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INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF HUNGARIAN AND POLISH WORKERS IN THE CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Abstract

The fifth enlargement of the European Union, which took place in 2004, and was the biggest in its history. That year the membership of the union grew from 15 to 25 countries. It currently consists of 28 Member States. One of them started the process of exit from the EU and is due to leave the EU at the end of March 2019. Free movement of workers is one of the reasons. The moment when 10 countries will celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of their accession to the UE and one country is likely to leave it after 46 years, may be a good time for confrontation with the media message about the international migration of Hungarian and Polish workers and a good opportunity to undertake diligent research on the short-term and long-term effects of labour migration. There are different views on the free movement of people from the EU. Europeans generally see this freedom as one of the greatest benefits of the EU membership. However, there are countries where labor migration is well received and the others where it is seen rather like a problem than an opportunity. Hungarians and Poles - depending on their resourcefulness, ingenuity and spirit of enterprise - benefit from being a part of the developed single market. Experiences of both countries are different due to many factors. Opinions of the EU members on this matter are highly divided. Additionally, the EU has now faced another serious problem, which is immigration from outside Europe. Member states have also different approach to it

Keywords: EU-28, migration, Brexit

JEL Classification: J61 Geographic Labor Mobility, Immigrant Workers

Introduction

The European Union currently has 28 member countries. Ten of them will soon celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of their accession. This will probably be at the same time when the UK leaves the EU, as the fate of this member is at stake recently. The UK started the process of leaving the EU on 29 March 2017 and is due to leave the EU union on 29 March 2019. The Brexit deal was formally agreed at the EU summit on 25 November 2018.

Back to the first of May 2004 when Hungary, Poland and eight other countries joined the EU - this fifth enlargement, from 15 to 25 countries, was the biggest in the Union's history. In 2007, Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU and finally, in 2013, Croatia.

In 2004, Eurosceptics discussed their fears concerning the possible negative effects such a huge enlargement and inflow of high number of workers from the accessing countries may cause. Since that time, Hungarians and Poles depending on their resourcefulness, ingenuity and spirit of enterprise – have benefited from being a part of a developed single market, which guarantees the freedom of movement of goods, people, capital and services. All these aspects of freedom are being recognised as basic elements of European integration and are great achievement of political, social and economic structures of united Europe. Freedom of movement (labour force among others assures unfettered possibilities of travelling on the whole EU territory, which is reported to be the most important issue from the perspective of EU citizens.

The union with its 28 member countries represents a continent at present. For the first time, since they were split by the cold war 70 years ago, EU brings together western and eastern European parts. Such a situation was favourable to migration flow. European single market, domiciled by 511.8 million inhabitants, is currently the biggest integrated area of diverse national economies in the world (*Eurostat. Key figures on Europe. 2017 Edition*). Comparing to the EU-28 area only China and India are more populous regions in the world. World population for 2017 is estimated for 7,4 billions, which means that 6,9% of people live in the EU-28 (*Central Intelligence Agency, CIA, World Facebook 2017*).

Free movement of people is in force, with some limitations, in 31 European countries i.e. in the European Economic Area (EEA), which means countries of the EU-28 plus Norway, Island and Lichtenstein, and also, with some limited scope, in Switzerland. Freedom of movement of people between EU and EEA countries (the ones, which are not the UE members) , was introduced according to the agreement about EEA of 2nd May 1992 (Dz. Urz. WE L 001) (*Wach, European labour market. Economical aspects of the European Union, 2007. p. 20*).

Relatively strong emigration of workers in many countries has been observed as a result of implementation of free movement for people. Until recently, the entire liberalization of access to the labour market on the whole EU area was

expected. In the period of present immigration crisis, short (temporary) and long-term economic effects are being lively discussed again.

European integration is happening simultaneously with economic processes that are results of globalization, which makes the research more difficult and hinders unambiguous separation of accession consequences. Despite this, it is worth trying to put together total effects of that period.

Taking into consideration the above remarks, this article is a presentation and comparison of labour migration phenomenon both in Hungary and Poland, on the background of the most important economic trends that have appeared during the last 15 years, including recent migration crisis and Brexit.

1. Is Brexit due to excessive migration to the UK?

The size of the foreign-born population in the UK increased from about 5.3 million in 2004 to just under 9.4 million in 2017. It nearly doubled. The number of foreign citizens increased from nearly 3 million to about 6.2 million in the same period. The situation varies significantly across regions. In 2017, about half of the UK's foreign-born population (52% in total) were either in London (38%) and the South East (14%). Northern Ireland, Wales and the North East have a low share of the UK's total foreign-born population, at 7.5%, 6.3% and 6.2% respectively. In comparison, the UK-born population is more evenly distributed. In 2017, only 10% of the UK-born population lived in London. In 2017, the number of foreign-born people relative to total population was greatest in Inner London (42%) and Outer London (36%) (*The Migration Observatory at The University of Oxford. Migrants in the UK. Published on 15.10.2018. [online] <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/migrants-in-the-uk-an-overview/>*).

Poland is the most common country of birth and country of nationality in the UK. Hungary is not even in the top 10 but there is also Romania, Italy, Ireland, and France from EU-28 on this list. Poland, India and Pakistan are the top three countries of birth for the foreign-born accounting respectively for 9.8% (922,000 in 2017), 8.8% (829,000 in 2017) and 5.6% (522,000 in 2017) of the total (figure 1). In 2016, the number of Poles resident in the UK reached 1 million. Poland is the top country of citizenship of foreign citizens, accounting for 16.4% (1,021,000 in 2017) of non-UK citizens living in the UK (*fig. 1, fig. 2*). In 2003, before Poland's accession to the EU, there were only 69 thousand Polish citizens living in Great Britain. J. Emilewicz, Polish Minister of Entrepreneurship and Technology, during the UK-Poland Economic Forum in May 2018 emphasised that Poles have already established over 60,000 companies in the British Isles, and the United Kingdom is third trading partner of Poland.



Source: Own elaboration according to the data retrieved from Office for National Statistics (a) *Population of the UK by country of birth and nationality: 2016, table 3;* (b) *Population of the UK by nationality and country of birth, 2017, table 1.3 and 2.3.* [online] <https://www.ons.gov.uk/>.

There are both, positive and negative aspects of such a high number of workers moving to the UK from other EU countries but also from outside of the EU. The moods related to the scale of migration intensified over last 15 years. In June 2016, the British referendum began the process of the UK leaving the structures of the European Union. In the referendum, 72.2% of British entitled voted, 51.89% (17.4 million people) of whom were in favour of the UK leaving the European Union (Hunt, Wheeler, *Brexit: All you need to know about*, BBC, 26.11.2018 [online] <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887>, 02.12.2018). There are several reasons for the Brexit. The growing immigration crisis is one of them. Brexit put situation of immigrants in the UK into question. According to the existing agreement of November 2018 on the transitional period, all existing rules, including those concerning the free movement of persons, will remain in force until 31 December 2020.

The referendum on Brexit had no significant impact on the plans to return Poles from emigration to Great Britain. On the contrary, data from Polish Main Statistic Office indicate an increased emigration throughout 2016. Already in 2016 20% of the surveyed emigrants had the status of a resident. The majority of those who did not have, declared their willingness to obtain it. The referendum campaign worsened relations between British and Polish immigrants in the opinion of 30% of the respondents thought.

2. Hungarians or Poles – who are the Euroenthusiasts?

Public support to the accession in 2004 was important and worthy of acknowledgment. That is why, before the fifth EU enlargement, in all accessing

countries (except Cyprus) national referendums about ratification of the Athens treaty took place. The terms and results were following: Malta: 53.65%, Estonia: 66.92%; Latvia: 67%; The Czech Republic: 77%; Poland: 77.45%; Hungary: 83.76%, Slovenia: 89.61%, Lithuania: 91.04% and finally Slovakia: 92.4% (*The European Union Portal. 2009*).

In April 2003, 45% of Hungarians participated in the national referendum (fig. 3). On the question raised about accession of their country only 38% of 8,042,272 persons having suffrage have given a 'yes' answer and 7.37% of all of them have given a 'no' answer. The result of this referendum was the 'worse' in terms of giving support to the integration among all accessing countries. P. Medgyessy, Prime Minister of Hungary after the referendum said: *'This decision fulfils dreams of our fathers and grandfathers. They wanted to come back to Europe. It was long and hard way, but finally we are swimming up to the Union's port.'* (*Országos, 2003*). Two months later 58.85% of Poles were participating in their national referendum and 77% of them supported the accession. A. Kwaśniewski, President of the Republic of Poland, summed up the result with optimism for the future also. He concluded the referendum by looking forward to a new united Europe based on solidarity and prosperity (*European Union Portal. Europa. Poland's President optimistic for the future. 14.05.2003*).

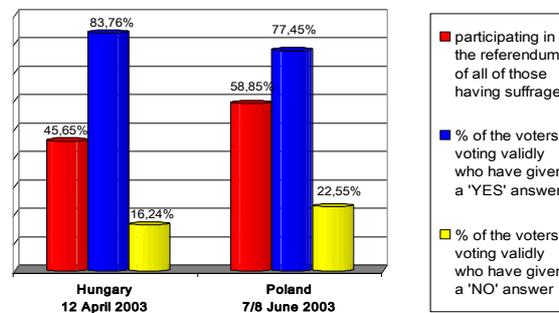


Fig. 3. Legal results of referendums in Hungary and Poland asking their citizens whether they support a decision to become members of the European Union

Source: Own elaboration according to the data retrieved from: (a) *Announcement of the Public Electoral Commission in Poland dated on 21.07.2003 about corrected results of national referendum of 7/8.06.2003 concerning ratification of the Treaty and accession of Republic of Poland to the European Union (Dz. U. dated on 29 July 2003. No 132, pos. 1223)*; (b) *National Election Office in Hungary. Legal result of the referendum on 12 April 2003*. Updated: 16.04.2003 [online] <<http://www.valasztas.hu/nepszav03/en/index.html>> (04.12.2018).

When saying 'yes' to the European integration, citizens of both countries had a lot of expectations as well as fears which concerned the accession to the UE. How did they see the situation from the five-year perspective? Standard Eurobarometer survey done in spring 2008 showed that Poles were not disappointed on

the process of integration. They were the biggest Euroenthusiasts in the UE then. More than three quarters (77%) of them (a greater degree than Europeans on average) believed that their country benefited from being a member of the EU. Apart from Poles, the benefits of enlargement were most often cited by the Irish (82%), Danes (77%), Slovaks, Estonians (both 76%) and Lithuanians (75%). Only 36% Hungarians shared the opinion of the mentioned nations. More than half of them (52%) considered their country as the one not benefitting from being member of the EU. There was a significant difference between Hungarians and Poles in perceiving benefits of the European integration (*fig. 4*).

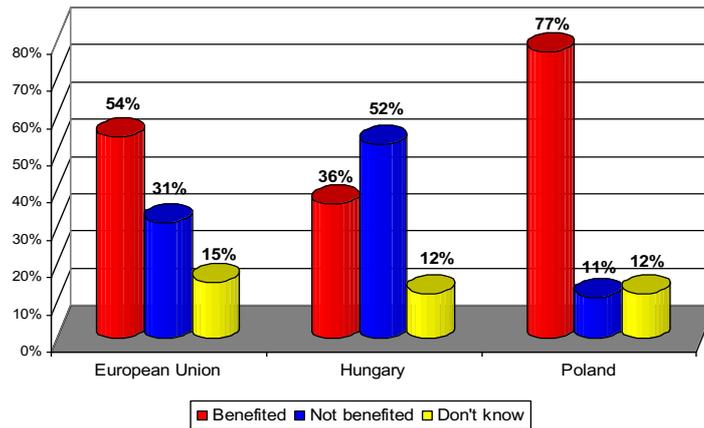


Fig. 4. Benefits of membership in the Hungarians and Poles opinion - Fieldwork: April-May 2008 (in %) (Taking everything into account, would you say that your country has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?)

Source: Own elaboration according to the data retrieved from: (a) European Commission. Public Opinion Analysis. *Eurobarometer 69. The key indicators - results for Poland*. [online]

<http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb69/eb69_pl_nat.pdf> p. 2.

(b) *The key indicators - results for Hungary*. [on-line] <http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb69/eb69_sheet_hu.pdf> Published on June 2008, p. 2.).

The view of Hungarians about positive balance of being a member of the EU was shared by the same number of respondents in the United Kingdom and Austria (*fig. 5*). It could be worth learning how comes that Poles remain positive when evaluating their accession and so many Hungarians feel opposite and also how both nations feel about the situation from short and long time perspective.

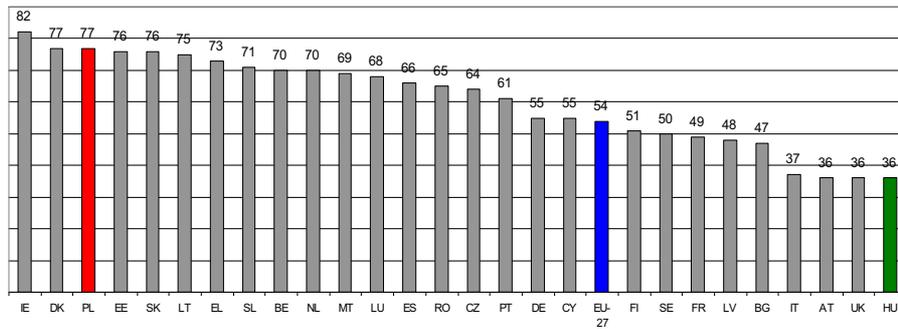


Fig. 5. Benefits of membership in the EU-27 members' opinion - Fieldwork: April-May 2008 (in%) (*Taking everything into account, would you say that your country has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?*)

Source: Own elaboration according to the data retrieved from: European Commission. Directorate-General for Communication. Public Opinion Analysis. *Eurobarometer 69/Spring 2008 - TNS Opinion & Social Chapter 4. The European Union and its Citizens*. Fieldwork: March-May 2008. Publication: November 2008. [online] <http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb69/eb69_part2_en.pdf> p. 17.

Eurobarometer, surveying the views of Europeans since 1973, gives a unique insight into how opinions and attitudes have changed over time. The share of Europeans saying that their country has benefited from EU membership fell below 50% a number of times between 1983 and 2013. It happened for relatively short periods, however this proportion has remained consistently above 50% since enlargement in 2004 (*European Commission, 40 years Eurobarometer. Effects of the economic and financial crisis on european public opinion, [online] <http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Archive/index>, 02.12.2018*).

The main reasons why Europeans consider that their country has benefited from its membership of the EU are as follow: improved cooperation between their country and other countries (37%), maintaining peace and strengthening security (32%) and economic growth (30%). A quarter of the people polled highlighted the fact that the EU provides new employment opportunities. It was mentioned in particular by citizens in several of the Member States that joined the European Union on first of May 2004 (54% of Slovaks, 51% of Poles, 50% of Estonians and 49% of Lithuanians, compared with a European Union average of 25%).

The main reason, in the opinion of respondents who consider that their country has not benefited from membership of the EU, is the fact that their country has very little influence in decisions taken at EU level (36%). The next most frequently mentioned reasons was that EU reduces the standard of living of citizens and that it puts jobs at risk (28% in both cases) (*Eurobarometer 69/Spring 2008, p. 25-26*).

The Poles who were satisfied with EU membership shared the opinion, that their country has benefited mostly because the EU brings people new employment opportunities. Almost two thirds (63%) of them claimed that things in the EU were going in to the right direction. They strongly believe that Poland will be still benefiting from the accession during following next 10-20 years. Greater opportunities to travel after the Schengen air space has opened, an increasing flow of the EU support funds and other benefits have maintained the Euro-optimism of Poles thus far. Poles were more optimistic about the future of the EU than Europeans generally and remained some of the strongest supporters of the EU. Apart of Poland the highest proportion of optimists was observed also in Denmark, the Netherlands, Lithuania, Ireland, Romania, Slovenia and Estonia. The percentage of pessimists is highest among the French, Austrians and the British. (*Eurobarometer 69, 2008*).

When analyzing result of the Eurobarometer Survey of 2008 (Autumn Edition) a similar trend was observed for the perceived benefits of membership as for membership in general. Majority of Europeans thought that their country has on balance profited from membership (56%). Poles remained very positive when evaluating benefits of membership. There is large difference among Poland with positive views ranging from 73% of respondents to 39% of Hungarians who believe in the positive benefits of membership. Hungary and the UK are still nations with the weakest believe in the positive benefits of being members in the UE. (*Eurobarometer 70. Autumn 2008 - first results. 2008. p.36, 41*).

After EU enlargement in 2004, a chance to be employed in Western Europe was one of the main benefits for people living in the majority of ten accessing countries. Many workers from Poland took this chance. According to the Polish Main Statistical Office (Główny Urząd Statystyczny) over 2 millions of Poles were staying abroad in the end of 2007. According to the estimation, at the end of 2016 there were temporarily about 2,515,000 inhabitants of our country abroad, i.e. 118,000 (4.7%) more than in 2015. There were about 2214 thousand people in Europe, with the vast majority in EU Member States (*Polish Main Statistical Office (GUS). Information about the scale of emigration from Poland and its direction in the period 2004-2006, 2007 [online] <https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/migracje-zagraniczne-ludnosci/informacja-o-rozmiarach-i-kierunkach-emigracji-z-polski-w-latach-20042016,2,10.html> (02.12.2018)*).

According to the Hungarian Central Statistical Office 3.6 thousands people emigrated from Hungary in 2006. (*Hungarian Central Statistical Office (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal - KSH). The continuous registration of the population by subregion. Update: 17.01.2008*). For comparison, 46.9 thousands Poles emigrated in the same year. These numbers show that free movement of persons (and employees particularly) may have different importance for Hungarian and Polish citizens (*fig. 6*).

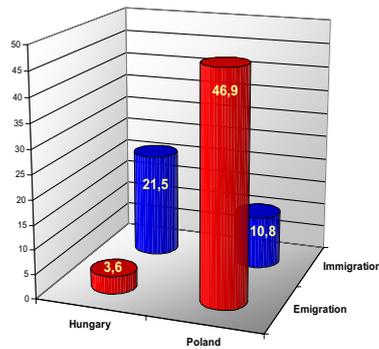


Fig. 6. Emigration and immigration (in thousands) in 2006
- the case of Hungary and Poland

Source: (a) Table 6. Migration. [in] G. Lanzieri. *Population and social conditions. Eurostat. Statistic in focus 81/2008. Population in Europe 2007 - first results, p. 8.* [on-line] <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-SF-08-081/EN/KS-SF-08-081-EN.PDF> Retrieved on 11.02.2009 (b) Table 1. Immigrants by citizenship group 2006 or latest available data. [in] A. Herm. *Population and social conditions. Eurostat. Statistic in focus 98/2008. Recent migration trends: citizens of EU-27 Member States become ever more mobile while EU remains attractive to non-EU citizens.* [on-line] <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-SF-08-098/EN/KS-SF-08-098-EN.PDF> Retrieved on 11.02.2009.

The Hungarian labour force has not been mobile in a great extent. Contrary to Poland, no significant changes after accession were observed. During 5 years after the accession, inflow of labour and study migrants from third, border countries to Hungary was going on. The crude immigration rate (per 1000 population) in 2006 reached 2.1 in Hungary and only 0.3 in Poland. At the same time the crude emigration rate (per 1000 population) was on the level 0.4 in Hungary and 0.9 in Poland. (a) Lanzieri. *Population and social conditions. Eurostat. Statistic in focus 81/2008*, p. 8. (b) Herm. *Population and social conditions. Eurostat. Statistic in focus 98/2008. Recent migration trends: citizens of EU-27 Member States become ever more mobile while EU remains attractive to non-EU citizens*).

When comparing numbers from Hungary and Poland, we can not forget that Hungary has 10 millions citizens and Poland 38 millions - so almost four times more. It means that Hungary has currently 2% of the total EU-27 population, Poland almost 7,7% (see table 1 below). (Eurostat. *The inhabitants of a given area on 1st January 2009 of the year in question. Update: 15.11.2008. Oldest data: 1950. Most recent data: 2009.* (b) Hungarian Central Statistical Office. *The continuous registration of the population by subregion (Resident population in Hungary). Update: 17.01.2008*).

In the majority of the member states of the EU the primary source of population growth, or the factor that helps to avoid population decline, is immigration. A negative migration balance has been registered in three of the 10 states joining

the EU in 2004: Poland, Lithuania and Latvia. Emigration exceeded immigration in these countries. All other new member states registered positive migration balances, although the migration gained in Slovakia and Hungary was extremely small. In Hungary the positive migration balance was negligible and was not able to counteract population decline. What is interesting, Hungary is the only country in Europe with a 25-year history of continuous population decline (*Vukovich. Hungarian Population. Characteristics in the EU Context. TÁRKI Social Research Centre Inc. 2005. p.129*).

Net migration rate in Hungary was 0.86 in the year of accession and on the same level during the next 5-year period. It gives to the country 61st place out of more than 240 countries in the world. In 2008, according to the statistical estimations, -1.23 migrants per 1000 population lived in the EU-27, in Hungary 0.86 and in Poland -0.46. In 2017, according to the statistical estimations, 2.04 migrants per 1000 population lived in the EU-28, in Hungary 1.30 and in Poland -0.40. (*CIA World Fact books. 'Net migration rate'. [on-line] <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2112.html>>*).

During the following years after the accession, the difference between number of emigrants and immigrants were decreasing in Poland. Net migration in number of persons differed very much in both countries. In 2004 the net migration was -9,382 persons in Poland and +18,162 persons in Hungary. It is clear evidence for Poland being a 'sending migration country' and for Hungary a 'receiving' one (*table 1*).

Table 1. Net migration, including corrections (in persons)* in 1996-2008

Year	EU-27	Hungary	Poland
1996	588,633	na	-12,765
1997	430,463	17,561	-11,796
1998	528,845	17,261	-13,261
1999	980,403	16,793	-14,011
2000	724,615	16,658	-409,924
2001	600,059	9,691	-16,743
2002	1,851,753	3,538	-17,945
2003	2,035,346	15,556	-13,765
2004	1,874,951	18,162	-9,382
2005	1,659,667	17,268	-12,878
2006	1,639,202	21,309	-36,134
2007	1,881,201	14,568	-20,485
2008**	1,662,462	15,226	-16,370

* Net migration is a difference between immigration into and emigration from the territory considered.

** Eurostat estimate

Source: (a) European Statistical Office - Eurostat home page. Data navigation tree. Population. [on-line] <<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=0&language=en&pcode=tsdde230>> Update: 15.12.2008. Oldest data: 1990. Most recent data: 2008. Retrieved on 09.02.2009 (b) Table 2.6. Migration indicators [in] European Commission. *Key figures on Europe. 2009 edition*. European Communities. 2008. p. 55. [on-line] <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-EI-08-001/EN/KS-EI-08-001-EN.PDF> Retrieved on 09.02.2009.

When analyzing the level of net migration in a longer perspective, we can conclude that Poland, opposite to i.e. Hungary or The UK, was sending country in the early 70th and nowadays still remain country with higher number of emigrants than immigrants (*table 2*).

Table 2. Net Migration in 1962 and 2017

Country	1962	2017
European Union	1,054,274	4,320,989
Hungary	21,715	29,999
Poland	-62,544	-50,002
United Kingdom	142,563	900,000
United States	1,829,274	4,500,00

Source: Own elaboration on the data retrieved from: Net migration. United Nations Population Division. *World Population Prospects: 2017 Revision*. [online] <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SM.POP.NETM>.

It difficult to compare the number of foreigners in the whole Europe because of the lack of statistics about population by citizenship in the EU countries. Nevertheless available figures show that there were 167,873 residents with foreign nationality in Hungary and 54,883 in Poland in 2007. Again, this confirms that Hungary is a country with much higher percentage of foreigners in the society than Poland (*tables 3, 4*).

Table 3. Resident citizens with foreign nationality in Hungary, Poland and EU

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
EU-15	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	25822796	27416282
EU-25	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	28861974
Hungary	139954	142506	148263	150239	153125	115809	116429	115888	130109	143774	156160	167873
Poland	:	:	:	:	:	:	700329	:	:	:	700000 ^(*)	54883

* Eurostat estimate (:) Not available

Source: European Statistical Office - Eurostat home page > *Data navigation tree. Population. Population by citizenship - Foreigners (persons)*. Update: 27 October 2008. [on-line]
http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page?_pageid=1996,39140985&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL&product=REF_TB_population&root=theme0/t_popula/t_migr/tps00157&zzone=detail.

The biggest number of foreign citizens residing in Hungary since the end of 2006 was from Romania (66,183 in 2006; 66,951 in 2007; 65,836 in I-VI 2008); Ukraine (15,337 in 2006; 15,866 in 2007, 17,289 in I-VI 2008) and Germany (10,504 in 2006; 15,037 in 2007; 14,436 in I-VI 2008). The next top sending countries to Hungary at that time were: Serbia and Montenegro, China, Slovakia, Russia, Poland, Austria and the USA. There were 2,364 Poles residing in Hungary in 2006 and 2,681 in 2007. 2,645 Poles lived in Hungary during the first four months of 2008 (*Cross-Border Cooperation / Söderköping Process*. [on-line] <<http://soderkoping.org.ua/page13122.html>> Retrieved on 11.02.2009). Again, a substantial difference between Hungary and Poland is observed. In 2006 there were 90% foreigners out of total immigrants leaving in Hungary. It was approximately 17% in Poland (table 4).

Table 4. Citizenship of immigrants in Hungary and Poland in 2006 (% of total)

	Nationals	Foreigners
Hungary	10.0	90.0
Poland	83.1	16.9

Source: Table 2.6. Migration indicators [in] European Commission. *Key figures on Europe. 2009 edition*. ISBN 978-92-79-11056-6. Cat. No. KS-EI-08-001-EN-C. European Communities. 2008. [on-line] <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-EI-08-001/EN/KS-EI-08-001-EN.PDF> Retrieved on 09-02-2009. p. 55.

All these facts above show that free movement of workers are perceived from different perspectives and problems in Poland and Hungary. Nevertheless this is not issue which is being ignored in any of the European Countries.

3. Phenomenon of migration in the world and in the EU

Migration is not a phenomenon of 20th and 21st century. The character and trends were subject of big changes at that time. The flows intensified and gathered such importance they have never had before. The theme of international migration has moved to the top of the policy agenda of many countries of origin and destination. As favourable to the migratory processes there should be mentioned i.e. progress in transport, motorization, air navigation as well as development of modern systems of media and different technologies.

The biggest changes in world migration in the last 15 years occurred in Europe. This continent has changed from the main migratory donor netto to the main migratory recipient netto in a very serious scale of the globe. Almost all countries passed such a transformation, recently some countries of Central and Eastern Europe as well as Turkey (*Kaczmarczyk, Sokólski. Migration of specialists in the context of Polish accession to the EU. UKIE. 2005. p. 10-11*).

The United Nations (UN) estimates that, in the end of 2005, 191 millions of people representing 3% of the world population lived outside a country of their birth. Currently almost one per 10 persons living in more developed countries came from other countries. For comparison, only one per 70 persons living in developing countries is migrant. The biggest number of migrants live in Europe (64 mln), then in Asia (53 mln) and the North America (45 mln) The report of the UN titled: *'World Population Monitoring, Focusing on International Migration and Development'* confirms positive economic impact of the migration on hosting countries.

4. Migration in enlarged European Union - hopes and fears

Phenomenon of migration, behind the matter of being popular subject in mass-media, inseparably being important issue in perceiving the UE, rouses public interest, fears and hopes simultaneously. International labour migrations often gave rise to political controversies, more than once leading to social phobias. In front of the UE enlargement in 2004, we could often hear that migrations and their consequences are one of the greatest problems of contemporary and future Europe. It had its justification in the fact, that fifth enlargement belonged to extremely difficult and complicated processes. Undoubtedly the scale of this event had no precedes in the history and was the largest single enlargement in terms of people and landmass, though, on the other hand, the smallest in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The less developed nature of accessing countries was of concern to some of the older member states, who placed temporary restrictions on the travel and rights of work of eastern citizens. Pretty large part of societies in contemporary UE countries feared, that with the moment of accession of such big countries like Poland, inflow of the labour force would be under control and could destabilize the situation on their domestic labour markets. Polish experts stressed at that time that this issue was unjustly seen only in terms of length and features of barriers of movement of workers. They thought that such an approach was short-sightedness and anachronistic (*Iglicka. Europe's report 5. Common challenge – members and candidates of the future EU migration policy, 2001. p. 5*).

In turn, in Poles' opinion, free movement of persons was one of the most important benefits resulting from membership. The newest research shows changes becoming obscured in Poles' consciousness in perceiving labour mobility. Growing indicators of the migration quickly became the reason of different

fears, among others, about families left at home, about depopulated areas or about social pathologies which allegedly were spreading among Poles' community abroad. In the fourth year of membership, the problem of migration in Poland was discussed with clear anxious for lessening potential of human capital. Many myths, stereotypes and misunderstandings had grown around the issue of labour migration (Pilecka, Wiśniewski, 2008. p. 117-118).

5. Effects of migrations on the labour market - Polish and Hungarian context

Reports about results of Polish accession to the UE show that first impact of membership reflected in the highest level of the economic growth from a few years had revealed. Polish researchers observing effects of accession, its expenses as well as social and economic benefits, compare the most important indicators from 2003 and 2007. In this period there are following visible changes: an unemployment decrease almost by a half (from 20% for 11,4%) with a simultaneous increase of employment; increase of average salaries in companies (from 537 for 850 EUR); as well as over three times higher inflow of direct foreign investments (from 3.7 mld EUR in 2003 to 12.8 mld EUR towards the end of 2007). [*The exchange rate from the last quarter of 2003 (EUR/PLN = 3.6232) and 2007 (EUR/PLN = 3.655), according to the Polish National Bank (NBP).*] [in] UKIE.

Statistics from Hungary allow to conclude that things did not go so well on Hungarian labour market. The unemployment rate increased from 5.9% in 2003 to 7.4% in 2007. When the trend of decreasing unemployment and increasing employment in Poland was observed, the slight but stable increase of unemployment and slight changes in employment was observed in Hungary (fig. 7 and table 5).

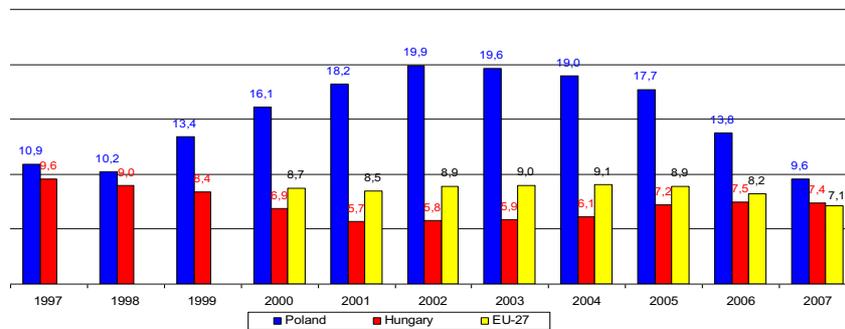


Fig. 7. Unemployment rate* in Poland, Hungary and the EU-27 in 1997-2007

* Unemployment rates represent unemployed persons as a % of the labour force. The labour force is the total number of people employed and unemployed.

Source: (a) EUROSTAT (tsiem071) *Europe in figures. Eurostat yearbook. 2008. Chapter 5. Labour market. p. 260.* (b) EUROSTAT (tsiem110) *European Commission. Key figures on Europe. 2009 edition. Cat. No. KS-EI-08-001-EN-C. ISBN 978-92-79-11056-6. [online]<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-EI-08-001/EN/ KS-EI-08-001-EN.PDF> Retrieved on 09-02-2009. p. 79.*

The average unemployment rate across the EU-27 in 2006 was 8.2%, which represented a further decrease from the level of 9.1% recorded in 2004. For years the highest rates was being recorded in Poland. In the year of accession Poland had 3 times higher unemployment rate than Hungary. Few years later the difference between these countries are not so big anymore and are following: 9.6% in Poland and 7.4% in Hungary. The statistics show that the situation on the labour market improved enormously in Poland, whilst the unemployment rate grew up about 1.4% in Hungary.

At the beginning of October 2008 European Statistical Office announced, that the index of unemployment in UE-27 in August 2008 was 6.9%. In comparison to the previous year, there was decrease of unemployment rates in 19 UE countries and increase in 8 remaining countries observed. The biggest decrease was noticed in Poland (from 9.2% to 6.7%). (a) *Eurostat. Euroindicators no 136/2008.* (b) *European Commission. Key figures on Europe. 2009 edition, p. 72.*

The European Employment Strategy (EES) was launched at the Luxembourg Jobs Summit in November 1997 and was evaluated in 2002 and 2005, when it was revamped to align employment strategy more closely to the Lisbon objectives. The EU has set itself an ambitious target of a 70% total employment rate by 2010, while in the spring of 2001 an employment rate target for persons aged between 55 and 64 years of 50% was added.

When comparing unemployment rate from 2007 to 2018 we can see that unemployment rate has decreased in the whole EU-28. In Hungary unemployment rate has decreased from 7.40 to 3.70 and in Poland from 9.6% to a record low level of 3.8%.

Table 5. Unemployment rate in member states of the European Union in June 2018

Country	Unemployment rate
Hungary	3,7%
Poland	3,8%
EU-28	6,7%
EA (Euro Area)	8,1%
United Kingdom	4,0%

Source: Own elaboration of data retrieved from: EU-28 unemployment at 6.7% in October 2018, lowest since the start of the EU monthly unemployment series in January 2000. [online]
https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Unemployment_statistics.

The employment rate among the EU-27 population aged between 15 and 64 years old was 64.4% in 2006. Although this represented a further rise in the employment rate since the relative low of 60.7% recorded in 1997 and remains below the target rate of 70%. Indeed, employment rates above 70% were only achieved in five Member States (Denmark, the Netherlands, Austria, Sweden and the United Kingdom). Employment rates below 60% were recorded in Bulgaria, Italy, Malta, Romania, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland (table 6).

Table 6. Employment rate in Poland, Hungary and the EU-27 in 1996-2007 (person aged 15-64)

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007*
EU-27	:	60.7	61.2	61.8	62.2	62.5	62.3	62.5	62.9	63.4	64.4	65.4
Hungary	52.1	52.4	53.7	55.6	56.3	56.2	56.2	57.0	56.8	56.9	57.3	57.3
Poland	:	58.9	59.0	57.6	55.0	53.4	51.5	51.2	51.7	52.8	54.5	57.0

* Eurostat estimate

Source: EUROSTAT (tsiem011) Europe in figures. Eurostat yearbook. 2008. Chapter 5. Labour market. p. 250. Data for 2007 from: EUROSTAT (tsiem010, tsiem020) from European Commission. *Key figures on Europe. 2009 edition*. Cat. No. KS-EI-08-001-EN-C. ISBN 978-92-79-11056-6. [on-line]
http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-EI-08-001/EN/KS-EI-08-001-EN.PDF
 Retrieved on 09-02-2009. p. 75.

The quicker economic growth in Poland caused bigger number of working persons, for about 1,564 thousands more from the end of 2003 until the end of 2007. At the end of March 2008 there were 15.6 mln people working in the industry and services which was one of the best results since 1989. It is being estimated, that after the accession 2.1 mln new places of work in private sector was created in Poland. Number at new places arise in most desirable branches in modern economy (Marczuk. 2007; Frelak, Wiśniewski. 2008). After the accession bigger annual employment growth was recorded in Poland than in Hungary (table 7).

8 out of 10 working age Slovenes in other Member States are employed For most Member States, the employment rates of mobile EU citizens are higher than those of their co-nationals who live in their country of citizenship and higher than the EU average employment rate (72.1%). The largest differences are in the cases of Greek (77.3% of Greeks in other EU countries are employed, compared with 57.8% of the respective population in Greece; a difference of 19.5pp.), Croatia

(79.8% and 63.6%, 16.2 pp.), Spanish (78.9% and 65.5%, 13.4 pp.), Italian (75.6% and 62.3%, 13.3 pp.) and Polish (81.8% and 70.9%, 10.9 pp.) citizens living abroad in the EU. In Hungary it is 80.5 and 73.3 with titak difference of -7.2. On EU level, the employment rate for working age citizens living outside their Member State exceeds the resident population employment rate by 4 pp.

Table 7. Employment rate of persons aged 20-64, by country of citizenship, 2017 (%)

Country	EU mobile citizens, %	Total population, %	Difference total population/mobile citizens, p.p.
EU-28	76.1	72.1	-4.0
Hungary	80.5	73.3	-7.2
Poland	81.8	70.9	-10.9
United Kingdom	70.9	78.2	7.3

Source: Eurostat Newsrelease. 87/2018 - 28 May 2018 EU citizens in other EU Member States 4% of EU citizens of working age live in another EU Member State Tertiary graduates more mobile than the rest of the population, page 7. [online] <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/8926076/3-28052018-AP-EN.pdf/48c473e8-c2c1-4942-b2a4-5761edacda37> (02.12.2018)

Polish labour departures imposed to be the significant factor influencing the economic growth. Opening labour markets influenced indirectly unemployment decrease as well as salary pressure increase in Poland. Employers facing risk of loosing the best qualified personnel began increase their wages. 52% of firms having difficulties with getting new or not loosing oresent employees declared intention to rise wages in the second quarter of 2008 (In first quarter it was 48.7%). Firms in which the problem of lack of employees was substantial, more oftern estimate of growing of wages as quicker than growth of productivity (*Polish National Bank – NBP, 2008. p. 21*). Together with this increase, a process of fulfilling social expectations, accompanying the accession began. It referred to improvement of average consumer's situation. What is more important, the wages increase did not stop direct foreign investments, just the opposite. Since joining the UE, Poland belonged to the precise leaders of the most attractive countries for direct foreign investments. Economic growth and wages increase contributed in turn to inflation increase, which nevertheless was left under control. Before the world financial crisis has come, in experts' opinion, it was situation which should not have influenced negatively Polish economy. According to the Polish Main Statistical Office (GUS) average salary in 2007 increased at 9.2% in comparison to the previous year. In spite of that average salary in Poland is still at the 1/3 level of average salary in the EU. Average monthly gross salary in the enterprises' sector

in the first quarter of 2008 was 11,5% higher than one year before. There were increases of salaries in all Polish regions during a year observed (*GUS. Information about social and economic situation of Polish regions*). Year XIII. Quarterly no 1/2008. 2008. p. 34).

The structure and evolution of earnings are important features of any labour market, reflecting labour supply from individuals and labour demand by firms. Earnings, productivity, profits and consumption are all inter-related and may be leading determinants of economic growth and employment performance. Data on minimum wages transmitted by national ministries responsible for such areas as social affairs, labour or employment show that minimum wage in Hungary rised from 98 EUR in 2000 to 168 EUR in 2008. In Poland wages rised from 285 EUR to 334 EUR in this period. The change in national currency was from 25,500 to 69,000 HUF in Hungary and from 700 to 1,126 PLN (*European Commission. Key figures on Europe. 2009 edition. Table 2.21. Minimum wages. p. 85*).

Despite occurring unemployment, employers often suffer lack of employees. This phenomenon seems to be the biggest paradox of the labour market. In 2007 growing problem of lack of personnel referred to 59% of Polish companies (in 2006 the problem referred to 50% of firms). According to the analysis of the Polish National Bank in the 3rd quarter of 2007, problems with finding and keeping employees were the most serious barrier of development for 14,2% companies. Two years earlier, the same problem was not as serious as it was enumerated only in the thirteenth place on the list of all the barriers. Lack of people to work was a barrier in development for 1,8% of companies. For example in 2007 representants of building branch declared shortage of 150-200 thousands of employees (*KPMG. Labour migration – chance or threat? 2008*). *KPMG Audiovisory Ltd. p. 17, 20*).

Migrations of specialists, in particularly medical staff, were the most often raised subject in debates about the migration in 2006. Experts of labour market tried to answer the question whether Poland was dealing with 'brain drain' phenomenon (emigration of high-qualified people) what caused serious financial losses and negative effects on the labour market, like it took place in eightieth. Currently, it is likely that this phenomenon is determined as 'circulation of brains' whether also 'exchange of brains', being the natural element of economical processes in the time of globalization. It is proved that the biggest migration of specialists is happening in the most developed countries. Migration of well qualified people in Poland is outflow of some surpluses and has temporary character. Experts underline that migrants' stay abroad will have positive results, particularly if it means their better experience and higher qualifications.

After the accession top destination countries for Polish migrants were: the USA, Germany, Belarus, Canada, France, the UK, Ireland, Italy, Austria, Spain and the Netherlands. Number of target countries for emigrants from Poland increased. (*Kaczmarczyk, Turowicz. Contemporaty migration processes in Poland and activity of ngos working in the field of labour market*). Poland is 'popular' for migrants

coming mainly from Ukraine but also from Belarus, Russia, Vietnam and Armenia (*Development Prospects Group. Migration and Remittances. Factbook – Poland. p. 1*). Hungarians usually choose following countries for their new place to work and live: the USA, Germany, Canada, Austria, Australia, Slovak Republic, Israel, United Kingdom, Sweden, Switzerland. Hungary is for sure 'more' popular for immigrants than Poland. Stock of immigrants as percentage of population in Hungary is on the level 3,1%; in Poland it is 1,8%. Top 10 source countries of immigrants in Hungary are: Romania, Slovak Republic, Serbia and Montenegro, Ukraine, Germany, Russia, Croatia, China, Austria and Poland (*UNPD, UNHCR, Development Prospects Group. Migration and Remittances in Hungary. Factbook. p. 1*). According to the Office of Immigration and Nationality (OIN), 80-90% of immigrants residing in Hungary are European, primarily ethnic Hungarians from Ukraine, Romania, and Serbia; 10-15% of immigrants are from Asia (*Tóth. Migratory movements: History, trends, rules and impacts of EU enlargement in Hungary. 2007*).

Transfers of incomes of Poles working abroad had significant importance for the economic position of Poland. Polish National Bank announced that the remittances in 2006 reached the amount of 17.5 mld PLN. In 2007 remittances exceeded the amount of 20 mld PLN, i.e. twice more than in 2004 (10.5 mld PLN) and the same as value of direct foreign investments in the year preceding accession. Value of remittances was increasing from the beginning of membership, systematically. In 2007 the biggest amount of remittances to Poland flowed from Great Britain (5 mld PLN), Ireland (4,6 mld PLN) and Germany (3,9 mld PLN). The USA are still important source of Polish migrant remittances, however their participation in the general amount is decreasing in recent years. Whereas other European countries increasing their part in the general amount of Polish migrants' remittances are following: Italy, Netherlands, France and Norway (*Kamińska. 2008*).

Transfers to Poland from emigrants in the first quarter of 2018 amounted to PLN 3.7 billion, and those working in Poland transferred three hundred million less - the National Bank of Poland reported. The largest amount of money goes to Poland from Germany and Great Britain, and flows to Ukraine. The geographical structure was dominated by transfers to Ukraine. They amounted to PLN 2.9 billion and accounted for 86.3% of all funds. A year earlier, employees from Ukraine transferred 2.4 billion PLN to their country (*Central Bank. Emigrants sent billions of zlotys to Poland. 31.07.2018 [online] <https://tvn24bis.pl/pieniadze,79/transfery-do-polski-od-emigrantow-dane-narodowego-banku-polskiego,857783.html> 02.12.2018*).

When inward remittances reached 363 millions USD representing 0,3% of Hungarian GDP in 2006, they reached 4,370 millions USD representing 1,3% of Polish GDP. Indeed, for many countries, remittances are the second most important source of external financing after foreign direct investment. Poland is such a country. Remittance flows have followed a biaxial pattern reflecting migration flows in this country. The significant increase of inward flows in Poland is

observed since several years – from 1,726 millions USD in 2000 to 5,000 millions USD in 2007. In Hungary there is also increase observed, but not such a significant one – from 281 millions USD in 2000 to 363 millions in 2006 (*fig. 7 and table 8*).

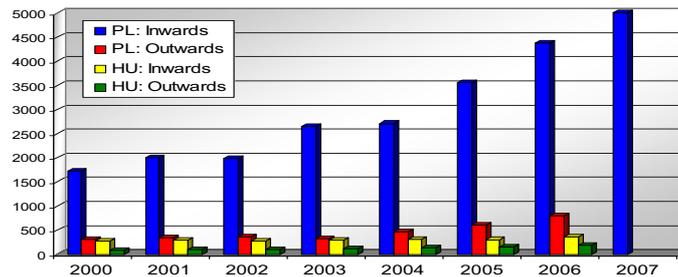


Fig. 7. Officially recorded remittances in Hungary and Poland in the 2000-2007 (in USD millions)

Source: Own elaboration according to data from: (a) Development Prospects Group. *Migration and Remittances in Hungary. Factbook*. [on-line]

<[http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1181678518183/Hungary.pdf)

1181678518183/Hungary.pdf> p. 1. Retrieved on 13.02.2009. (b) Development Prospects Group.

Migration and Remittances. Factbook – Poland. [on-line]

<<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1199807908806/Poland.pdf>>

p. 1. Retrieved on 13.02.2009. (c) Migration remittances in the world. [on-line]

<http://www.worldbank.org/prospects/migrationandremittances>.

6. Characteristics of Hungarian and Polish migrants

Main cause of Poles' migration has still economic basis, however people declaring such a reason, contrary do not belong to the poorest part of the population. According to the research done in Great Britain, these persons belong to enterprising group of the society. Poles emigrates not only because of unemployment and lack of chance to find any job, but rather to get a chance for developing professional career and experiencing higher standard of life. Whilst analysing possible reasons for emigrations, it is noticeable that Polish migrants are mainly *'target earners'* - persons leaving their country for economic purposes but thinking of return homewards or *'global cosmopolitans'* - young, well educated people who want to improve level of their lives and being opened for the possibilities offered them by the united Europe (*Kropiwiiec, Chiyoko King-O'Riain, Polish migrant workers in Ireland 2006*).

The Hungarian labour force has not been mobile in a serious largeness in comparison to Poland or other OECD countries. Perhaps intensity, legality and structure of inflow and outflow labour migratory movement will be more altered in near future. Hungary as a part of periphery of the centre and transitory

position of migratory movements is the place of 'chain-migration'. Hungary is sending highly or medium-skilled workers and are receiving semi-skilled or unskilled labourers. Immigration to Hungary is primarily a demand-driven, sub-regional labour migration, often based on seasonal or temporary employment. Immigrants living in Hungary tend to have higher education levels than the native population and a larger proportion of them are in the active age range for employment. There is also an increasing trend of family reunification with elderly parents who arrive in Hungary for retirement.

Compared to Poland and other OECD countries, migration movements play a limited role in Hungary in case for both in- and outflows (although the current registration system is not designed for monitoring long-term emigration). Immigrants account for less than 2% of the population, and the vast majority of these are Hungarian speaking. With an inflow of almost 25,600 foreign nationals in 2005, immigration to Hungary decreased by 14% to about 19,400 in 2006. In 2006, about 6,100 persons were granted Hungarian citizenship, almost 40% less than the previous year. It was marked by legislative changes aimed at facilitating naturalisations of ethnic Hungarian minorities from the neighbouring countries. Indeed, as in previous years, around 90% of those receiving Hungarian citizenship were from neighbouring countries and mainly concerned ethnic Hungarians. More than 70% of naturalizations were Romanian citizens. The number of asylum seekers rose by more than 30% in 2006. This is nevertheless still much lower than in the period prior to Hungary's accession to the EU.

The status of ethnic Hungarians living in countries bordering to Hungary has been a subject of debate. Hungary's governments between 1990 and 2002 maintained that they aim to encourage ethnic Hungarians to remain in the lands of their birth. There is not an active repatriation program of co-ethnics related to that of Germany. The Hungarian immigration and naturalisation system has often been criticised for being indifferent toward ethnic Hungarians, despite certain benefits for ethnic Hungarians and persons of Hungarian ancestry in the immigration and naturalisation process. The most topical issue has been the demographic deficit and its implications for increased immigration. Hungary is an aging society, with negative natural population growth. Recommendations from a group of scholars suggested that some immigration should be encouraged and facilitated to meet labour market needs (*Tóth, 2007*).

It is not easy to conclude explicitly how big influence migration after the accession to the EU had for the Hungarian or Polish labour markets. Specialists, contrary to existing general opinions, think that outflow of Polish workers, being only one of many factors influencing the situation on the labour market, had and still have small impact on all changes. Emigration of Polish nationals influenced changes profitably on the Polish labour market (unemployment rate, indicator of employment) in a small extent. At the same time it intensified the problem of lack of hands to work. If the trend of personnel problems maintained itself in the

longer perspective, it could lead to loss of many investments and lowering economic development. Analysing occurrences in each sector of the economy do not confirm concerns about the mass emigration of Polish employees. Phenomenon of migration is a challenge for Polish companies and authorities at different levels though. Examples presented earlier (i.e. Ireland) show that history likes to repeat itself. Therefore it was useful for understanding what is happening in Poland during the 5 year after accession. It also might help to predict possible patterns of future migrations however the present global financial crisis can make it very difficult.

7. General perceptions about the impact of immigrants on the EU societies and their integration nowadays

73% of Polish people thinks that the free movement of people, goods and services withing the UE is one of the most positive results of the EU (an average in EU-28 is 58%). 63% of Hungarian has the same opinion but only 48% of them thinks that there should be a common European policy on migration. In the opinion of people from Hungary, the most important issue facing the EU at the moment is immigration. This is an opinion of 56% of Hungarian, whist an average in EU-28 is 38%. To compare the results from the UK, 51% see free movement of people, goods and servides as one of the most positive sides. (*Eurobarometer 89, Spring 2018*).

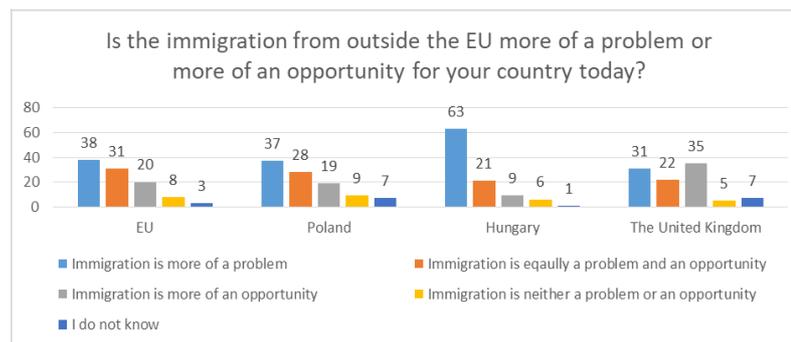


Fig. 8. Immigration from outside UE in the opinion of EU citizens

Source: *Special Eurobarometer 469. Integration of immigrants in the European Union. Publication April 2018, [online]*

<http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/survey/getsurveydetail/instruments/special/surveyky/2169>. *Special Eurobarometer 469 October 2017, Factsheets from Poland, Hungary, The UK.*

At the same time, concluding findings of Eurobarometer 469 of 2018, nearly four in ten Europeans think that immigration is more a problem than an opportunity, but this varies significantly by country. 38% of Europeans (63% in Hungary and 37% in Poland) think that immigration from outside the EU is more of a problem than an opportunity. 31% see it as equally a problem and an opportunity, while 20% see it as more of an opportunity and 8% see immigration as neither a problem nor an opportunity. Adding up these categories, we can conclude that just over half (51%) see immigration as an opportunity, even if some of those respondents also see it as a problem. On the other hand, it could also be concluded that nearly seven in ten (69%) regard immigration as a problem, even if some respondents also see it as an opportunity. These figures highlight the migration crisis, considering that for example Poland itself benefits from migration.

Conclusion

There is disparity in perceiving benefits of the European integration between citizens in Poland and Hungary. Free movement of persons (and employees particularly) may have different importance for both nations.

As a result of implementation of freedom of free movement of people, relatively strong emigration of workers is still observed from Poland. Opposite to negative migration balance registered in Poland, immigration exceeds emigration in Hungary. However things are being changed, also in Polish labour market. A few years ago, nobody expected such a scale of immigration to Poland like it is observed from 2014. According to the data of Polish National Bank, current estimations speak about more than a million citizens only from Ukraine. Cultural closeness of both nations, military conflict in Donbas, the difficulties in migration to Germany Ukrainians had to face recently, as well as economic factors on the Polish labour market are important factors. In 1990, Poland and Ukraine started from almost the same economic level. Comparing the level of economic growth, Poland and Ukraine were then almost equal than. According to the data of the World Central Bank, today the difference between the two countries is major.

For the last 4 years there has been a permanent trend of falling unemployment levels with growing demand for workers, which led to a situation in which companies in Poland, wanting to fill vacancies, started to reach for foreigners. Poles notice the complementarity of immigration, i.e. the situation in which the immigrants mostly fill vacancies rather than replace domestic workers. However, the key challenge remains to keep these people for the future, as the demographic situation and the shrinking labour resources in our country will only continue with high probability. Great majority of Poles seems not to support the idea of keeping people from abroad on the labour market, unless they are from Europe, or at least countries with the same values and culture.

The Union is now facing an immigration crisis. The heads of governments of both Hungary and Poland speak with one voice about the immigration to EU-28 from outside of Europe. In their opinion states should decide who they accept, who they do not accept as immigrants as they do not agree that the EU and the European Commission have treaty legitimacy to decide on the reception of refugees in member states.

Many myths, stereotypes and misunderstandings had grown around the subject-matter. The phenomenon of migration and immigration is a challenge for 'actors' at different levels and has been a subject of debate many times. Migration often gave rise to political controversies leading to social phobias like we can observe in Poland, Hungary or the UK, even though the circumstances are different. The Union faces a difficult test due to migration and immigration policy, also if Brexit becomes a fact, because it will not be indifferent to the situation on the labour market.

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MIĘDZYNARODOWE MIGRACJE WĘGIERSKICH I POSKICH PRACOWNIKÓW W KONTEKŚCIE INTEGRACJI EUROPEJSKIEJ

Streszczenie

Piąte rozszerzenie w 2004 r., z 15 do 25 państw, było największym w historii Unii Europejskiej. Unia składa się obecnie z 28 państw członkowskich. Jedno z nich rozpoczęło proces wychodzenia z UE i ma opuścić jej strukturę pod koniec marca 2019 r. Jednym z powodów jest swobodny przepływ pracowników. Świątowanie przez 10 państw piętnastej rocznicy przystąpienia do Unii Europejskiej być może zbiegnie się w czasie z wy-

stąpieniem jednego z państw po 46 latach członkostwa. Może to być dobry moment na konfrontację z przekazem medialnym oraz dokonanie rzetelnej analizy zarówno krótkoterminowych, jak i długoterminowych skutków migracji zarobkowych. Istnieją różne zdania na temat swobodnego przepływu osób w UE. Europejczycy generalnie postrzegają tę wolność jako jeden z najbardziej pozytywnych rezultatów istnienia UE. Takie opinie pochodzą najczęściej z krajów o korzystnych efektach migracji. Niemalże jest jednak głosów, w których migracje zarobkowe postrzegane są bardziej jako problem aniżeli szansa. Węgrzy i Polacy, w zależności od własnej zaradności, pomysłowości i ducha przedsiębiorczości, w różnym stopniu korzystają z przynależności do jednolitego rynku europejskiego. Doświadczenia obu państw różnią się. Ma na to wpływ wiele czynników. Podobnie jest w Wielkiej Brytanii i innych państwach członkowskich. Wspólnota jest podzielona w kwestii migracji zarobkowej. Obecnie stanęła przed poważnym problemem napływu imigrantów spoza Europy i została podzielona również z tego powodu.

Słowa kluczowe: UE-28, migracja, Brexit

Klasyfikacja JEL: Migracja międzynarodowa

Nie kasować nic poniżej tej linii
