

Hungary as receiving country for circulars¹

SÁNDOR ILLÉS² and ÁRON KINCSES³

Abstract

The paper presents findings of research on long-term international circular migration. There is scarce information on migratory phenomena interlinked by serial numbers (parity) in literature, so we would like to provide empirical evidences on international circular migrants based on the registered-type of data. The paper draws on a conceptual framework for a sort of definition of international circular migration. We deal with the phenomenon of circulation as one of the systems of the international migration and concentrate on Hungary as a receiving country. The main aim of the paper is to transform the notion of circulation highly theorised to the practice. The paper seeks to gain further insight into the demographic composition and territorial preferences of international circular immigrants in Hungary. Conclusions about circulars indicate the need for future investigations.

Keywords: circulation, international migration, migration system, spatial distribution, parity analysis

Introduction

International migration studies have traditionally focused on residence based assumptions, but the primacy of the concept of usual place of residence is eroding. Migration means a change of usual place of residence. It is a single non-recurring movement from statistical angle. From spatial aspects, migration has a character of processes in order to connect different terrains: sending, transit and receiving areas. Circulation is one of the newly emerging phenomena in which recurring moves are flooding among multiple residences. Based on this research we proposed proto-definitions from spatial angle in order to create macro level statistics. In general, circulation is a spatial mobility system which contains at least three

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² Eötvös Loránd University, Department of Social and Economic Geography, H-1117 Budapest, Pázmány Péter sétány 1/c. E-mail: illes@caesar.elte.hu

³ Hungarian Central Statistical Office, H-1024 Budapest, Keleti Károly u. 5. E-mail: aron.kincses@ksh.hu

interlinked and recurring individual moves. In particular, international circular migration would be conceptualized as an international migration system. It contains at least two or more nation-states and three or more interlinked and recurring international migrations between countries involved.

The paper presents some findings of a quantitative empirical research on long-term international circular migration. Circulation is one of the newly emerging phenomena in the era of globalisation in which recurring moves are flooding among multiple residences (McLOUGHLIN, S. *et al.* 2011). Unfortunately, there is scarce information on migratory phenomena interlinked by serial numbers, which become system of migration (CONSTANT, A. and ZIMMERMANN, K. 2011). We would like to fill this gap. We suggest introducing the old-new notion to migration studies – *circulation*. Circulation refers to a system of multiple, recurring spatial movements of individuals while the characteristic of *multiplicity* is as significant as the spatial moves and the system itself.

The main aim of this study is to transform the notion of circulation highly theorised to the geographic, statistic and demographic practice. We address the central concern of this study on the international return migration multiplied to a destination country, namely Hungary. So we concentrate on Hungary as a receiving country.

In the next chapters the paper provides empirical evidence based on the registered-type of data of international migrants arising from the Hungarian Office of Immigration and Nationality. Firstly, the paper draws on a conceptual framework for a definition proposed of international circular migration. We point to the fact that three interlinked and recurring migration steps are necessary for the creation of circulation process. Secondly, we present the data and method utilised. Thirdly, we examine the demographic composition of circulars by gender, age and family status. Fourthly, considering the territorial patterns in Hungary, we analyse the spatial distribution of the residence of circular immigrants on county level. In other words, we put special emphasis on their spatial preferences within the country.

Theoretical framework

According to the conception of the old-fashioned, international migration touched upon at least two independent states. The international migrants are separated from the sending countries and they are connected with the receiving countries. But technical and logistical developments in transport and telecommunications have significantly changed the speed and trajectories of spatial movements of goods, people, information and ideas. As one of the symptoms of integration and globalisation, the volume and average distance of international migration are increasing (MICHALKÓ, G. and VIZI, I. 2005) and

transnational communities are organised with peculiar activities (BAUBÖCK, R. 2003; HARDILL, I. 2004; NELL, L.M. 2004). Previously, the members of these above mentioned transnational communities had multiple citizenships and they slightly joined with any other states. It is possible to interconnect the economic, social, cultural and political activities between the sending and receiving countries. Another problem was that the transnational migrants might join with the countries involved.

The analysis of transnational migrants' activities from historical perspective proved that transnationalism was not a brand new phenomenon emerged at the end of the twentieth century (CASTLES, S. and MILLER, M. 1993; SOYSAL, Y.N. 1994; SÍK, E. and TÓTH, J. eds. 1999; GELLÉR-LUKÁCS, É 2004;). Ravenstein claimed that every single significant migration flow – after a certain period of time – creates its reflection, the counter-flow (ILLÉS, S. 2001; ILLÉS, S. and KINCSES, Á. 2009). In the early twentieth century travelling to the home country and sending remittances back was sporadic practice. It was only a matter of time that travelling to the country of origin as tourist and the remittances became monthly and weekly routine (WICKRAMASEKARA, P. 2003; RÉDEI, M. 2007). Communication without physical contact made it possible for people to change information through smaller and smaller time gaps (messages via persons, sending postcards, sending telegrams, making phone calls, writing e-mails etc.).

As consequences of mass influx to America, transnational phenomena have been developing since the 20th century with the symptoms below:

- in the course of the assimilation process to the host society, the link of migrant to the receiving society was not disrupted completely;
- migration networks developed (BUCHANAN, M. 2003; BARABÁSI, A.L. 2008);
- due to gaining citizenship of country of destination, large amount of double citizens developed/appeared but it was inessential for both the sending and receiving sides and the migrants themselves to make any advantages from their multiple legal status;
- different sorts of migrant organisations could be founded in the receiving countries;
- some groups specialised in peculiar economic activities (it was also erected from the home country) did not create interconnection between the two countries.

The end of obligatory military service, the prohibition of multiple tax legislation in international relations, the supranational rules of economic integrations broke the absolute sovereignty of nation states before the epoch of recognition of transnational activities. The last logical argument of the political community of receiving country against the multiple connections would be the break of the rule of “one person has one vote”. The immigrants may enjoy the consequences of their wise political decisions without barriers, but in case of

negative consequences, they could emigrate easier than the natives (SUTCLIFFE, B. 2001; VISZT, E. *et al.* 2001; ØSTERGAARD-NIELSEN, E. 2003). Transnationalism can get to a new level after the rapid development of communication technology and transportation (PAPADEMETRIOU, D.G. 2001; BERNEK, Á. ed. 2002; SZENTES, T. 2002; TİNER, T. 2009).

The phenomenon of transnational migration has the largest amount of literature in this respect. According to the so called 'old-fashioned' conception reflected the last epoch, international migration touched upon two independent states with one way ticket. The international migrants were separated from the sending countries and connected with the receiving countries. In the new era the migrants don't lose their relations completely with the country of origin. Nowadays, they partly attached to the country of destination via their work, their properties, their family relations and other activities. (SALT, J. 2001; WALDINGER, R. 2008). Migrants could adopt dual or multiple residence strategy. In practice, it meant a strategy of moving back and forth (KLINTHÄLL, M. 2006; TANNENBAUM, M. 2007).

In the epoch of globalisation, the migratory movements are developing as a sort of events repeated with multiple displacements from one place to another. The transitional nature of migration processes is in growth. Many first time international migrants stayed in the receiving country, but many former emigrants returned after years of wandering or became circular migrants dividing their time and activity between the origin and the destination countries. An increasing number of circulations occupy a system of places rather than a single place of residence. National statistics and data of international organisations are generally poor to catch the movement of people moving together (mobility units), especially in case of multiple moves (for instance circulation) (BORREL, B. 2004; LUKÁCS, É. 2011). All in all, the notion of transnational migration has the largest amount of literature in this respect.

Finally, we depict some research questions relevant in this context. One of the core questions is what the content of transnational status is and how to extend the transnational status. The main problem is how long the transnational status exists during an individual life course? An open question remains whether the multiple belongings of two or more nations will be a transitional phase of the immigrant life or we can expect their permanence across generations. Which conditions are necessary to maintain the transnational status of immigrants?

Definitions

The links between moves attracted the attention of scientists even as early as in the 19th century (for instance, see the vast majority of contributions on nomads,

traders, seasonal labourers). The concept of return migration developed as the very first idea in the second half of the twentieth century (KING, R. 1986) and it can be more or less transformed to the concept of serial migration was just linked to it. It is also necessary to mention that the next step on the way towards the recognition of the phenomenon of circulation was the sporadic application of the concept of repeat migration.

The notion of seasonal migration had close relationship with international moves of workers (BORJAS, G.J. 1996). Seasonal migrants were employed mainly by the agriculture, construction and the services of mass tourism. International commuting, in other words pendulum migration, is the most frequent in state border zones, but it means not only the movement of workers, but also the daily and weekly periodic movement of service providers. The phenomena connected with international tourist travels without periodicity (tourism of professionals and shopping tourism) were encompassed in the notion of international vacation. In other words, if economic incentives are involved, we get to the notion of long-distance commuting; and if the migration has a recreational purpose, we get to tourism (WILLIAMS, A.M. and HALL, M.C. 2002).

Inflow and return are the two sorts of spatial moves. Particularly, final return means the end of migration cycle (KING, R. 2002). If the attraction force of sending area is not so strong and the receiving area pushes the immigrants away, a third area develops as the next destination. In case of unsuccessful decision, the immigrants search a fourth area if they exclude coming back to the previous places.

OSSMAN utilized the term 'serial migration' to indicate non-recurring migrants who undertook a series of migration rather than a simple event of migration (OSSMAN, S. 2004) With that migration pattern, the series do not break and the serial migration system emerges without no return. Although the serial of remigration happen (multiple moves) and the elements of the moves are three or more but we can not interpret it as circulation because it is not a return to any previous places.

In this contribution we adopted KRITZ and ZLOTNIK's view of system approach (KRITZ, M. and ZLOTNIK, H. 1992). Their international migration system comprised groups of countries flowing significant absolute numbers of international migrants within them. CASTLES and MILLER's (1993) study (cited below) supported that sort of conceptualisation. International migration system linked the sending and receiving areas with fairly regular and relatively permanent structures and flows. Increasing number of circulations occupy a system of places rather than a usual place of residence. National statistics and data of international organisations are generally poor to catch the moment of people moving together (mobility units), especially in case of multiple moves (for instance circulation).

From spatial aspects, migration has a character of processes instead of events in order to connect different terrains: sending, transit and receiving areas. The migration system is nothing else than the sum of migration processes, in other words a set of non-independent moves one another. Utilise the specific classification of regional sciences on the conditions of over time and across space (NEMES NAGY, J. 2009) whereas migration is not a mono-space process. However, as noted above, it was a hetero-space process. If we interconnect the hetero-space character with the simplest duality of time relation, we can get two possible solutions (hetero-space and one-time processes, hetero-space and discrete-time processes). The hetero-space and one-time international migration systems are separated by the centres of attraction.

At global scale, only three gravity centres can be distinguished: North America, European Economic Area and Australia. The attraction power of continental scale has many sub-gravity centres, for instance the international migration systems of South Africa, Middle East and Singapore with hetero-space and one-time character of the system. The simple sum of moves characterises these kinds of relations with the prevalence of one gravity centre. The interconnection of separate flows with discrete-time character is not illustrative of that system. The hetero-space and discrete-time international migration systems have at least two attraction centres. The simplest example is the two-centre system and the flows happen between them. Inflow and return are the two sorts of spatial moves. Particularly, final return means the end of migration cycle (KING, R. 2002). If the attraction force of sending area is not so strong and the receiving area pushes the immigrants away, a third area develops as the next destination. In case of unsuccessful decision, the immigrants search a fourth area if they exclude coming back to the previous places.

The introduction of repeated and serial migration is described as the prototype of migration system. OSSMAN (2004) utilized the term 'serial migration' to indicate non-recurring migrants who undertook a series of migration rather than a simple event of migration. With that migration pattern, the series do not break and serial migration system emerges without any return. Although the serial of remigration happen (multiple moves) and the elements of the moves are three or more but we can not interpret it as circulation because it is not a return to any previous places. First parity return is enough for circulation in the receiving country if the number of residences is at least three. (In case of two residences, the first parity back move is nothing else than a return migration.) According to the arguments pro and con listed above, we can conclude that at least three interlinked and recurring migration steps are necessary between two places for the creation of circulation.

All in all, our proposal for the exact definition of circulation from the spatial angle within the context of human moves is as follows: *circulation is a hetero-space and discrete-time spatial mobility system containing at least three inter-*

linked individual moves in which two have return character. We utilise consciously the broadest concepts related to human moves just as “spatial mobility system” and “move” in order to conceptualise easier the notion of circulation connoted tourism, commuting, residential mobility and migration as well. It usually involves return and repetition. In other words, international circular migration constitutes multiple return moves within the same spatial system.

Data and methods

One of the inevitable problems of the statistical measure of international migration is the under-registration of emigrants (BORREL, C. 2004). In the absence of obligatory reporting of emigration in the sending country sources (registration, population census, survey), we cannot gain reliable data of emigration (TÓTH, J. 2004; KOVACSICS-NAGY, K. 2006). Registration of receiving country could be used as “mirror statistics” for the country of origin. This is the first solution, but it could function in an appropriate way if numerous bilateral agreements are entered into force among the bodies involved. It seems to be a more effective solution if an international organization collects migration data harmonised from its member states. After that the data produced on unified principles and methods will be published by international organization with any possible dimensions. Both methods are used by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office, but the common shortcoming is that the quality of the data compiled echoes the level of the least quality national statistics. Another problem of the data of emigration is that it is not possible to make a sophisticated analysis for instance of gender and age specific analysis, not to mention the other dimensions.

The present study aims to enrich our knowledge of circulation within international migration context focusing on Hungary as a receiving country. One of the main shortcomings of research of circulation is the lack of reliable data. Few circular movements are documented quantitatively so data gathering is essential (NEWLAND, K. *et al.* 2008). Naturally, Hungary is an individual (maybe exceptional) case, however, its statistical system provides us to create unique database on international circular migrants.

The database consists of individual data files on immigrants for each year between 2001 and 2008. According to the official statistical definition, immigrant means a foreign citizen who entered Hungary in the given year and obtained a permanent residence or settlement permit for a year or more. The database originated from the continuous registration system of Office of Immigration and Nationality.

The database was at the disposal of the researchers on identifiable manner. The individual data files contain the immigrants’ surnames, forenames, genders, dates of birth and places of birth, marital status, citizenship, the exact

addresses of usual place of residence in Hungary and any important information for administrative purposes. We compared one of the three years under investigation with the previous years started with 2006 (2006 with 2001–2005, 2007 with 2001–2006 and 2008 with 2001–2007). With the help of this data sets, we created a special computer programme for multi-level identification system to fit for distinguish individuals between different time periods.

All in all, we examined three enumerations separately and the number of total immigrants entered Hungary during three calendar years, 2006–2008; the number of immigrants already registered by the immigration office in previous years; differences between circulating migrants and single-moved international immigrants by gender, age, family status, citizenship. In other words, we compared circular international migrants with those who had got the immigrant status for the first occasion (parity).

In the following empirical section we deal with the phenomenon of circulation as one of the systems of the international migration. We concentrate on Hungary as a receiving country. We examine the demographic composition of circulars by gender, age, family status and the country of citizenship. Considering the territorial patterns in Hungary, we analyse the spatial distribution of the county of residence.

Results of research

In this section of paper we deal with the phenomenon of circulation as one of the parts of the international migration as a multi-layered phenomenon. The empirical analysis below on international circular migrants is limited to the Hungarian immigration data. That choice has several advantages. The data set come from full-scope register. The data gathering, processing and methods of analysis are unified to fit for international recommendations. We don't deal with emigrants from Hungary directly. In this study we concentrate on the immigration side of multiple movers with non-Hungarian citizenship. As reference group, of course, we can distinguish the first parity immigrants from international circular immigrants.

Here we employ micro-files, a unique data source consisting of those foreign citizens' data. We utilise flow type of data due to net migration figures disguise the multiple movements in which circulation, as well. Between 2006 and 2008 77,521 foreign immigrants entered Hungary, from among 10,907 people had already stayed in Hungary in immigrant status. This means that more than 14 percent of circulars had personal experiences of the country (that share could be even higher; but we had access only to data since 2001).

Based on the results, 57.3 percent of the total number of immigrants were men and 42.7 percent were women between 2006 and 2008. Among circu-

Table 1. Numbers of international immigrants and international circular immigrants by gender in Hungary from 2006 to 2008

Year	All immigrant	Circular immigrant	Share of circular, %
Male			
2006	10,684	1,820	17.0
2007	12,753	1,904	14.9
2008	20,972	2,321	11.1
<i>Total</i>	<i>44,409</i>	<i>6,045</i>	<i>13.6</i>
Female			
2006	8,683	1,536	17.7
2007	9,854	1,560	15.8
2008	14,575	1,766	12.1
<i>Total</i>	<i>33,112</i>	<i>4,862</i>	<i>14.7</i>
Together			
2006	19,367	3,356	17.3
2007	22,607	3,464	15.3
2008	35,547	4,087	11.5
<i>Total</i>	<i>77,521</i>	<i>10,907</i>	<i>14.1</i>

lar migrants that percentage was the following: men 55.4 percent; women 44.6 percent. We can conclude that male surplus exists among circular migrants, too. But the probability that an international migrant woman can become a circular is higher than a man all years investigated. From gender perspective, the higher probability for females to become circular migrants is one of the symptoms of the feminisation process within international migration.

Examining the circular migrants according to the parity of entering Hungary (*Table 2*), it can be ascertained that parallel with the increasing parity, the circular subpopulation's age structure is growing older. This statement is valid for mainly people age 20–39 years old, economically active population.

Labour mobility would be the overwhelming part of cycles of repeated migration and many of migrants are involved in one or more steps of emigration and return. In the Hungarian labour market the circular immigrants might feel marginalized from the host society and they simultaneously retained links to sending country through remittances, dual entrepreneurial activities (RÉDEI, M. 2007) and back and forth movement, reflecting attachment to both sending and receiving countries, too. Circular migration is facilitated by changes in transport technology which have contributed to the integration of countries and continents. From the point of view of parity, the highest share of firstly immigrated population has the age group 20–24 (15.7 percent), but the parallel value of circular migrants, the age group of 25–29 marks the zenith (2.7 percent).

In this respect we can conclude that university students and young elders arrived in Hungary first time have no previous migratory experiences (L. RÉDEI, M. 2009). The relative absence of international retired migrants

Table 2. Age distribution of international non-circular (1) and circular (2–X) immigrants by entering in parity of Hungary between 2006 and 2008, percent

Male						
Age groups	Numbers of entering					Total
	1	2	3	4	Together (2–X)	
0–4	4.4	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.6	4.9
5–9	1.9	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.4	2.3
10–14	1.7	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.3	2.0
15–19	7.2	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.5	7.7
20–24	15.1	1.2	0.4	0.0	1.7	16.8
25–29	13.0	1.9	0.5	0.0	2.4	15.4
30–34	9.9	1.6	0.5	0.1	2.1	12.0
35–39	7.9	1.2	0.4	0.0	1.6	9.5
40–44	6.2	0.8	0.3	0.0	1.1	7.2
45–49	5.2	0.7	0.2	0.0	1.0	6.2
50–54	4.2	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.7	5.0
55–59	3.1	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.5	3.6
60–64	2.7	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.3	3.0
65–69	2.3	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.2	2.4
70–74	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	1.0
75–79	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.6
80–84	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
85–X	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
<i>Total</i>	<i>86.4</i>	<i>10.3</i>	<i>3.0</i>	<i>0.4</i>	<i>13.6</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Female						
0–4	5.5	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.7	6.1
5–9	2.5	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.6	3.1
10–14	2.2	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.4	2.6
15–19	7.9	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.7	8.6
20–24	16.4	1.9	0.6	0.1	2.7	19.1
25–29	12.6	2.2	0.6	0.1	3.0	15.6
30–34	7.7	1.5	0.4	0.0	1.9	9.6
35–39	5.9	1.0	0.2	0.0	1.2	7.1
40–44	4.5	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.8	5.3
45–49	4.1	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.7	4.9
50–54	3.8	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.6	4.4
55–59	4.0	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.5	4.5
60–64	3.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.4	3.5
65–69	2.3	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.2	2.5
70–74	1.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	1.5
75–79	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.7
80–84	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.5
85–X	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
<i>Total</i>	<i>85.3</i>	<i>11.3</i>	<i>3.1</i>	<i>0.3</i>	<i>14.7</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 2. continue

Age groups	Together					Total
	Numbers of entering					
	1	2	3	4	Together (2-X)	
0-4	4.8	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.6	5.5
5-9	2.2	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.5	2.7
10-14	1.9	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.3	2.2
15-19	7.5	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.6	8.1
20-24	15.7	1.5	0.5	0.1	2.1	17.8
25-29	12.8	2.0	0.5	0.1	2.7	15.5
30-34	9.0	1.5	0.5	0.0	2.0	11.0
35-39	7.0	1.1	0.3	0.0	1.5	8.5
40-44	5.4	0.7	0.2	0.0	1.0	6.4
45-49	4.8	0.7	0.2	0.0	0.9	5.6
50-54	4.1	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.7	4.7
55-59	3.5	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.5	4.0
60-64	2.9	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.3	3.2
65-69	2.3	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.2	2.5
70-74	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	1.2
75-79	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.6
80-84	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
85-X	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
Totall	85.9	10.7	3.0	0.3	14.1	100.0

within circulars may be partly associated with the return migration of former Hungarian emigrants in the socialist epoch. The return migration might be combined with the increasing trend of amenity seeking migration with previous tourism experiences (ILLÉS, S. and KINCSES, Á. 2008; MICHALKÓ, G. 2010).

The distribution of average age by parity reflects unexpected demographic patterns of international circular migrants (Table 3). The average ages do not increase in parallel with the growing number of entering. For instance, the average age of three and four times immigrants is lower than once and twice immigrants.

This regularity is stronger for women than men. In addition, the average age of female international circular migrants is lower (younger) by parity than male counterparts. We can hypothesise with grand probabilities that women started their immigration careers to Hungary earlier than men and the emergence of the circulatory patterns of international migration is not a long-lasting phenomenon. We suppose that economic reasons dominate but beyond economic motives people also circulate as members of migration units (mainly children and other dependents) to seek better educational opportunities (student migration), to be closer to families among other particular reasons (for instance retirement).

Table 3. Average age of international non-circular (1) and circular (2–X) immigrants by parity of entering in Hungary from 2006 to 2008, percent

Year	Numbers of entering					Total
	1	2	3	4	Together (2–X)	
Male						
2006	31.4	33.6	30.1	38.4	33.3	31.7
2007	32.2	29.4	32.5	34.4	31.4	32.0
2008	33.0	34.2	35.7	34.9	34.3	33.2
2006–2008	32.4	33.1	32.7	34.6	33.1	32.5
Female						
2006	30.5	31.0	28.7	29.5	30.9	30.5
2007	32.6	28.7	29.6	27.6	29.1	32.0
2008	32.3	33.7	31.2	29.2	33.5	32.4
2006–2008	31.9	31.8	29.8	28.0	31.2	31.8
Together						
2006	31.0	32.4	29.5	33.7	32.2	31.2
2007	32.4	29.0	31.3	31.7	30.3	32.0
2008	32.7	34.0	33.8	32.3	33.9	32.9
2006–2008	32.2	32.5	31.4	31.9	32.3	32.2

As the next step of data analysis, we examine the demographic structure regarding the family status (Table 4). Perhaps, the most interesting finding is that the share of single people (53.6 percent) among the circular migrants is higher than in case of others (47.4 percent). It suggests us that this “mobile way of life” is not typical for those who have formal partnerships with or without children. But we can not state that the probability of circulation is higher among people without formal partnership than among people with partners due to the lower share of widowed and divorced circulars. Such findings feed arguments related the erosion of traditional family concept and the creation of new types of community.

The analysis of spatial distribution of all immigrants shows that they are concentrated in two typical areas in Hungary (Table 5). Firstly, 60.1 percent of them live in Budapest and its surroundings. Budapest and Pest county are the general dynamic migration centres of Hungary. We can suppose that the group of highly-skilled and/or creative foreigners is an overrepresented group amongst circulars in this region (WILLIAMS, A.M. and BALAZ, V. 2008; EGEDY, T. *et al.* 2009; EGEDY, T. and KOVÁCS, Z. 2011).

The proximity of the border is an important geographic motive, which is not a barrier but a contact zone from the aspect of migration flows. Secondly, migrants from neighbouring countries prefer to settle down on the Hungarian side of the border and become frequently commuters or self-employed/entrepreneurs. Border counties are traditionally considered as disadvantageous

Table 4. Family status distribution of international non-circular (1) and circular (2–X) immigrants by parity of entering in Hungary between 2006 and 2008, percent

Male						
Family status	Numbers of entering					Total
	1	2	3	4	Together (2–X)	
Single	49.4	52.5	52.0	48.7	52.3	49.8
Married	43.9	42.6	42.9	46.2	42.8	43.7
Widowed	1.9	1.0	1.9	1.3	1.2	1.8
Divorced	4.9	3.9	3.3	3.8	3.8	4.7
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Female						
Single	44.7	52.8	62.6	70.9	55.2	46.2
Married	44.7	36.6	30.3	23.6	35.0	43.3
Widowed	5.0	4.9	3.2	3.6	4.5	4.9
Divorced	5.6	5.7	3.9	1.8	5.2	5.6
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Together						
Single	47.4	52.6	56.6	57.8	53.6	48.3
Married	44.2	39.9	37.4	36.9	39.3	43.5
Widowed	3.2	2.8	2.5	2.2	2.7	3.1
Divorced	5.2	4.7	3.6	3.0	4.4	5.1
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

territories according to location theories and because of the barriers in international trade and the threats of military invasions. The alteration of this unfavourable image could generate a new increase in traffic in the border counties through deeper international economic integration – with lower trade barriers mainly ethnic Hungarians (Kocsis, K. *et al.* 2006). These counties (Csongrád, Hajdú-Bihar and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg) have characteristics by which they can be defined as active contact regions.

The residence of international circular migrants is highly concentrated in the capital, Budapest (51.2 percent) and its surrounding area, namely in Pest county (12.1 percent). The capital is the main receiving areas of Hungary. The circulation is more or less typical for border regions of neighbouring countries (Romania, Ukraine and Serbia) as well, but the level was below the average. According to *Table 5*, we can explore an extreme territorial pattern among the fourth parity circular immigrants. Their shares are relatively high in the border counties of Serbia (Csongrád), Romania (Hajdú-Bihar, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg) and Austria (Vas). We can presume that this phenomenon is strongly correlated with the growing importance of cross border activities. A significant Hungarian minority live in Slovakia with a low share of international circular migrants (1.6 percent) to Hungary. But this phenomenon focused in the western part of the border area.

Table 5. Territorial distribution of international non-circular(1) and circular (2–X) immigrants by county (NUTS 3 level) and parity of entering in Hungary between 2006 and 2008, percent

County	Numbers of entering					Total
	1	2	3	4	Together (2–X)	
Budapest	47.4	51.1	53.8	13.3	51.2	48.0
Baranya	1.7	1.7	2.7	0.0	1.8	1.7
Bács-Kiskun	2.3	2.5	2.7	6.7	2.5	2.3
Békés	0.9	1.4	1.1	0.0	1.4	1.0
Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	2.2	1.7	0.8	0.0	1.6	2.1
Csongrád	5.4	4.8	12.6	26.7	5.5	5.4
Fejér	2.0	2.0	1.1	0.0	1.9	2.0
Győr-Moson-Sopron	5.9	3.7	1.9	6.7	3.5	5.5
Hajdú-Bihar	3.8	4.1	5.3	13.3	4.2	3.8
Heves	1.5	1.2	1.1	0.0	1.2	1.4
Komárom-Esztergom	2.1	2.3	0.8	6.7	2.2	2.1
Nógrád	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.5	0.7
Pest	12.1	12.6	6.1	13.3	12.1	12.1
Somogy	1.7	1.1	2.3	0.0	1.2	1.6
Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg	2.8	2.6	2.3	6.7	2.6	2.8
Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	1.1	1.1	0.4	0.0	1.0	1.1
Tolna	1.0	0.7	0.4	0.0	0.7	1.0
Vas	1.3	1.6	3.4	6.7	1.7	1.4
Veszprém	1.3	1.8	0.8	0.0	1.7	1.4
Zala	2.9	1.4	0.0	0.0	1.3	2.6
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

We could shade the county-level analysis of the territorial distribution of international circular migrants if we depict the small-region level share of circular migrants within all immigrants. But any attempt to identify the emergent spatial characteristics in international circular migration over a period of investigated must be inevitably full of caveats, to some degree speculative, certainly debatable. However, it is out of the scope of the current study.

Another interesting aspect of international circular migration concerned spatiality is the latest choice of residence of international circular migrants. In this context two questions arise: 1. Which regions were preferred by circulars? 2. Did the international circular migrants return to their previous county of residence and to what extent? Regarding the territorial preferences, we examine if there are attractive areas for circular migrants. It is also an interesting question whether those who return to Hungary decide to stay in their previous county of residence or they choose a new one.

Our insight is limited by virtue of our exclusive focus on counties (Figures 1–3). Based on the territorial distribution, we conclude that the county of residence of the international circular migrants changed in high extent. The

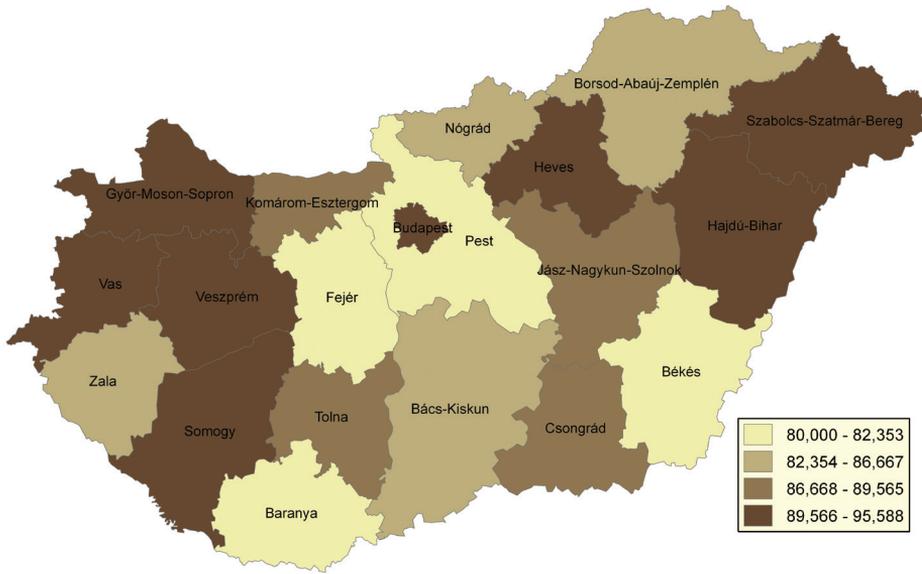


Fig. 1. The proportion of the same county of residence of circular migrants last entering in Hungary as their previous (2001–2005) county of residence in 2006, percent

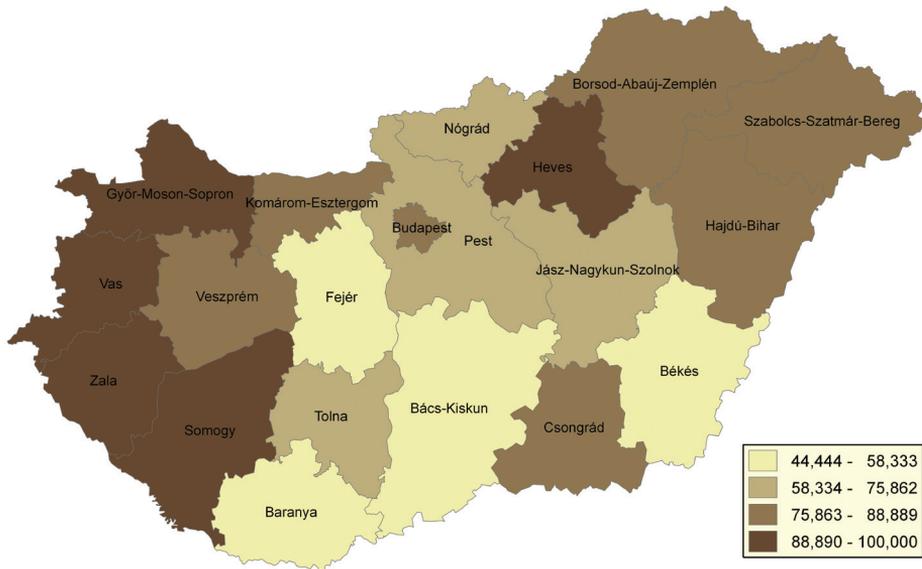


Fig. 2. The proportion of the same county of residence of circular migrants last entering in Hungary as their previous (2001–2006) county of residence in 2007, percent



Fig. 3. The proportion of the same county of residence of circular migrants last entering in Hungary as their previous (2001–2007) county of residence in 2008, percent

share of the resettlement of the same county was above 81.9 percent among all Hungarian counties in 2006 but varied highly later, in 2007 (44.4 percent) and in 2008 (68.6 percent).

In 2006 Vas county (95.6 percent), the capital, Budapest (94.4 percent) and Hajdú-Bihar county (93.7 percent) had the highest attracting force for circulars. In contrast, the lowest pulling force characterised Pest county (81.9 percent), Békés county (82.4 percent) and Nógrád county (84.2 percent). The weak force of return could be explained by the fact of the relative underdevelopment in case of Békés and Nógrád counties, but the situation of Pest county was peculiar in this context so as to its non-returnees arrived mainly in Budapest (15.1 percent) and the 3 percent residuum dispersed even in Hungary.

The highest share of non-returnees of Békés (7.8 percent) and Nógrád (5.3 percent) counties also chose the capital as their next residence, but a larger extent of residuum was concentrated in the neighbour counties, as well. If the previous county of residence were Pest, Fejér, Békés, Baranya, Bács-Kiskun, Komárom-Esztergom, Csongrád and Győr-Moson-Sopron counties, the non-returnees tended mainly towards the capital. This relationship was not valid for Vas, Tolna, Hajdú-Bihar, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Veszprém, Zala, Somogy, Heves and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg counties where the main county of return was not Budapest, except for themselves.

The circular international migrants who previously lived in Budapest were attracted secondly by Pest county, surrounding the capital. They fuelled the suburbanization processes, just as internal migrants in Hungary, but to smaller extent (2.4 percent). The so called counter-flow from Pest county to Budapest increased much more than the general concentration trend.

In 2007 all circulars who previously lived in the county of Győr-Moson-Sopron, Heves, Somogy, Vas and Zala returned to the same county. Békés county (44.4 percent), Fejér county (57.1 percent), Tolna and Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok counties (both 66.7 percent) had the lowest attracting force. That year the weak force of return could not be explained by the fact of the relative underdevelopment in case of Fejér and Tolna counties. Pest county was peculiar again so as to its non-returnees arrived mainly in Budapest (17.2 percent) and the 6.8 percent residuum concentrated in two counties only in Hungary. With the exception of Pest county, the highest share of non-returnees of Békés (33.3 percent), Bács-Kiskun (33.3 percent), Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok (33.3 percent), Fejér (28.6 percent), Csongrád (12.2 percent) and Komárom-Esztergom counties selected mainly the capital as their next residence, but a larger extent of residuum was concentrated in the neighbour or non-neighbour counties. In contrast, if the previous county of residence was Baranya, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Győr-Moson-Sopron, Heves, Nógrád, Somogy, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Tolna, Vas, Veszprém and Zala counties for international circular migrants, they did not move to Budapest. The circular international migrants who previously lived in Budapest were attracted secondly by Pest county (6.5 percent). They fuelled strongly the suburbanization processes that year just as internal migrants in Hungary. The counter-flow from Pest county to Budapest was much stronger (17.2 percent) and demonstrated the general concentration trend again.

In 2008, which was the last year under investigation, Győr-Moson-Sopron county (96.8 percent), Heves (96.0 percent), Zala (95.6 percent), Somogy (93.8 percent) and the capital, Budapest (91.5 percent) had the highest attracting force. At the same time Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok (68.6 percent), Békés (75.6 percent), Fejér (76.5 percent) Baranya (79.4 percent) and Bács-Kiskun (80.9 percent) had the lowest pulling force. The weak force of return could be explained by the fact of the relative underdevelopment in case of Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Békés and Bács-Kiskun counties, but Baranya and Fejér counties were in relatively strong developmental position in Hungary. Pest county was a peculiar case again so due to its non-returnees who arrived mainly in Budapest (11.9 percent) and the 3.8 percent residuum who dispersed more or less evenly in Hungary. With the highest shares, most of the non-returnees of Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok (28.7 percent), Fejér (16.3 percent), Békés (13.7 percent) and Bács-Kiskun (13.0 percent) counties also chose the capital as their next residence.

That relationship was not valid for Vas, Tolna, Zala, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Somogy and Heves counties where the main county of return was not Budapest, except for themselves. The circular international migrants who previously lived in Budapest were attracted secondly by Pest county. They enhanced the suburbanization processes, just as /similarly to internal migrants in Hungary, but to a smaller extent (3.6 percent). The residuum was dispersed among other counties. The streams from Pest county to Budapest were much more stronger (11.9 percent) than the so called counter-streams and this part of circulars fuelled the general concentration trend without exception.

Conclusions

In our study we put special emphasis on the spatial aspects of the Hungarian appearance of the newly emerging phenomenon, namely circulation, which return moves are flooding among multiple residences. Circulation is one of the interesting and rarely studied patterns of migration not only in Hungary but also worldwide. What is perhaps most symptomatic but has not been well documented yet is the increase of circulatory movements within migration systems. The interest of this research lies in long-term, spontaneous international circular migration where the governments of receiving countries did not take any attempts to encourage it. Based on that research, we proposed a proto-definition of international circular migration: International circular migration is a hetero-space and discrete-time system. It contains at least two or more destinations and three or more interlinked and repeating international spatial moves between countries involved.

The database originated from the continuous registration system of Office of Immigration and Nationality and contained individual data files on immigrants each year between 2001 and 2008. The full scope and comprehensive administrative database indicates that multiple immigration (circulation) of foreigners to Hungary as the host country is a mass phenomenon, so we provides empirical evidences of international circular migrants. The contribution relates to the common patterns and central issues of international circular migration.

Between 2006 and 2008 more than 14 percent of all immigrants who arrived in Hungary were circular migrants having experience of living conditions in the host country due to their previous stay as the status of immigrants. The gender composition of international circulars corresponds to general sex ratio of immigrants for the period investigated. It means that men dominate among international circular migrants as well as among all international migrants but to a smaller extent. We pointed out that international migrant women become circulars with higher probability than corresponding men

value. The most characteristic age group is the age group of 25–54 which comprises people who have received immigrant status more than once. We assume that labour mobility would be the overwhelming type of repeated migration and many of migrants are involved in one or more parts of emigration and return. The female age composition is younger than that of male counterpart. In other words, the average age of female international circular migrants is lower by parity than that of males. We suppose with grand probabilities that women started immigrate to Hungary earlier than men. The vast majority of circular migrants are single people (53.6 percent). This is the main vigorous demographic result of our research.

The Hungarian county of residence of long-term international circular migrants highly concentrates in the capital, Budapest (51.2 percent) and in its surrounding area, namely in Pest county (12.1 percent). The circulation is more or less typical for border regions of neighbouring countries (Romania, Ukraine and Serbia) as well.

The high concentration of the elements of demographic composition and the destination choice in Hungary mirrored that the international circular immigrant subpopulation was regarded as multiply selected group. With their first immigration to Hungary, they left from the internationally immobile group of people. With their second parity immigration, they rose above the crowd of foreign citizens with immigrant status who emigrated firstly from Hungary and they became international circular immigrants. The circular migrants transformed smaller and smaller groups via the increase of parity. As the results of their multiple metamorphoses, they became more and more self-resembling subpopulation. The multiple selection mechanisms caused the peak of the economically active singles and Budapest just the main destination.

We explore attractive areas for international circular migrants. One who returns to Hungary may decide to stay in his previous county or they choose a new one. Based on the research, we conclude that the county of residence of the international circular migrants changed in huge extent. The share of the resettlement of the same county oscillated between 44.4–81.9 percent in the Hungarian counties during the studied period. It means that returners went back to their Hungarian county of emigration.

We conclude that the demographic data of long-term international circulars and the territorial patterns of circulation could change a lot year by year in particular, in general from time to time. Our research also underlined that a highly changeable character of circulation was the only common feature concluded studies, worldwide (CASSARINO, J-P. 2008; NEWLAND, K. *et al.* 2008).

Through the process of circulation thousands of return migrants flowed to Hungary year by year who had had former positive experiences on the country. The results that emerged from this study raised several ques-

tions for the future research. Finally, we can draw a framework for our future research steps planned. We can explore the circulars' individual motivational systems, social networks and social capitals with the series of ground works with a large variety of adequate methods. The sampling and the choice of the places of surveys rely on the data and the research results of administrative registers (for instance, see this contribution) and the relevant international literature.

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