends and companions. But in practice it is different. Can we really co-habit with or, make friends with persons, who are 'strangers' for us?

It would be too beautiful to be true! Unfortunately, legal regulations deal with this issue of legal harmonization from a different angle: if a person crosses the border as a refugee without official documents, then he or she will be under the control of immigration authorities for 12 months.

We are all on the road. Is it the right way, or is it the wrong track? We will only learn it when nearing the finish line.

### **The new project**

In February 2012 a complex research project entitled 'Serbian citizens in Hungary' was launched. Project partners included the Hungarian Research Centre from Subotica, Serbia and the Lóránd Eötvös University of Budapest. Project work was supported by the Integration Funds of the European Union and the Ministry of the Interior of Hungary.

Members of the research team included dr. Mária Rédei-Langer, Doctor of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, dr. Irén Gábrity Molnár, university professor, dr. Sándor Illés habil., dr. Dávid Karácsony PhD, dr. Áron Kincses PhD, Zoltán Takács Zoltán PhD student and Beáta Kovács project manager..

Research outcomes were published by the research consortium in December 2012.

When considering the pre-history of research it needs to be emphasized that, in relation to the social and economic characteristics of the region a considerable amount of research material had already been collected by professionals which needed to be analyzed. In addition, the topic itself is a perennial topic which has to be re-discussed every now and then by the profession.

In the first part of the survey the general results of the global research into migration problems, the lessons learnt from resettlement, the characteristics of the bargaining process and the strategic questions of individual mobility and employment are discussed.

In the second half of the survey the author deals with those practical questions which are related to the free –with some restrictions - flow of products, capital, services and work force in a globalized economy. This part of the survey is followed by the author's recommendations concerning the future and the role of the state in the integration process. The strategies in relation to keeping the qualified work force in the home country - which means safety for the state - and the creation of surplus value by employers will also be mentioned.

The key question of the future will be raised, too, namely the relationship between the pure business aspect of production and the national employment strategy.

### **Expanding Europe – dwindling euphory**

International monitoring attempts have for some time been focusing on Serbia, especially, since the country became the border country of the Schengen zone. The country officially submitted its application to join the European Union on December 22, 2009. As a result, since then the country has been enjoying the benefits of being part of the so-called 'White Schengen' list, which brought visa liberalization for Serbian citizens.

Since March 2012 (becoming a candidate country), Serbia has come about half way on the road of integration processes, although, by the opinion of experts the accession will not take place before 2020. This fact can have an impact on the living conditions, the simple existence and on the feeling of collective security of the Hungarian minority of Serbia.

July 2013 launched a new period in the life of the country, since Štefan Füle, EU commissioner for enlargement made an announcement in Belgrade, which can be summarized as follows: European Union experts are convinced that Serbia is going to be the 29th state of the European Union, or, alternatively, the 28th, if in the meantime one country would leave the Union. These were days of great significance in the life of the community. This was the same period when Croatia enjoyed the first days of its new status as member state. On the other hand, its neighbour, Serbia, was only shown the green light to become a member in the future.

Presumably, several years will pass until the former Yugoslav republics will be able to live peacefully next to one another and they will be able to cooperate in a friendly way within the framework of a new integration.

### **Doubts and solutions**

In this story on one side there is Serbia and on the other side one can find the European Union, currently burdened with many problems. The expansion of the integration on the one hand would be a political success, while on the other hand there would be several reasons to doubt its success.

The changing of Europe's borders is not approved by several of the founding member states. In addition, the political and economic conditions of the candidate countries also raise doubts in member countries with stable economies. (It is a well known fact that the Serbian state debt is well over 60 - 65 % of the GDP.)

Although, there can be solutions to this problem. The IMF is willing to give a helping hand. and Dominique Strauss-Kahn, former IMF head has been appointed as economic adviser in charge of restructuring the country's large foreign debts. In addition, it is worth mentioning that Serbia is expected to get 3 billions from the United Arab Emirates, a sum, which would serve to pay back part of its former debts.

In the opinion of several researchers, owing to the depth of the European crisis, even the reason for the existence of the union is questionable. During the past few years the major issue that featured in the discussions of the monetary union was to outline a possible future for Europe. Thus the question arises: why would the union want to accept a new member state, struggling with many problems, in a situation, when the EU itself failed to solve several of its inner problems. On the other hand, this question can be reversed as well by asking: why would a country want to become part of a union, which is struggling with serious problems. Despite all arguments and counterarguments, EU membership is still very attractive. The negotiations and the promise of improving relationships between Serbia and Kosovo might prove that governments and politicians, who used to live as 'brothers' and then, concerning their opinions and political paths, got separated and distanced from each other, might once again approach each other. It would be a move, solely motivated by the promise of the accession to the European Union. [Pákozdi A. 2013]

In addition, it can be raised, too, that the European Union owes a lot to this region; member-countries had not done much when multiethnic Yugoslavia had been falling apart in a violent and bloody war. Now there is an opportunity for the European Union to prepare and

implement a new and clever 'Balkan policy' and by stabilizing the relationship between the countries of the region they could make up for the faulty policies of the past. This is a real historical moment for the Balkan region because the EU integration of Serbia and Kosovo can be viewed as the closure of the conflicts of the past. This solution looks very nice!

In connection with the same issue there is one more single question to be asked, namely, whether or not this new dialogue, initiated by the EU, will settle the chaotic relationship within the region once and for all?

Some countries have expressed their doubts in relation to this question. Germany requested to review the relationship between Belgrade and Pristina in December 2013 and continue accession negotiations only if the relationship between the two countries is considered acceptable.

### **Migrating world**

In the last 35-40 years the number of migrants doubled in the world. After 1990 this number began to grow faster. It is a well known fact that every 35th inhabitant of the world lives outside his or her mother country. It is approximately 3% (220 million people).[Rédei M. 2010] If we examine closely the statistical indicators of the individual countries, it can be stated that about 3 – 5% of a country's population lives far away from the mother country.

At first sight there is no problem with these figures. Those, who want to leave, let them go, independently of age, gender or motivation. But every coin has two sides. On the one hand there are the countries of origin, where there are worries how to replace the missing population. On the other hand there are the receiving countries which have a surplus of people.

In addition to artists, researchers, university professors and leading sportsmen, migrants also include large unskilled, uneducated masses of people, who are willing to do whatever work they find. A good example can be seen in Great Britain, a country, which is the new Babylonian 'melting pot'.

In connection with this topic some new questions will arise, including the following:

- Can central interests be promoted so that individual interests would not get harmed?
- Can demand and supply of work force meet?
- Can emigration and immigration be regulated?

In the past few years researchers considered free movement of people as the expression of general human rights and as a topic of outstanding significance. 'Emigration is a human right, while immigration is not.' [Heller Á. 1993]. The political situations and regulations –control

before entry, screening by age, knowledge of language, educational background, work experience, retrainability, and the willingness to invest all play a role in the process. The 'trodden path' of emigration, the relationship with those who are already there [Marrus 1990] definitely influence potential migrants. It can be concluded from the above, that the easiest way to get into the chosen country is via family reunion. In addition, as it is attested by experience, easy access to the target country also might intensify migration processes.

In the developed half of the world all people expect migrants to solve the problem of shortage in work force. But it is not an automatism that each migrant finds a suitable job for himself or herself easily and in a very short time.

### **Targets, temporary residence or wrong paths?**

When focusing on Serbia (Voivodina), considering the historical implications it can be said that Hungary's role has been increasing since the 1990s. On the basis of the statistical figures of the census of 2011 it can be stated that the number of people, who live in Hungary but consider themselves Serbian minority has risen by 36.6 % since 2001. (2011 – 10,038 persons)

It is 'only' statistics. Nobody can be sure how people answer census questions, what is more, they are not even obliged to answer questions about their ethnic or national background; it is generally thought that migration is more significant than that. Serbian statistics reveal that the number of people leaving for Hungary from 1992-2011 was 4,200.

Databases of the receiving countries reveal interesting data. These are as follows:

According to figures by the Central Statistical Office of Budapest and the Office of Immigration and Citizenship (BÁH), a total of 13,986 persons, born in Serbia, received Hungarian citizenship between 1993 and 2009. On January 1, 2010, 79,035 people stayed legally in Hungary from a third country, among whom there were 17,197 Serbian citizens.

Where have the other people gone? They live among us, but adapted to their environment. It is a chameleon migration.

Based on currently available BÁH statistical figures it can be said that the interest in Hungary as a target country has recently been on a decline, although, there were examples in the past, too, showing that this country served only as springboard for the Serbian intellectuals, 80 % of whom later moved on to a western country.

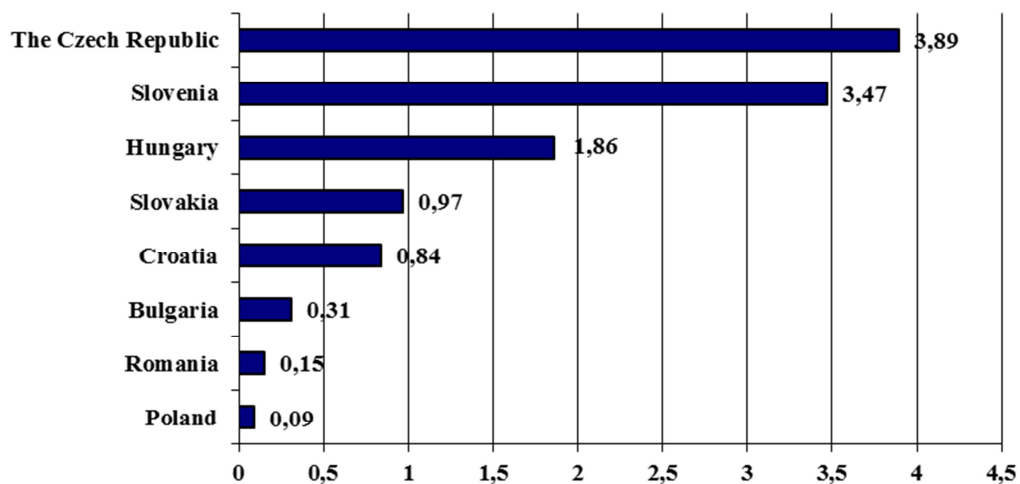
Consequently, we can ask the following question. Do we/Did we really need these immigrants? It is important to say that the country needs every registered person, who is

active, willing to work, since they contribute to GDP growth, which is from 0.5-1% in the developed countries. (In Hungary no statistical data are available).

It was in 2010 that Political Capital made a survey in Central Europe examining the relationship between migrants and the citizens of the receiving countries

Eight countries participated in the survey, including Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Slovenia, Croatia, Romania and Bulgaria.

**Figure 1** Proportion of foreigners in the total population in 2010 (%)



Source: Eurostat - Political Capital (edited by: Suti Z.)

The facts speak for themselves: the proportion of those who are against immigration is the highest (52%) in Hungary. Czech society also opposes immigration, while the inhabitants of Poland, Slovenia, and Bulgaria seem to be more tolerant. (Only about 30% is the proportion of the opponents of immigration).

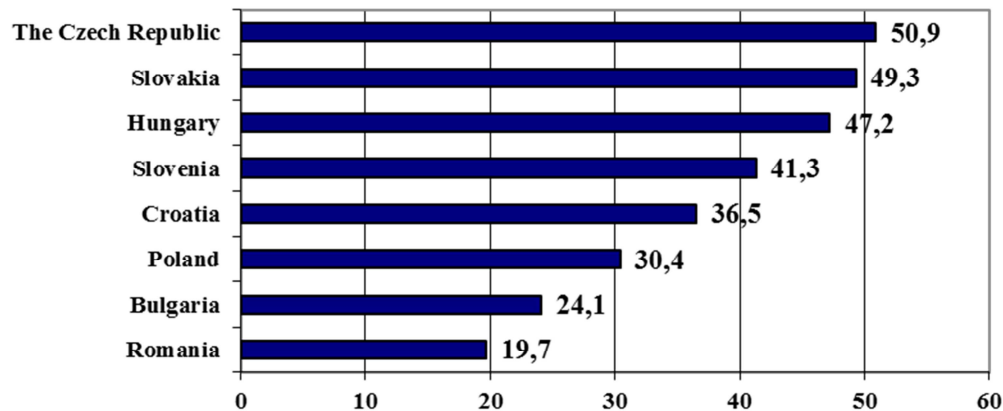
It is likely that those who are in theory against immigration are motivated by economic reasons. While Polish and Slovenian people think that immigrants play a beneficial role in their respective country's economy and culture, in Hungary negative feelings and fears dominate.

The most sincere opinions came out when people were asked about the immigrants' contribution to the budget. Those people, who move from another country to Hungary pay their taxes here, but they are also given a number of social benefits. 60% of those who were asked said that immigrants get far more benefits than their contributions to the budget would make them eligible for.

The proportion of contributions and benefits had to be evaluated on a scale from 0 to 10. (I.e. an 11-point rating scale, where 0 meant that immigrants get more benefits than their contributions while rate 10 meant that their contributions exceed the benefits they are given.

When looking at those answers, which said that immigrants get far more benefits than their contributions to the central budget (from 0-4), it can be seen that welfare chauvinism was the strongest in the Czech Republic (50.9%) and Slovakia (49.3%), while the inhabitants of Romania and Bulgaria proved to be more open-minded.

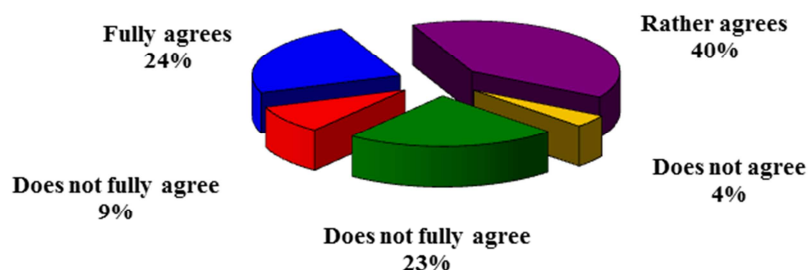
**Figure 2** Opinions on immigration-related contributions and benefits: results in the percentage of the 11-point rating scale



Source: Eurostat - Political Capital 2010 (edited by: Suti Z.)

TÁRKI (Social Research Institute) also contributed to research results. A similar survey was conducted by them in April 2011, trying to find out more about the high percentage of those who oppose immigration. The final data were similar to those, which had come out at the end of the previous research, despite the fact that the immigrants were Hungarians from the other side of the border, whose roots and traditions are similar to those who live permanently in Hungary. When analyzing research results it has become obvious that the citizens of Hungary nurture negative feelings toward immigrants.

**Figure 3** Immigrants take work away from those who were born in Hungary



Source: TÉNYTÁR – TÁRKI Omnibusz, April 2011 (edited by: Suti Z.)

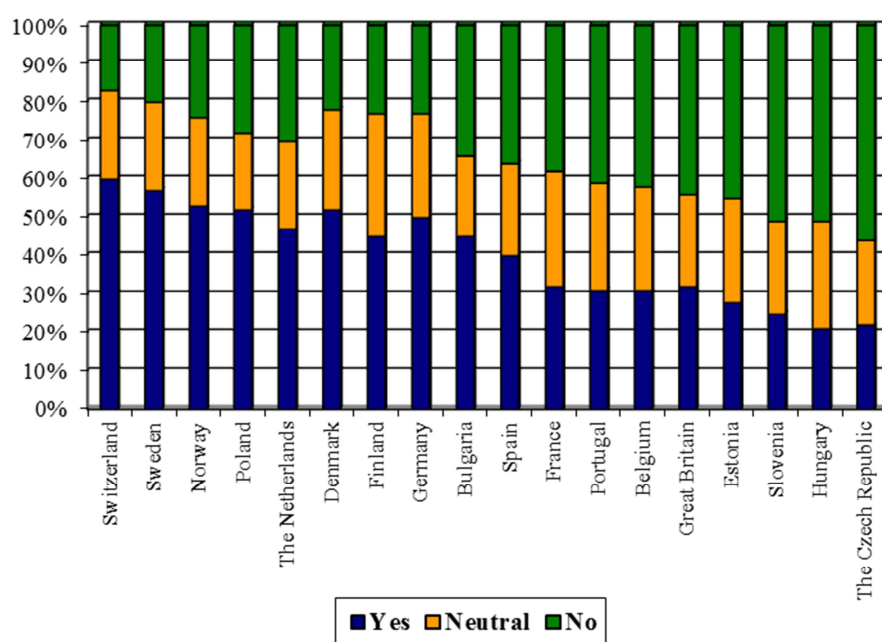


Results speak for themselves: 64% of all respondents are not happy about the presence of foreigners because they think that there will be fewer jobs available for the Hungarians. It was only 23% that disagreed with the content of the research statement (see above).

When analyzing the Hungarian situation it can be said that it is a special case. There are no (at least not yet) large-size immigrant groups in Hungary, which would be culturally very different from the native culture (not counting the 21st century immigrants coming from the Far East). What is more, Hungary did not become a target country for the immigrants within the European Union either. The situation of Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary's borders has become a special question by now, which has given grounds for many debates and conflicting opinions. Will they become the saviors in a time when population figures are shrinking? We do not know, but it is certain, that it is equally important to keep them in their respective countries of residence, in order to save and cherish their special cultural heritage.

According to survey figures by the previously mentioned Political Capital it was only 3.1%-of Hungarian respondents who said that it would be important to increase the number of immigrants. It was about 60 % of respondents that would like to reduce the number of immigrants. (They do not consider the fact that immigrants come here to work.)

EES (European Social Survey) has conducted a similar survey with the same results. The question to be answered was as follows: Does immigration have a beneficial effect on the economy? 18 countries participated in the survey and among them after the Czechs it was the Hungarians who rejected immigrants the most vehemently. In the opinion of most Hungarians the immigrants do harm to the economy. It is surprising, since the survey was made in an economically stable period, with the recession in the background. We might add that in Hungary people are not very tolerant toward their own compatriots and ethnic minorities either. The carriage needs to be pushed out of the ditch, but not everybody is joining the group.

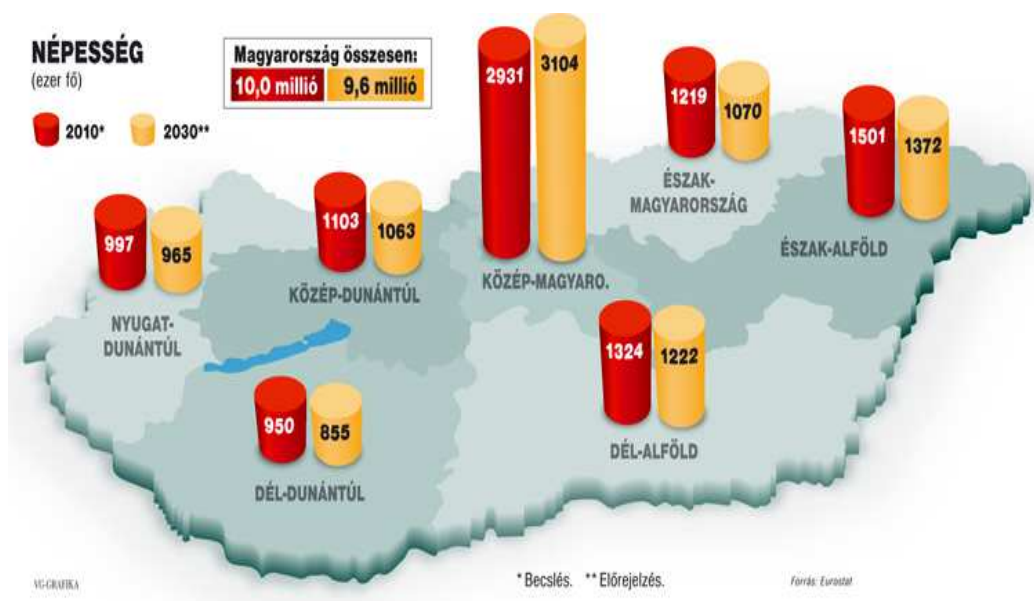
**Figure 4** The relationship between immigrants and the economy

Source: TÉNYTÁR - European Social Survey 2010 (edited by: Suti Z.)

Hungary at present does not have any strategy or concept concerning migration. (The fact, that would-be university students had to sign a contract prior to their studies that upon the completion of their studies for some time they would not go abroad to work, also generated heated debates in the country). It is also well known that the birthrate is the second worst in Europe after Germany, although the phenomenon of shrinking population figures is present in other Central European countries, too. [Wetzel T. 2011.]

As it is attested by figures taken from a variety of surveys, the lack of migration strategy leads to economic problems and losses even at a short term. Thinking about longer periods very serious problems occur considering the number of inhabitants of the country as well as their composition by age.

According to estimations of EU statisticians from 2010-2030 the number of potential migrants to Hungary might be 450,000. They might be of key importance when considering overall population figures, still, the number of inhabitants will decrease by 400,000. In addition to their influence on population figures, and the difficulties of their integration into society, the immigrants have indirect impact on unemployment and economic activity figures, life expectancy, fertility and dependency rates in their respective receiving countries. Out of the seven regions of the country it is only Central Hungary where the number of inhabitants is thought to be increasing, partly due to the internal, and partly due to external migration. In the other six regions of Hungary demographers should expect a decrease in population figures.

**Figure 5** Population of Hungary in 2010 (facts) and by 2030 (estimates)

Source: Eurostat 2011.

### The future- the situation in the European Union

Based on modelling in the area of the 27 current member countries a 5.5 million natural decrease in population figures is estimated together with the appearance of 30 million immigrants up to 2030. Consequently, in theory, the number of inhabitants in the USE (United States of Europe) would be 520 million. Working age would increase, too, from 39.6 to 45.5 years and 100 active people would keep 38 pensioners (aged 65+), instead of the present 25.4. It is and will be an enormous burden on the old-age pension and health care systems.

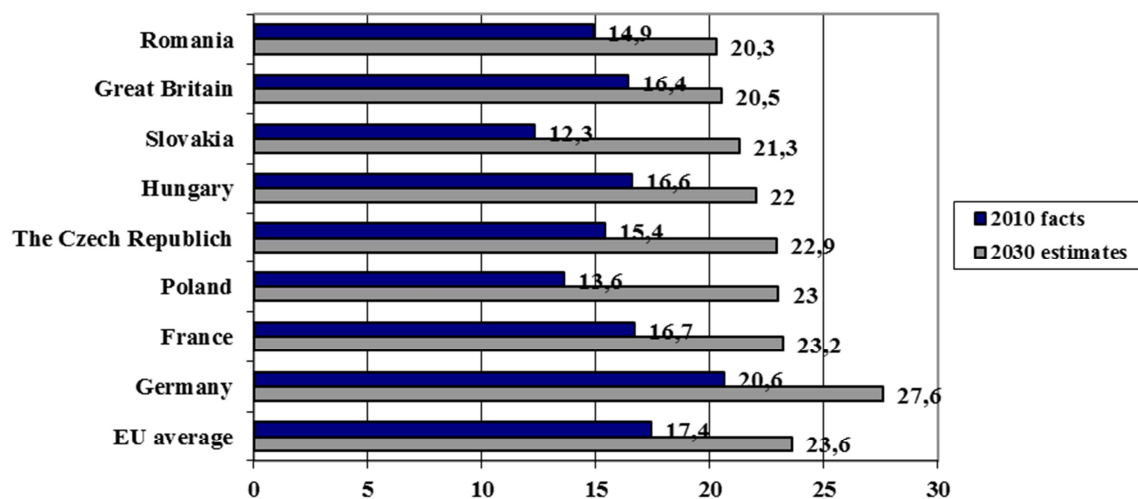
There are enormous differences in the individual countries considering the quality of life. Natural increase of population is positive in France and The Netherlands. In Germany there are enormous differences between the regions. Population figures go down at alarming rate. The 'youngest regions' of the Union include new centres of migration such as London and its environs as well as Ile de France.

The Czech Republic is doing well in a demographical sense because by 2030 the newly arriving immigrants will have been able to compensate for the natural decrease of population. As it is attested by police registration figures about 150,000 foreigners – mainly Slovaks and Ukrainians – have been registered in and near Prague.

By Eurostat figures other countries of the region –including Hungary - are to be prepared for population decrease in the next two decades, although at different rates. Population decrease will primarily be felt in the provincial areas of the given country.

The harmonization of immigration and refugee policies is expected to take place in Europe in the very near future, and the ministers of the 27 countries have already had several meetings and heated discussions with the aim of establishing a harmonized policy within Europe. The most important aim is to motivate immigration, which is deemed to be necessary for the maintenance of population and economic figures and another aim is to stop illegal immigration. After the introduction of unified regulations each member country would be able to make independent decisions as to the annual quotas, but the selection procedure would be organized by the common policy. The immigrants' knowledge of the given language, their certifications would be checked prior to their entry to the receiving country and in order to stop illegal entries, the border management agency of the EU, the Frontex would be given more authority.

**Figure 6** Proportion of the 65+ age group in the individual EU countries in 2010 and in 2030 (estimates) in the percentage of the total population



Sources: Eurostat 2011 Edited by : Suti Z.

## SUMMARY

The formerly outlined ideas and factors attest to the fact that the most significant problem area of the next two decades will be of demographic nature. The population decrease, caused by economic factors in certain regions of Hungary, seems to be irreversible, even today. In connection with it the question may be raised that whether or not the immigrants will be able to reverse this process or lighten its burden.

The answer to this question is still not known to us, but it is certain that a long-term demographic strategy (national strategy) needs to be elaborated which would include a variety

of elements, such as immigration and demographic issues and the improvement of the relationship of the Hungarians living abroad with their mother country. (This latter migration is different from other forced or free migrations, because it is the result of the factors of historical separation.) A short-term future-driven strategy is also needed to stop the recent population decrease of tragic proportions. This is a parliamentary competence and it succeeded in solving some aspects of the problem – not without stirring controversies.

In summary the following two questions need to be raised:

a.) Does the country need immigrants? If yes, in what proportions?

Although statistical figures may be misleading, it is known that in order to compensate for the annual population decrease the country should receive about 35 thousand immigrants on an annual basis to stabilize the country's population of 10 million. Then, in addition to the current figures it would mean 20 thousand more. Being aware of the Hungarian tendencies and conditions and considering global migration processes it is not very likely to receive 35 thousand new immigrants per year. Most often the attraction of the mother country, its economy and democratic freedom are not motivating enough. In addition, those immigrants, who are already here most often move on toward the west because they are dissatisfied with the opportunities Hungary can offer.

When analyzing the statistical figures of the period from 1990 to 2010 the conclusion can be drawn that the naturalized citizens are most often well-educated young or middle-aged people, who were related to the other country, thus their integration was smooth and unproblematic. They got the citizenship, had jobs, consequently, from economic and demographic points of view their presence was important for the country. Thus it can be stated that the immigration and the settlement of Hungarians who lived outside Hungary's borders was able to counterbalance population decrease for a while.

b.) What kind of immigrants do we expect to come?

If we approach the issue of the ideal immigrant from a sociological point of view, then this person should have the following qualities:

- Ethnic Hungarian, who would easily integrate into Hungarian society,
- Hardworking, who could finance his or her family's desirable standard of living
- Would hold a secondary school certificate or a degree from higher education because lower levels of education would easily lead to unemployment.
- Would be between 20 and 40 years of age and would be willing to start a family in Hungary.

Unfortunately, these expectations rarely come true, since the Hungarian minorities living abroad are not endless sources of immigration. Also, emptying the areas, inhabited by Hungarians in the neighbouring countries is not desirable either. It would be painful to see the disappearance of their ethnic culture, which is part of our historical heritage, too.

The research conducted in Voivodina was significant for a number of reasons, which can be summarized as follows:

- To analyze the number, composition and the geographical location of Serbian citizens living in Hungary.
- To examine Hungary-related migration processes and their territorial characteristics.
- To outline the specific features of Serbians living in Hungary from the point of view of socio-economics, demographic and job market characteristics.
- To elaborate a model of the impact of the aforementioned characteristics on Hungarian society and economy.

From a methodological point of view the research was based on empirical investigations, questionnaires and in-depth interviews. The questionnaires focused on three target groups. :

1. Serbian citizens who live in Hungary
2. Serbian citizens who live in Voivodina
3. Members of the receiving (Hungarian) communities (local population)

During research it was possible to get an in-depth picture of

- the opinion of local people about the immigrants,
- the immigrants' motivations,
- the aims of their stay

It became possible to quantify :

- the level of their contentedness,
- their degree of integratedness
- the features of the application procedure for Hungarian citizenship
- and the importance and intensity of the citizenship acquisition procedure (in the group of inhabitants from Voivodina).

It was also one of the research aims to link the taxes paid by immigrants to areas, demographic and other indicators in order to maximize the economic benefits of immigration.

The in-depth interviews have made it possible to map

- the relevant specific features of the individual target groups,
- their integration into the Hungarian system of education and training
- their integration into Hungarian society, culture and Hungary's job market

- the immigrants' transnational network
- their relationships with their countries of origin
- the objective and subjective judgement of their social integration.

Within the framework of the project recommendations have also been formulated with the aim of determining

- the social and economic benefits of immigration,
- ways of enhancing integration processes,
- the geographical priorities.

The political as well as the socio-economic conditions of the period after the turning of the millenium rearranged the tendencies and proportions of migrations in the Carpathian Basin. Since the outbreak of the Southern Slav war the ethnic Hungarians of Serbia have shown an increaesed tendency to move to Hungary. Migration tendencies can further be intensified as a result of the fear of Serbia's isolation within the EU as well as the possibility of dual citizenship.

Formerly there were no attempts to investigate the degree of integratedness of Serbian citizens into Hungarian society, what is more, there were no data available regarding their integration.

It is one of the researchers' long-term aims to trigger changes within the country and contribute to the elaboration and implementation of efficient long-term integration strategies at governmental level.

One of the specific tasks of the project was to publish and disseminate its recommendations and the preparation of all parties involved for a major 21st century global migration.

These project outcomes might be helpful for Hungarian citizens, too, because they would be able to

- formulate well-judged opinions about immigrants,
- eliminate racism,
- enhance the subsidiarity of migration,
- prepare the reception of immigrants more efficiently
- explore multiplicative effects.

If all these objectives could come true, the situation would be much better: the alarming demographic statistics would improve, birth rates could be on the rise again, family-centred (tax) politics would be introduced to support families, those citizens who are well educated and trained would get enough opportunities to work in their home countries, brain drain

would stop, and those, who are already abroad could eventually come back to their native countries.

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