

THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF IMMIGRATION INTO HUNGARY AND THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS INTO HUNGARIAN SOCIETY AND LABOUR MARKET¹

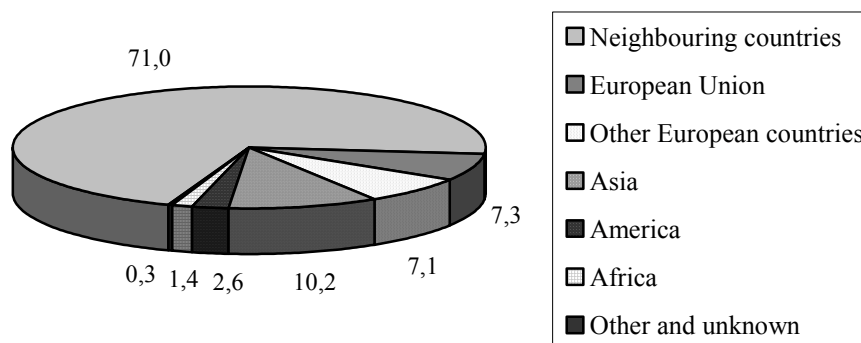
IRÉN GÖDRI

Hungary is among those European countries where the ratio of foreign citizens and of those who were born abroad is relatively low, 1.1% and 1.8%, respectively. This is due to the restriction of migration before 1990. Nonetheless, there are definite trends in the temporal changes and the composition of immigration into Hungary. In order to understand the causes of the ongoing immigration, briefly I consider the period determining the nature and characteristics of immigration. Then based on the results of a representative survey of the largest group of migrants in 2002 I will show certain characteristics of people gaining immigrant status in 2001, the motivations behind their decisions and the microsocial embeddedness of these decisions. I also analyse certain aspects of their economic and social integration into the Hungarian society.

THE CHARACTERISTICS AND NATURE OF IMMIGRATION

Between 1988 and 2002 altogether 295 thousand immigrants arrived at Hungary. Looking at the countries of origin it turns out that 71% of the immigrants came from neighbouring countries (Figure 1). This ratio was above 80% between 1988 and 1990 (due to a huge inflow of refugees coming from Romania), then it fell to the level of 50% in the mid 1990s. In 1998 it began to increase again and in 2002 it reached the level of 75% again. Beside the immigrants coming from neighbouring countries Hungary has received a rather huge number of immigrants coming from other European countries (EU and non-EU) and from Asia (especially China). Immigrants coming from the American and African continent have never been huge in number, adding up to a couple of hundreds annually (their number reached 1,000 only in 1990).

¹ During my analysis I rely on the survey carried out in the framework of the NKFP project no. 5/0084/2002.



Source: Demographic Yearbooks of Hungary.

Figure 1
The composition of immigrants arriving into Hungary between 1988 and 2002 according to places of origin (%)

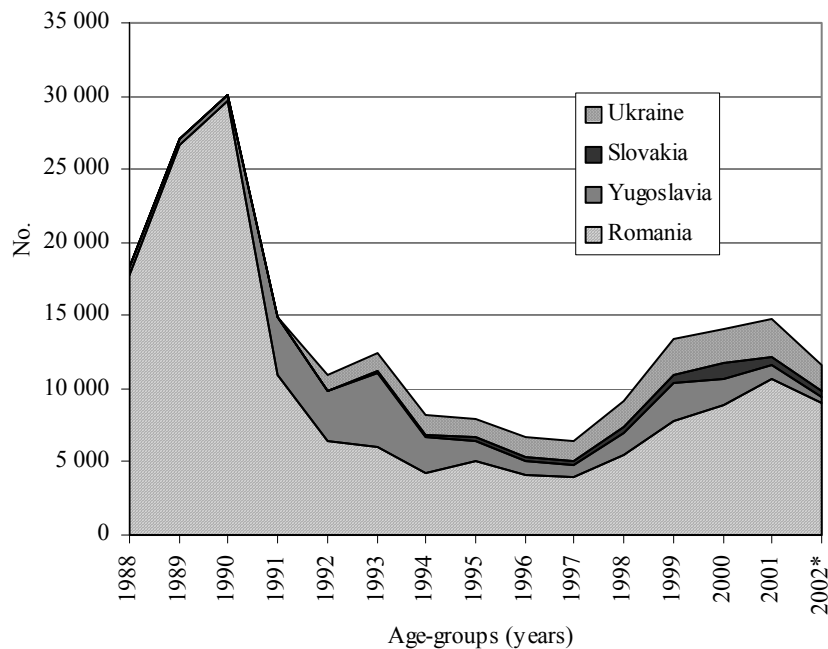
Beside the dominance of immigrants coming from neighbouring countries there is another speciality of immigration into Hungary. Notably the huge majority of immigrants are of Hungarian origin. On the basis of empirical research (*Citizenship survey* in 1995, and *Immigrants survey* in 2002) it seems that more than 90% of immigrants coming from neighbouring countries – 75% of all immigrants – have a Hungarian ethnic identity. An identical situation can be observed with regard to foreign citizens obtaining labour permit. And among the people gaining Hungarian citizenship the ratio of ethnic Hungarians is even higher.

The linguistic-cultural sameness of this group of immigrants and of the receiving population, and the special historical background of the sending countries and Hungary make immigration into Hungary unique among European migratory movements. This uniqueness seems to be crucial with regard to the motivation of migration and the subsequent integration of migrants.

In order to understand the causes of this migration, we have to keep in mind the fact that in the neighbouring countries – historically once the territory of Hungary – there are large groups of Hungarians living in minority, the members of which, or their ancestors, were once Hungarian citizens. The most numerous Hungarian minority lives in Romania, in Transylvania. Their number is 1.43 million according to the latest census carried out in 2002. In addition – also according to the latest census figures – 513 thousand Hungarians live in Slovakia, almost 300 thousand in Voivodina in previous Yugoslavia and 156 thousand in Ukraine in Sub-Carpathia. Although the biggest group of immi-

grants came from Romania (between 1988 and 2002 53% of the total number of immigrants were from this country), the highest ratio of migration into Hungary can be observed with regard to Hungarians living in Ukraine.

Due to different reasons migration from the four sending countries to Hungary started in different time periods and with different intensities (Figure 2).



Source: Till 1994 Demographic Yearbook of 1996, from 1995 the Demographic Yearbooks of 2001 and 2003. For 2002 preliminary data.

Figure 2

Number of immigrants coming from the four neighbouring sending countries between 1988 and 2002

Hungarians coming in the late 1980s from Romania as refugees migrated due to the tragic political and economic situation, but many of them referred to ethnic discrimination against Hungarians² (Sik et al. 1989). During the 1990s the main motivations for migrating into Hungary were disillusionment, economic and social difficulties arising from the long economic transition. The disadvantages of a mi-

² Among immigrants with Romanian ethnicity the reason of moving was the higher living standard, the appeal of a consumer society and ideological reasons together with criticism and refusal of Romania (Sik and Tóth 1993).

nority status were also mentioned although less frequently than before. In addition the pull effect of family members, relatives and friends migrating to Hungary earlier also appeared (Szakáts 1995; Vörös 1997; Gödri 1998).³

Immigrants from Yugoslavia came first in greater numbers in the early 1990s during the Yugoslavian war and then in 1999 when there was a new military conflict. Frequently the motives of those coming during the first wave were direct threats to their lives. Refugees of Hungarian ethnic origin coming from Voivodina (a province in the North of Serbia not affected by the wars) were mainly afraid of retaliation and military service (Gyurok 1994). The migratory movement was maintained by poverty and unemployment related to war and by the relatively slow changes in the political and economic spheres (Gábrityné 2002).

There has been a slowly increasing immigration flow from Ukraine, which became independent in 1991. The main reasons of this movement were related to the economic difficulties of the country: high rates of unemployment and hardships in everyday life. The economic difficulties hindered the realisation of the highest migratory potential among the Hungarians living in the Sub-Carpathians (Örkény 2003). At the same time there were strong indications that “incomplete migration” (Okólski 1998), especially taking temporary jobs and “commercial tourism”, was much more widespread than the actual immigration into Hungary.

From Slovakia the immigration was much smaller in scale, although from 1999 a slight increase of numbers could be observed (in 2000 the number of immigrants exceeded 1,000). But studying at Hungarian secondary schools or in the Hungarian higher education and (in the border regions) working and commuting as a foreign citizen have become popular among Slovakian Hungarians.

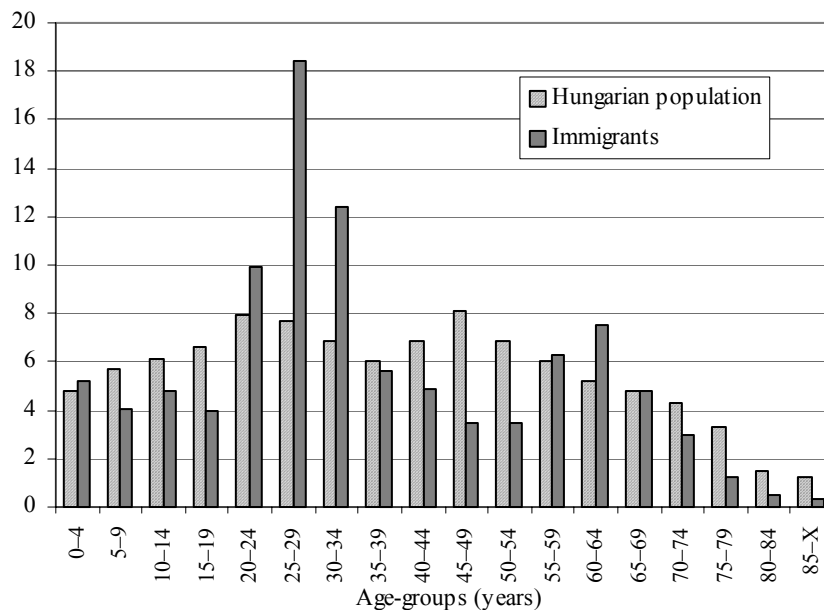
On the basis of the above said it is clear that in the three main sending countries economic factors played a very important role in the start of the migration process beside political and ethnic considerations. But what constellation of social, economic, political and individual conditions facilitate migration to Hungary today? Can immigration be categorized as ethnic and in what aspects, or the main motives continue to be economic ones? What role family unifications and networks play in the maintenance of the migratory processes? I try to answer these questions on the basis of a survey conducted among people coming from neighbouring countries and gaining immigrant status in 2001. First let us look at the composition of this immigrant group.

³ The detailed description of Hungarians migrating from Transylvania in Romania to Hungary is in the following study: Gödri 2004.

THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF PEOPLE GAINING IMMIGRANT STATUS IN 2001

There was an overall female majority in the analysed immigrant group: the ratio of women was 57.4% while in the Hungarian population above the age of 18 was 53.4%.⁴ The ratio of women was especially high among immigrants coming from Slovakia and Ukraine (65.6% and 61.4% respectively). It was also high among people coming from Romania (58%), while it was low among immigrants from Yugoslavia with a male dominance of 54%.

Comparing the age structure of immigrants with that of the host population the age-specific characteristic of migration appears clearly. Almost one third of the immigrant population is between the age of 20 and 34, and the biggest age group is the 25–29 (Figure 3). But the age group of 55–64 is also relatively big, which shows that retiring migrants are also frequent beside the young people studying or starting their career.



Source: The basis population of the Immigrants survey 2002; Census 2001.

Figure 3

The age composition of migrants gaining immigrant status in 2001 and of the Hungarian population (%)

⁴ The comparative Hungarian data is the Census in 2001 if not stated otherwise.

The increase of the share of elderly immigrants already started in the first half of the 1990s. The ratio of those above the age of 60 was about 2% between 1988 and 1991, while between 1992 and 1996 it fluctuated around 5–6%. Then it increased further reaching (in 1998 surpassing) 8%. It is also to be noted that while in the case of Romania, Yugoslavia and Ukraine an ageing process could clearly be observed, in the case of Slovakia this ratio was all the time between 1 and 3 percent.

Behind the ageing of the immigrants a certain type of *secondary migration* can be observed. This is the migration of retired parents following their children already living in Hungary, which form is most significant among immigrants coming from Romania. As we will see it later, this also appears in the analysis of the motives of migration and of those contact persons who migrated earlier to the destination.

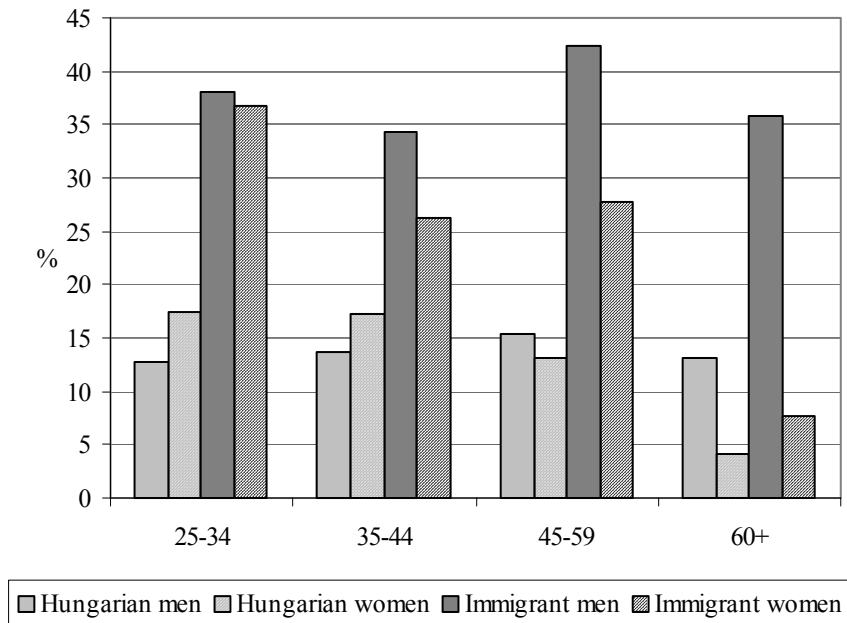
In terms of educational level migrants coming to Hungary and gaining immigrant status in 2001 are better educated than the host population. Two thirds of the immigrants above 18 have a high school diploma (comprehensive exam at the end of the secondary school), while the same ratio is only 38% in the Hungarian population. Furthermore almost one third (31.7%) of immigrants above the age of 25 have a degree in higher education, while in the total Hungarian population this ratio is only 12.6%.⁵

The ratio of people holding a higher educational degree varies according to age and sex, but it can be seen that the immigrants are better educated in all subgroups (Figure 4). With regard to citizenship those coming from Slovakia and Yugoslavian men produce the highest ratio of people with higher educational degree, but it is also clear that all other subgroups show a positive difference as compared with the Hungarian population.

A large proportion of immigrants (more than 40%) settled down in the Central Region of Hungary including Budapest (29%) and Pest County. Analysing regional distribution by country of origin it can be seen that Budapest and Pest County is mainly the target of immigrants coming from Romania. Immigrants coming from other countries primarily settled down in counties at the respective borders. It is interesting to note that those from Romania chose not the border counties after the Central Region but counties in Western Hungary.⁶ Nonetheless, we can also observe the regional dispersion of immigrants (especially of Romanian and Ukrainian origin) as they can be found in all the counties of the country.

⁵ This result has been supported by previous research: *Citizenship survey* in 1995. This survey was carried out among those immigrants who submitted citizenship applications in 1993 (Tóth 1997).

⁶ This of course is related to the regional differences in economic development and the labour market situation, it would have been very difficult for them to find a job in the Eastern counties.



Source: Immigrants survey 2002; Census 2001.

Figure 4
Ratio of immigrants and Hungarian citizens holding a higher educational degree by age groups (%)

STRUCTURAL FACTORS OF MIGRATION

The sending countries have gone through dramatic changes in the last decade and therefore we have to take into account those economic, social and political contexts which condition the micro level decisions beside the historical and cultural relationships and the personal networks linking the countries of origin and destinations. Only the inclusion of different analytical levels can lead to the understanding of mechanisms maintaining migration (Massey 1990). Our analysis focuses mainly on the motivations of individuals, but following the above considerations the economic, social and political context of the whole migratory system (Kritz and Zlotnik 1992) will also be investigated in order to interpret individual decisions.

The economic indicators of the sending and receiving countries are important factors in the interpretation of international migration from the previous state-socialist countries to Western countries (Jennissen 2003). Comparing the different economic indices (per capita GDP, inflation, wages, unemployment) it can be seen that there were huge gaps in economic development between Hungary and the four neighbouring countries.⁷ So we have strong reasons to assume that these economic differences – and the wage and standard of living discrepancies experienced on an individual level or unemployment, poverty and hopelessness in certain social groups – have contributed to the maintenance and the further development of migratory processes starting earlier.

Nonetheless, while the economic disadvantages characterized the whole territories of neighbouring countries, migrants mainly came from certain regions – occupied mainly by Hungarians – which were not the least developed ones.⁸ According to the *Immigrants survey 2002*, among people gaining immigrant status in 2001 there were only 8% without Hungarian origin. This shows that ethnicity played an important role in migration and this appeared in different forms.

At first, the role of ethnicity can be seen in the established relationships toward the target country, which formulate a pull factor. Due to the historical background, the ethnic and linguistic links, even before the first massive migratory processes there was an extensive transnational network between the mother country and Hungarian minorities in the neighbouring countries, which developed further with the ongoing migration.⁹ According to the previously mentioned research project only 16% of the immigrants did not have family members, relatives or friends (either settling down earlier or being born in Hungary). Three quarters of the respondents mentioned contact people settling down earlier, while 61% referred to contact people born in Hungary. The group among them having a family member migrating earlier was significant (48%), which relationship was extremely important among immigrants above the age of 60 (85%) in the case of whom this meant children settling down in Hungary earlier. This also shows that secondary migration has also taken place.

These networks played an important role in gathering information prior to migration: those immigrants, who claimed to be informed about Hungarian opportunities, mainly gained information from people settling down earlier (66%), rather than from a Hungarian born person (44%) and from the media

⁷ Even Slovakia being in a good position with regard to GDP and inflation had high unemployment rate at the end of the millennium.

⁸ Non-Hungarians were of the smallest proportion among immigrants coming from Slovakia and Romania (3%, and 5%), while the greatest proportion could be found among those coming from Ukraine: 15%.

⁹ The most intensive relationships toward the mother country (familial, kin and friendly) could be found in the case of the Transylvanian (Romanian) Hungarians.

(20%). The networks played a very important role in the provision of help after migration: only 7% of the respondents did not get any kind of help in the first period of settling down. Networks were important not only in providing accommodation, additional information, practical help, emotional support, but contact people also helped in finding jobs and flats.

The role of ethnicity can also be seen in the linguistic and cultural attraction of the mother country. In the investigated migratory process the linguistic and cultural identity provides symbolic capital for the migrant and reduces the “costs” of migration and the later integration. On the labour market of the receiving country and in some of its – constrained – structures ethnic and linguistic identity can be transformed into different advantages. The important role of these factors can be seen in the fact that the issued (or prolonged) labour permits in 2000 were mainly (75%) held by the citizens of neighbouring countries. In the case of Romania – being the main sender of labour migrants – the number of issued permits doubled between 1997 and 2000 reaching almost 20,000. Around 80–90% of the Romanian citizens receiving labour permits are of Hungarian origin. Also in the academic year of 1999/2000 the majority of foreign students studying in Hungary were citizens of Romania, Ukraine, Small Yugoslavia and Slovakia (Rédei 2002). In case of ethnic Hungarians, beside the geographical proximity, this is also due to the absence of linguistic and cultural barriers.

Ethnicity might also appear as a push factor in case there is the refusal of the minority status due to related discriminations or ethnic conflicts and tensions.¹⁰ Some of the investigated neighbouring countries could be characterised not only by economic difficulties, but also by political instability in the recent past. There were examples of ethnic conflicts and tensions and nationalist outbursts both in the political and everyday life.¹¹ This could contribute to the feelings of being an alien, an insecurity toward future and a negative attitude toward a minority status.

Beside the policies toward minorities also the migration policies of the receiving countries have an impact on international migration as certain legal and administrative conditions are to be fulfilled for a full development of migration (Münz 1998). The lack of these might hinder or even block migration. After all the migration policy of the receiving countries determine migratory movements (Zolberg 1998). At the end of the 1980s the Hungarian government admitted and helped the refugees (non-governmental organizations like the churches, the Red Cross also supported them, while the local people had an overall positive attitude), which definitely contributed to the large-scale immigration between

¹⁰ This understanding of ethnic migration has appeared in the writings of different authors: Giorgi et al. 1992; Fassmann and Münz 1995; Münz 2003.

¹¹ There were several events (conflict around the remounting of the Statue of Liberty in Arad, Romania, the desecration of graves in Vajdaság, Yugoslavia and the destruction of statues in Slovakia) which had a message to Hungarians living in minority that their identity is in danger or at least they cannot live it freely and naturally.

1988 and 1990. The immigration of Hungarians from neighbouring countries was not hindered in the 1990s as well and – regardless of the numerous administrative obstacles¹² – and as compared to non-Hungarian immigrants they even received certain privileges.¹³ Altogether a paradox situation emerged as although all Hungarian governments stressed the better life of Hungarian minorities in their birthplaces, there was no legal obstacle constraining their immigration into Hungary (Tóth 2003). Thus the process emerged due to other social and economic factors could intensify.

INDIVIDUAL MOTIVATIONS OF IMMIGRATION

Among those gaining immigrant status in 2001 41% moved to Hungary in 2000, 36% between 1997 and 1999 while 23% before 1997. This shows very clearly that there are strong individual differences in the time period spent in Hungary before gaining immigrant status. This is also related to the fact that one quarter of the respondents came with the intention of settling down in Hungary only temporarily: 14% just wanted to work here, 8% went to schools, while 4% had other intentions. The intention to study was most frequent among those coming from Slovakia and Yugoslavia (23 and 16%). The purpose categorised as “other” was relatively big in the case of Yugoslavia which could be linked to war related tensions. It is also to be noted that mainly young people opted for temporary migration (Table 1)

Table 1
The purpose of moving into Hungary among people gaining immigrant status in 2001 by age groups

Age group (year)	The purpose of moving into Hungary (%)			
	Permanent settlement	Employment	Studying	Other
18–29	55,3	21,0	19,5	4,1
30–44	72,9	18,4	4,2	4,5
45–59	88,8	7,5	–	3,7
60+	97,1	–	–	2,9
<i>Total</i>	<i>73,9</i>	<i>14,0</i>	<i>8,1</i>	<i>4,0</i>

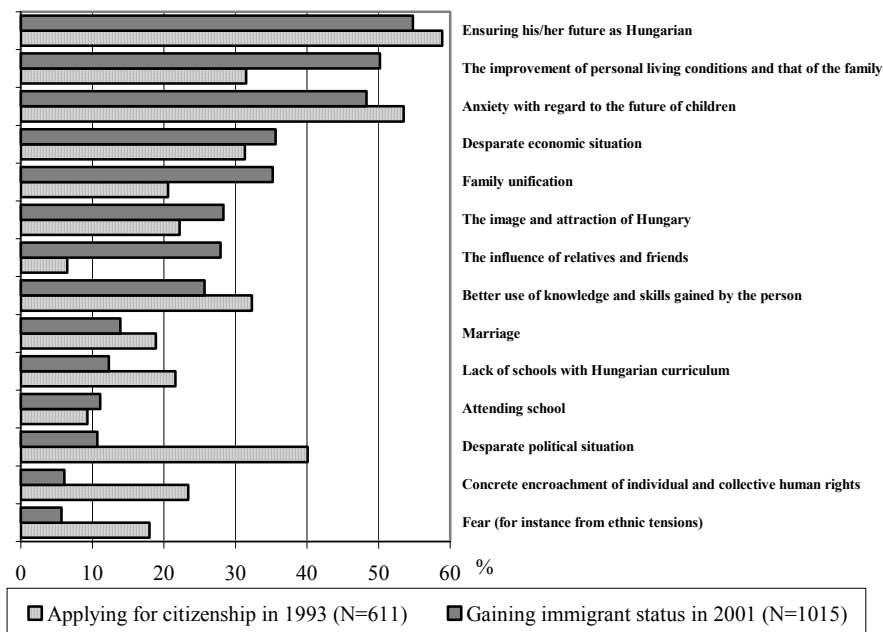
Source: Immigrants survey 2002.

¹² Here I refer to administrative difficulties and the financial consequences of these procedures.

¹³ In applying for the different immigration statuses lesser time of residence was sufficient in their cases.

The above distribution also shows that before their final settlement migrants frequently opt for temporary migration – employment, studying – which are preparations for long term immigration. Thus here in Hungary the characteristics of European migration at the end of the millennium also appear. Categories of temporary and permanent migration are mixed and permanent migration develops step by step (Salt 2001).

In order to investigate migratory motivations, among people gaining immigrant status in 2001 beside the open question we also applied a block of closed question which allows a comparison in 14 categories with a *Citizenship survey* carried out in 1995 (Figure 5). From the 1995 survey only the immigrants coming from neighbouring countries were taken into account which led to a sub-sample of 611 people, in which group the proportion of ethnic Hungarians was 91%, almost the proportion observed in the 2002 survey (92%). The comparison of motivations is all the more interesting as almost one third of the respondents of the 1995 survey came to Hungary before 1990, another one third in 1990 and an additional 35% during the first years of the 1990s. Thus with this comparison we have a good insight into temporal changes.



Source: Citizenship survey 1995, Immigrants survey 2002.

Figure 5
Migratory motivations of immigrants measured in 2002 and 1995
(closed question)

It can be seen that the categories of anxieties with regard to the future (“ensuring the future as a Hungarian”, “the future of children”) were the most frequent answers given in 1995 and remained important among people gaining immigrant status in 2001 (55 and 48%). This also shows that not only the worse economic situation but also the anxiety with regard to the future appear among motivations for migration. At the same time economic reasons have gained importance and especially the “improvement of living conditions” have been mentioned much more frequently than before. (50% as opposed to 31%). But the economic situation in the sending country have also been mentioned a little bit more frequently. The anxiety because of the future – although it is of economic nature primarily – also shows that migrants see little chance of improving living conditions mainly as Hungarians (as members of a minority in the respective sending countries). This also appears in the fact that 30% of the respondents refused the minority status in 2001 (this category did not appear in the previous survey).

But the political situation of the sending countries did not mean altogether such a push factor in 2001 as compared to the early 1990s when it was the third most frequently chosen motivation. Also in 2001 significantly less respondents chose ethnically related fears, violations of human rights or even the lack of schools with Hungarian curriculum.

Altogether marriage or professional advancement (“better use of knowledge and skills gained by the person”) became also less significant as a motivation for crossing the border and in this the older age composition of the immigrants in 2001 (higher ratio of pensioners) also played a role. In the case of the younger age groups or among those with higher educational degree it maintained an important role in motivating migration.

There is a striking increase in the frequency of answers referring to family unification and the impact of relatives, friends and acquaintances. This demonstrates the increased role of networks and allows the conclusion that this factor though is not an initiator of migration, it facilitates the process. Family unification was the main motivation among the elderly (81% of people above the age of 60 mentioned this) which demonstrates the argument above that they are the subjects of the secondary migration.

Concerning individual migratory motivations there are special characteristics of the different sending countries. The insecurity with regard to the future as a Hungarian was the most frequent answer among those coming from Romania (58%), just like the refusal of the minority status (32.5%), regardless of the changes in the status of Hungarians and in the minority policies of the Romanian state. Also immigrants coming from Romania cited most frequently the improvement of living conditions (53.4%). In other words immigrants from Romania had the highest proportion of “innovative” migrants, who chose migration for improving their situation. In contrast to them the desperate economic situation was the main push factor for people coming from Ukraine who

referred to this factor and wish to improve personal living conditions in exactly the same proportion (46,2% versus 46,8%).

Among those coming from Yugoslavia – in contrast to the other countries – the desperate political situation (37.3%) and fears from war, ethnic tensions (23%) accompanied the reasons mentioned above. Among them relatively more people referred to concrete violations of individual and collective human rights. While family reunification and the impact of relatives, friends and acquaintances, playing an important role among immigrants coming from Romania and Ukraine, had a much smaller significance. This shows that people coming from Yugoslavia and gaining immigrant status in 2001 are still involved in primary migration (at least three quarters of them came before 1999 into Hungary), while in the case of Romania and Ukraine a significant secondary migration has also started.

Separating the different types of migrants on the basis of motivations¹⁴ it can be seen that only a smaller group can be put into the category of ethnic migrant (19%) which group was relatively the biggest among those coming from Yugoslavia (37%). The role of economic reasons is more general: they can be found not only among the so-called economic migrants, but also in all the other groups (so called career migrants and those uniting their families).

Altogether insecurity with regard to future, economic reasons and – especially among the elderly migrants – family unification were the main motivations in the investigated immigrant group. Ethnicity as an important network recourse and symbolic capital was present in the process, but it was a primary initiator of migration only in the case of a smaller group. And even in this group not ethnic conflicts or discrimination was specified as a reason for migration¹⁵, but instead the refusal of the minority status.

THE LABOUR MARKET STATUS OF IMMIGRANTS

It is important to take into account the composition and motivations of the immigrants when analysing their integration into the labour market. Immigrant groups with “better” human capital (age, education, professional qualification, knowledge of language) have better chances to get integrated into the economic structures of the receiving country. The investigated immigrant group was not in a subordinate position from the above points of views: due to their younger age and their better educational level their opportunities were not bad at all in the labour market.

¹⁴ Here cluster analysis was used. The detailed results are not shown here.

¹⁵ Despite the fact that 43% of those with Hungarian ethnicity (51% of immigrants coming from Yugoslavia) mentioned cases of ethnic discrimination.

Migratory motivations are selective factors in themselves: the composition of migrants motivated by professional and economic reasons is much better than those with an ethnic motivations or coming with the idea of family unification: the previous groups have a younger age composition and a better educational level (Gödri 2005). At the same time those immigrants coming to improve their economic situation and living conditions and to look for further professional opportunities are probably better motivated to find a job suiting their qualification and providing a not disadvantageous wage.

In Table 2 presenting the different types of economic activity performed by immigrants before and after migration shows an increase in the ratio of employed¹⁶ and a decrease of the unemployed. Due to this the unemployment rate (the rate of unemployed within the economically active population) declines from a pre-migration rate of 12.8% to a post-migration rate of 5.3%. This value is very close to the national rate of unemployment in 2001 on the basis of labour statistics (5,7%).

Table 2
Economic activity of immigrants and the receiving population by different categories (%)

Economic activity	Immigrants*		National figures**
	Pre-migration	Currently	
Employed	41,5	50,0	42,5
Entrepreneur	4,6	7,2	6,4
Quasi – active	2,8	1,3	1,3
Pensioner	23,1	23,7	30,2
Student	14,5	2,1	5,8
Child-care allowance, child care fee***	1,7	6,6	4
Unemployed	7,3	3,3	5,4
Other inactive	4,5	5,8	4,4
	100,0	100,0	100,0
Employed	49,5	58,6	52,4
Unemployed	7,3	3,3	5,4
Inactive earner	24,2	30,2	32,0
Dependent	19,0	7,9	10,2
	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: *Immigrants survey 2002; **Turning points of the life course, 2001/2002;

*** Child-care allowance: flat rate support in the first three years after birth. Child-care fee: Certain ratio of the salary of the parent with an upper limit *editor*.

¹⁶ According to suggestions of the International Labour Organisation a causal labourer and helping family members is counted as employed.

In the employment and unemployment ratio there are differences according to sending countries. While before migration immigrants coming from Ukraine experienced the largest unemployment (10.6% unemployed and 17.8% as the unemployment rate) during the analysis – a year after gaining immigrant status – immigrants coming from Yugoslavia faced the biggest difficulties (9.6% and 12.5%) regardless of the fact that even in their cases employment rate increased. * Behind these differences the regional differences of the Hungarian labour market can also be seen. Immigrants from Yugoslavia settled down in the south of the Great Hungarian Plain while more than half of those coming from Romania settled down in Budapest and the surrounding Pest county. In this later region the labour market situation is markedly better and therefore immigrants could also find better opportunities which appear in their unemployment rate being only 3.4%

The highest rate of unemployed is in the age group of 40–49. Altogether it can be said that unemployment rate is the lowest among those under the age of 30, having a secondary school in professional training and live in Budapest.

Within the group of immigrants there are certain changes in the occupational composition of the economically active during the process of migration (Table 3). Before migration skilled workers formulate a larger group (35%) while unskilled and semi-skilled had a smaller ratio (13.5%) as compared to the composition of the currently active immigrants. With regard to the other occupational groups there are no significant differences between the two periods.

Table 3
Active earners by occupational groups within the immigrants and receiving population (%)

Occupational groups	Immigrants*		Hungarian population**
	Before migration (N = 489)	currently (N = 583)	
Intellectual, professional in managerial position	26,0	24,9	20,8
Other professional	15,9	13,5	16,8
Self-supporting craftsmen, merchant	8,2	9,8	11,0
Skilled worker	35,0	27,3	27,7
Semi-skilled and unskilled labourer	13,5	23,4	22,3
Farmer, agricultural labourer	1,4	1,0	1,4

Source: *Immigrants survey 2002; **Turning points of the life course, 2001/2002.

If we compare the occupational structure of the receiving population and that of immigrants, the similarity is striking. Only the category of intellectuals

is over represented while the category of other professionals is underrepresented. The ratio of other categories is the same. Analysing the occupational structure of active earners by sex among immigrants and the receiving population, we can see that the category of intellectuals and professionals in managerial position is only bigger among male immigrants, which is due to the high ratio of people with higher educational degree within this group¹⁷. The smaller ratio of other professionals among the immigrants is more characteristic in the case of women.

With regard to the whole group it is clear that immigrants coming from the neighbouring countries have not got into a marginal position in the Hungarian labour market. In this positioning not only their age composition and their levels of education played a role but also *symbolic capital* arising from their linguistic and ethnic identity¹⁸, and network capital containing relationships with family members, relatives and friends living in Hungary and characterizing migrants even before migration. The effectiveness of this could be seen in the fact that more than half of the immigrants (53.5%) looking for job said that he/she received help in looking for job. More than half of the people providing help were previous immigrants and 45% were born in Hungary. Two thirds of those being successful said that he/she found the first regular job via personal relationship and among the contact people half and half were family members, relatives and friends, acquaintances.

We have differentiated three labour market statuses relevant from the point of view of integration: people employed according to their qualification, people employed not according to their qualification and those pushed out from the labour market (unemployed, staying in the domestic sphere and other inactive). On the basis of this differences could be found within the various social and demographic groups (Table 4).

¹⁷ Among the male immigrants 35% while among female immigrants 25% had higher educational degree (college or university). But in case we look at the currently active earners this proportion is 37% among males and 32% among females.

¹⁸ With regard to immigrants of not Hungarian origin – although the small number requires caution – the ratio of employed is smaller (and there is a larger number of unskilled labourers) while the ratio of self-supporting and other inactives is greater.

Table 4
The success of immigrants in getting integrated into the labour market according to social and demographic groups (%)

	Labour market status			N*
	Employed according to qualification	Employed not according to qualification	Unemployed, domestic and other inactive	
<i>Sex</i>				
male	58,2	34,3	7,5	321
female	46,5	34,1	19,4	355
<i>Age-group</i>				
18–29	54,4	35,3	10,3	272
30–39	55,2	34,3	10,5	239
40–49	42,4	38,1	19,5	113
50–	46,2	19,2	34,6	52
<i>Educational level</i>				
max. elementary	35,6	15,6	48,8	45
technical school	48,1	41,4	10,5	133
secondary school final exam	47,0	41,3	11,7	264
higher education	63,2	25,7	11,1	234
<i>Type of settlement</i>				
capital city	54,3	37,1	8,6	197
centres of counties	56,7	29,9	13,4	134
other town	54,2	29,8	16,0	131
village	45,8	36,9	17,3	214
<i>Since when in Hungary?</i>				
–1996	50,3	36,9	12,8	195
1997–1999	53,2	37,0	9,9	284
2000–	52,0	27,6	20,4	196
<i>Etnicity</i>				
Hungarian	53,2	33,5	13,3	617
not Hungarian	40,7	40,7	18,6	59
%	52,1	34,2	13,7	676
N	352	231	93	676

*Notes: It does not include those whose integration into the labour market has no meaning: pensioners, those on child care allowance and child care fee.

Source: Immigrants survey 2002.

It can be clearly seen that males, those in the younger age groups, those having higher educational degree, living in Budapest or other cities have found

jobs according to their qualification in greater proportion. In contrast females, the older immigrants and those having lower educational level are more at risk of being excluded from the labour market. The later group is more frequent among village dwellers and those living in smaller towns than among the inhabitants of the capital city.¹⁹ The time period spent in Hungary has no impact on the ratio of immigrants having a job according to their qualification. This mainly increases the probability of entering the labour market. Immigrants having a job not according to their qualification mainly occur in the age group of 40-49, in the group completing only a technical and grammar school. They are more frequent in the capital city and villages than in smaller towns. It seems that (although the small number of people requires caution in formulating statements) non-Hungarian immigrants are more likely to become 'unsuccessful' in the integration into the labour market.

Labour market integration varies also according to occupational status prior to migration. It is the least successful among non-manual workers without higher educational degree and semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers. Many of them have not found a job (19% and 17%) or they are employed not according to their qualification (40%). Most of those being skilled workers prior to migration found a job (93%) but a significant proportion of them works below their qualification level (39%, as we could see above most of them are employed as semi-skilled or unskilled workers). The most successful integration into the labour market can be found among those who were professionals or managers prior to migration.

Although immigrants received great help from people migrating to Hungary earlier, we cannot say that they got to work places full of people with a common country of origin. At the time of the survey only 2% stated that all of his/her colleagues were from the same country as he or she and an additional 9% said that many of them were from the same country as the respondent. The joint ratio among village inhabitants, entrepreneurs, semi-skilled and unskilled workers is a little bit higher (15%). Then it can be said that although solidarity networks operate among immigrants coming from the same countries in seeking jobs we cannot argue that entrepreneurs are organized on this basis in greater numbers.

THE SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS

The level of individual social integration can be measured mostly by the extent of interpersonal relationships, the quality, the composition and other qualities of the network. The social interactions on the one hand characterize the

¹⁹ The ratio of those being excluded from the labour market is the highest (26%) in the Northern and South- Plain regions, containing 22% of the investigated group.

social environment of the individual and on the other hand they indicate the dominant channel of solidarity and integration (Utasi 2002), and also the social segment in which integration takes place.

The extent of the network is mainly shown by its *size*. As compared with a survey carried out in the Hungarian population, immigrants – although a slightly larger proportion of them have no relationships at all (9%) – altogether have a richer network than the receiving population: a fewer percentage has a poor network (38%) and a larger proportion who has middle size or extensive networks (altogether 53%). This has been also related to the fact that – beside the age and qualification characteristics of the sample – the migration led to such personal situations in which the importance of interpersonal relationships increased or in which previous contacts were more actively mobilised. At the same time it can also be assumed that migration is a selective process from this point of view: people having more extensive networks are more likely to start migration as they can utilise their network capital during and after migration.

Analysing the size of their networks by the different socio-demographic indices the most important differences can be found according to age, educational level (and due to them economic activity and employment status) (Table 5). Following the general tendencies – also observable in the Hungarian population – by the increase of age the size of the network decreases and by the rise of the educational level it becomes more extensive. It is above the average among professional (not in managerial position), other non-manual employees and students. It is interesting to note that the same situation can be observed among unemployed immigrants which shows that this groups is not evidently in a disadvantageous position in terms of network in contrast to Hungarian unemployed people.

Table 5
The size of networks by socio-demographic groups

	Size of the network (average)	
	Immigrants*	Hungarian population**
<i>Sex</i>		
male	4,84	3,65
female	4,56	3,83
<i>Age group</i>		
18–29	5,37	4,23
30–44	4,69	4,16
45–59	4,67	3,90
60–	3,57	2,97
<i>Educational level</i>		
Max. elementary	3,83	2,91
Technical school	4,00	3,77
Grammar school	4,71	4,39
Higher education	5,52	4,43
<i>Occupation</i>		
Managers	4,56	4,17
Professionals	6,02	4,67
Other non-manual	5,14	4,16
Self-employed	4,70	4,55
Skilled worker	4,41	3,71
Other manual	4,91	3,10
Unemployed	5,53	3,46
Pensioner	3,54	3,12
Student	5,55	5,12
<i>Type of settlement</i>		
Capital city	4,19	3,98
Town	5,06	3,77
Village	4,65	3,56
<i>Total</i>	4,68	3,75

Source: *Immigrants survey 2002, **Omnibus survey 1998.

The richness of the network is greater in towns as compared to villages but – as opposed to Hungarian tendencies – it is the poorest in Budapest. This fact might be related to the less personal environment of the large city, which makes the establishment of new relationships more difficult for the immigrants. In the size of the network no observable differences can be found according to the time spent in Hungary.

Investigating the *composition* of networks it can be seen that familial and kin relationships are significant ones in the revealed networks of immigrants:

their ratio among all the mentioned relationships is 41.5% and consist of family and kinship ties almost equally. This ratio is although significant it falls behind the indices measured in the Hungarian population which was 70% in 1997 (Angelusz and Tardos 1998).

The kin ratio – the joint proportion of familial and kin relationships within the networks – can be interpreted as one of the indices of ‘traditionalism and modernity’ dimension (Angelusz and Tardos 1991). The smaller kin ratio among the immigrants nonetheless cannot be interpreted as a shift toward modernity but instead as a disruption of networks and the thus emerging lack of familial and kin relationships. The other part of relationships of immigrants are mainly friendships (45.6%), which proportion – being higher than familial and kin relationships – does not characterize the Hungarian population.

On the basis of the fact that in the wider networks the so called strong ties (family, kin relationships, and friendship) dominate and only 13% of the relationships are weak ties (colleagues, neighbours, and acquaintances), we can conclude that the social integration of immigrants is sustained by so-called traditional solidarity and that the dominant integrative channels are almost equally divided among family and kinship ties as well as friendships. The former is dominant among the poorly educated and elderly immigrants, while the latter is more significant among the better educated and younger immigrants. In addition it can also be seen that friendships gain significance as opposed to familial and kin relationships with the increase of time spent in Hungary.

In the analysis of the social integration of immigrants it is an additional important question whether there is selectivity according to the sending countries within the personal networks. This shows into which community the immigrant got integrated primarily. On the basis of our survey among the contact people in the wider networks 46% while in the closer networks 50% of the people were born in the same country as the immigrant (the ratio of people born in Hungary 52% and 48% while contacts with people coming from other countries is 1.8% in both networks). Thus it seems that beside the establishment of Hungarian contacts immigrants receive great solidarity and help from people coming from the same sending country.

But on the level of individual networks there is a huge variety: 27% of the revealed networks do not contain people with the same country of origin²⁰, 23.5% consist of people only coming from the same sending country, while almost 50% are mixed in terms of people born in Hungary or in the same sending country. With the increase of the size of the network the proportion of people coming from the same sending country decreases. The mixture of networks

²⁰ The expression of “coming from the same country” refers to people being born in the same country as the respondent. Nevertheless, we have only information about their place of residence only if they are in the narrower network.

is in line with the size of the networks of the respondent and therefore homophilia is less and less a phenomenon with the increase of networks.

The proportion of people coming from the same sending country is above the average in the older age groups (among immigrants age 50–59 it is 53%, among those aged above 60 it is 62%) and among those living in Budapest (53%). It is to be noted that in the latter case the circle of possible contact people coming from the same sending country is inherently larger as most of the immigrants live in Budapest. According to the sex and the educational level of the immigrants there are no observable differences in terms of homophilia. At the same time there are huge differences according to the sending countries: while immigrants coming from Ukraine build networks containing 35% of the contact people coming from the same country this proportion is 41% in the case of Yugoslavia and 50% in the case of Romania. This latter proportion is obviously due to the fact that migration into Hungary started here first and immigrants coming from Romania formulate the greatest number of immigrants.

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