

SELECTION OF MIGRANTS AND REALIZATION OF MIGRATION INTENTIONS: LESSONS FROM A PANEL STUDY¹

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ABSTRACT

We examined the selection of emigrants and the relationship between migration intention and actual migration, using the two-wave panel survey *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania*, which was carried out in 2006 and 2009 among the Hungarian-speaking population of Transylvania aged 20–45. This type of follow-up survey, dealing with migration intentions and subsequent behavior, is rare in the field of migration research. On the basis of prior intentions and actual migration, four groups could be discerned: *stayers*, who had no migration plans and did not move; *expected migrants*, who previously reported their intention of moving and who carried it out; *dreamers*, who planned migration but did not realize it; and *unexpected migrants*, who initially had no migration plans, but nevertheless moved. Our results indicate a negative selection of migrants in the dimensions related to living conditions and work, and a positive selection regarding subjective state of health and anomie. Those who expressed an intention to migrate during the first wave were almost three and a half times more likely to move than were those who had no such plans. Using Ajzen's theory of planned behavior, migration-related expectations were measured by the assessment of advantages and disadvantages associated with migration, while

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subjective norms were gauged by the perceived pressure from significant others (friends, parents, relatives) to migrate. Our findings confirm that migration-related attitudes and subjective norms influence migration behavior only indirectly, via migration intention.

Keywords: international migration, migration intention, migration-related attitudes, subjective norms, panel survey, selection of migrants

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INTRODUCTION

In order to identify the individual factors that influence migration decisions and behavior, and thus to map the drivers of migration, it is important to track the selection of migrants from the start of the process. Follow-up surveys carried out in source countries in the population of origin (first wave prior to migration) are well suited to this purpose. These surveys collect information about individual life situations, living conditions, motivations, attitudes, preferences, and expectations at the time when the intention of migrating is taking shape; therefore, these data are more reliable than those collected retrospectively.

From the point of view of individual decision-making and behavior, migration is a multi-stage process (De Jong and Fawcett, 1981; Kley and Mulder, 2010; Kley, 2011). The process begins with consideration of migration; this is followed in some cases – depending on individual preferences, goals, and perceived opportunities – by the formation of a concrete plan to move; and then finally – depending on the facilitators and constraints – part of the plan is actually put into effect.² So there is a decision-making phase in the migration process, which is subdivided into considering migration and planning migration; and there is a realization phase (Kley and Mulder, 2010).

The data collected in the decision-making phase of migration allow us to capture the roots of selection: individual socio-demographic characteristics, attitudes, expectations, and perceived external norms that go to influence the migration decision. Migration plans, however, are not realized in every case, and some planners will never put intention into action. Along with lack of resources which can facilitate migration (financial, social, and psychological capital), various obstacles can get in the way of realization – such as unforeseen costs, legal obstacles, or unexpected events. Migration flows, particularly in the case of labor migration, are mainly determined by the demand for labor in the destination countries, and this therefore often prevents the realization of plans.

Thus, further selection takes place between planning and realizing migration. This can only be explored by a panel study – by tracking potential migrants. By comparing the profiles of migration planners and movers (those who actu-

² Fawcett (1985) refers to two works dated much earlier, in which the authors separated, within the decision-making process of migration, the stages of inclination to move, intention to move, and movement behavior (Rossi, 1955), as well as desire for migration, consideration of migration, and expectation that movement will occur (Goldsmith and Beegle, 1962).

ally migrated within a given period), and by contrasting the factors underlying migration intentions and realized migration, we can better understand why certain plans remain only dreams (Van Dalen and Henkens, 2008), and what explains the shift in selection between the two stages of the migration process (Chort, 2012). In fact, analysis of the relationship between planning and realizing migration will also reveal how well migration intentions predict action – i.e., subsequent migration.³

In the light of the above, this paper has two goals. It aims, first, to provide an insight into the selection mechanism of emigration from Transylvania (a historical region in today's Romania), and secondly, to reveal the relationship between migration intention and the realization of migration. Our analysis is based on the two-wave panel survey *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania*, which was conducted in 2006 and 2009. It addresses the following questions:

- to what extent and by whom were migration intentions (measured in 2006 during the first wave) realized by the time of the second wave in 2009, and what type of migration plan (short- or long-term working abroad, or emigration) was mostly followed by actual migration?
- what individual factors determined migration behavior during the period under survey, and what role did previous migration intentions, migration-related attitudes, and subjective norms play?
- what individual factors explain the selection between planning and realizing migration – i.e., what factors facilitate or hinder the realization of migration intentions?

The paper is structured as follows. First, we briefly review the theoretical considerations and lessons from previous research, which help us understand the factors underlying the selection of migrants, as well as the relationship between migration intentions and behavior. Next, we present the source of data used in the analysis, the construction of the panel database, the handling of sample attrition, and the estimation of migrants and returnees. Then we attempt to answer the questions set out above, using descriptive and multivariate data analysis. Finally, we summarize the main results and draw some conclusions.

³ In this respect, of course, it is important to keep in mind that the different types of migration potential (from general to concrete plans), and the survey techniques that are used to measure it, can result in different rates of realization.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND PREVIOUS EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Selection of migrants – cross-sectional versus panel studies

Migration is a selective process, during which those who leave their country of origin are “selected” by certain characteristics, so their composition does not reflect that of the population of origin (Borjas, 1987; Brücker and Defoort, 2009; Ambrosini and Peri, 2012). Selection results from the fact that the incentives and constraints, the costs of, and the expected “returns” on migration all change according to age, education, and other individual characteristics. The composition of migrants may have many economic and demographic consequences for both the country of origin and the country of destination.

Empirical data mostly underpin positive selection⁴ (Borjas, 1987; Hunt, 2004; Van Dalen and Henkens, 2008; Brücker and Defoort, 2009), but there are examples of negative selection, too (Fernandez-Huertas Moraga, 2013); and sometimes migrants are no different in terms of education or age from those who remain at home (De Jong et al., 1985). It is also possible within the same population to have positive selection in certain groups simultaneously with negative selection in other groups.⁵ Selection can also be shown by other dimensions with no direct economic relevance: compared to non-migrants, a significantly greater share of migrants have prior migration experience (De Jong et al., 1985; Fuller, Lightfoot and Kamnuansilpa, 1985; Kley, 2011), a family member or friend living abroad (De Jong et al., 1985; Kanaiaupuni, 2000), or a community of origin that is more accepting/supportive of migration (De Jong et al., 1985; Van Dalen and Henkens, 2008, 2013). In addition, marital status is also an important selective factor (De Jong et al., 1985; Kanaiaupuni, 2000; Kley, 2011), while certain attitudes, personality traits, and psychological dispositions are more common among migrants (Van Dalen and Henkens, 2008, 2013).

Larger costs of, and more significant barriers to, migration also result in positive selection (Brücker and Defoort, 2009). Also of crucial importance is how widespread migration is in the given community of origin: communities

⁴ Positive selection is when, regarding some important criteria – mostly education, labor market position, income, and/or financial status – migrants have a more favorable composition than the total population of origin; negative selection is the opposite.

⁵ For example, negative selection was observed among Mexican migrants on the whole, but positive selection predominated among those living in the countryside (Fernandez-Huertas Moraga, 2013). Another Mexican study identified negative selection among men and positive selection among women by educational attainment (Kanaiaupuni, 2000).

with large emigrant networks send out new migrants in negative selection, while there is positive or neutral selection by education in the absence of such networks (McKenzie and Rapoport, 2010). This is explained by the fact that the existence of a migrant network can reduce the cost of migration, and so there are higher expectations of benefits or “returns,” even with lower educational attainment.

Findings concerning the selection of migrants are primarily based on cross-sectional surveys conducted either among those who have actually moved to the destination countries, or else – in the countries of origin – among those who are planning to migrate. The former examine composition on the basis of so-called “revealed preferences,” while the latter do so on the basis of “stated preferences” (Van Dalen and Henkens, 2013). However, while post-migration surveys reflect the selection effects by destination countries – i.e., due to migration regulation or demand for labor force (and moreover, it is problematic to collect retrospective data), in the case of migration planners, it is uncertain to what extent and among whom intentions will later be realized. In order to track the whole selection process – from the formation of intentions and plans to their realization – longitudinal panel surveys are needed.

The need for longitudinal studies in migration research has been understood for several decades (Gardner et al., 1985; Coleman and Salt, 1992), and it has been pointed out that only such surveys make it possible to explore the relationship between migration intentions and actual migration, as well as to put migration in the context of other life-course events. So far, however, there has been little research in which the exploration of migration intentions is followed by examination of their future realization.

The first follow-up survey that examined the explanatory factors of migration intentions and behavior in the case of international migration took place at the beginning of the 1980s in a Philippine province (Gardner et al. 1985; De Jong et al., 1985). According to this, among those intending to move within two years, 44% realized their plan. The results indicate that regarding intention and action, there were more similarities than differences between key factors of selection (prior migration experience was the only factor that explained the migration behavior, but not the intention itself).

More than two decades later, there was another study, which (based on a nationally representative longitudinal survey) examined migration intentions and subsequent actions, and the selection process of migrants from Mexico to the United States (Chort, 2012). The results showed that the realization of migration is mostly determined by sex: controlled for migration intention measured in 2002, by 2005 women were much less likely than men to migrate. As explained

in the study, migration opportunities for women were far more limited by financial and social constraints – misestimated at the planning stage – than for men. At the same time, the role of external factors – “unexpected shocks” (e.g., illness, unemployment, natural disaster) and “misedevaluated costs” – explaining this discrepancy between migration intentions and actions was also revealed. The survey confirmed a negative selection at the intention stage, and a positive selection of actual migrants.

In the 2000s, a Dutch panel survey also attempted to understand selection during the migration process, by comparing emigration intentions and subsequent behavior in the Netherlands (Van Dalen and Henkens, 2008, 2013). About 24% of those who had an emigration plan in 2005 had implemented it by 2007, with the figure rising to 34% by 2010. In this case, the existence of a previous emigration intention proved to be the main explanatory factor of actual emigration. Besides this, only the age of the respondent had a significant effect in the model of emigration behavior, which suggests that age explained the discrepancy between intention and behavior (Van Dalen and Henkens, 2013). Within the group of migration planners, the only difference found was in state of health: healthy people were more likely to realize their migration intentions.

In Hungary, studies on migration potential have been conducted on a regular basis ever since 1993, in an effort to explore the number, the destination countries, and the socio-demographic composition of potential migrants (Berencsi, 1995; Sik and Simonovits, 2002; Hárs, Simonovits and Sik, 2004; Sik, 2006, 2012; Gödri and Feleky, 2013). These have made it possible to explore changes over time in the intensity of migration intentions and the choice of destination countries (Nyíró, 2013); but the realization of plans has not been tracked. The only exception to this is a study in which the sample of the 2003 Labor Force Survey run by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (HCSO) was used in 2007 to interview again those who, in 2003, had intended to go to work abroad (Hárs, 2008). The findings showed a relatively weak connection between migration intentions and subsequent migration: although the survey covered a four-year period, 10% of those who had planned to work abroad were actually doing so at the time of the second interview, and a further 7% had worked abroad in the intervening period and had then returned home. The rate of realized migration was almost 20% for men, but only 12% for women.⁶

⁶ The shortcoming of this survey is that it was not the total first-wave sample that was interviewed again in 2007, but only those who previously had migration plans. The analysis of selection was therefore limited to migration realized within the group of planners.

As can be seen from the above examples, longitudinal surveys – if they are based on tracking the total first-wave sample – offer an insight into both stages of the selection process. In some cases, the composition of migration planners indicates the composition of migrants; in other cases, however, there is a significant shift in selection. This is due to the fact that, whereas migration intentions are based on various push, pull, and restraining factors (and their subjective perception), as well as on a calculation of the costs of and the expected returns on migration, the realization of those intentions is primarily facilitated by various human, financial, social, and psychological resources (Massey and Espinosa, 1997; Palloni et al., 2001) and is hindered by external barriers (e.g., social norms, expectations, legal obstacles, unforeseen costs, etc.). It can be assumed, therefore, that the groups better equipped with certain individual resources that can be utilized during migration have a better chance of realizing their migration plans.

The relationship between migration intention and behavior

On the basis of the few longitudinal surveys available, it would appear that in some societies and communities, migration intentions can be considered to be reliable predictors of future migration; but elsewhere they are less reliable. There are many examples (although mostly concerning internal migration) showing that migration intentions are important indicators of future migration, because migration planning is one of the main explanatory factors of subsequent migration at the individual level (De Jong et al., 1985; Lu, 1998; De Jong, 2000; Kley and Mulder, 2010; Kley, 2011; Van Dalen and Henkens, 2008, 2013). However, the longitudinal studies reviewed fail to provide a clear answer as to how well the trend and composition of future migration can be estimated on the basis of migration intentions or plans. In the case of international migration, the barriers and obstacles are obviously larger; and so – depending on factors such as who is planning to migrate, from where, to where, and why – intentions may be a good predictor of future emigration (Van Dalen and Henkens, 2008, 2013); but equally, even though they are reasonable, informative indicators, they cannot always be considered to be a direct indicator of actual migration (Chort, 2012).

To study the relationship between intention and action, most of the empirical research starts from the assumptions of the *theory of reasoned action* developed by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) and the later *theory of planned behavior*

(Ajzen, 1991).⁷ The theory of reasoned action attempts to understand action through intentions: it claims that action is directly influenced by intention, and the appropriate assessment of intention allows the precise prediction of action. It is based on the assumption that intentions are determined by attitudes toward action, as well as by subjective norms (beliefs about the expectations of other people) related to action. An attitude is the individual's positive or negative evaluation of an action's likely outcomes, i.e., an assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of migration. Subjective norms are external opinions and expectations, as perceived by the individual in relation to the specific action (i.e., how "significant others" would judge their migration).

In addition to attitudes and subjective norms, the theory of planned behavior includes a third factor (*Figure 1*), which suggests that perceived behavioral control also influences the formation of intentions (Ajzen, 1991). This determinant of intentions expresses how easy (or difficult) the individual feels it will be to perform the specific action, and how capable of doing so he or she feels.⁸ It is related to the sense of self-efficacy or ability (thus indirectly to self-confidence).

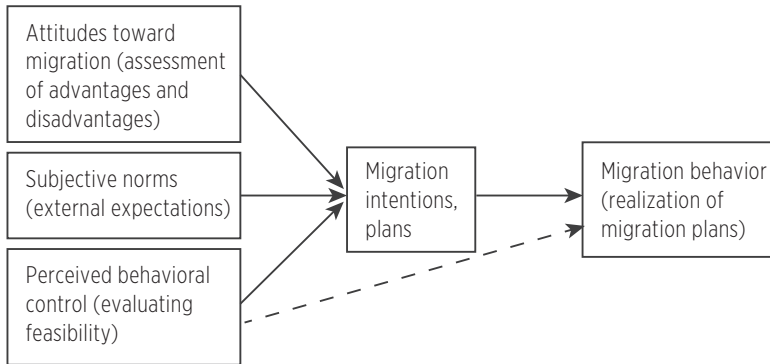
Based on the above, migration intention is formed by an *assessment of the advantages and disadvantages* of migration, by *perception of external expectations* related to migration (pressure from significant others), and by beliefs about the feasibility of migration. By exploring these factors that influence intentions, we can understand the behavior/action itself (i.e., migration). (In what follows we test the influence of the first two components; the third is not included in the current analysis.)

At the decision-making phase of migration, however, one cannot anticipate all the factors that may influence action by facilitating or constraining the realization of intention, and unexpected barriers may also emerge. The higher the costs and risks implied by the action (as with international migration), the more likely it is that factors will arise that were disregarded by the planner. However, the theory of planned behavior fails to take all of this into account, and therefore in certain cases the model based on this theory is unsuited to predicting the future trend and composition of migration.

⁷ Although the role of subjective factors – attitudes, preferences, intentions – in migration decisions has been recognized since the 1950s, the systematic application of conceptual frameworks of contemporary psychological and socio-psychological theories in migration re-search only began in the eighties (Fawcett, 1985).

⁸ If the individual's perceived and actual control over action is more or less the same, there can be a direct connection between perceived behavioral control and behavior/action – marked by a dotted arrow in the figure (Ajzen, 2005, p. 119).

Figure 1: Theory of planned behavior, as applied to migration decision



Note: The figure is based on Ajzen, 1991, 2005.

The empirical findings demonstrate well that, although the chances of future migration are greater among those with previous migration plans, a significant proportion of migration planners do not realize their plans, despite the strong connection between intention and action; meanwhile, many people do migrate, even though they had no prior plans to do so (Gardner et al., 1985; Simmons, 1985; Kan, 1999; Lu, 1999; Van Dalen and Henkens, 2008).⁹ There may be various reasons for this discrepancy.

On the one hand, migration intentions and plans may change over time. The potential migrant may encounter obstacles, costs, and risks after developing the intention that result in abandonment of the migration intentions, or postponement of their realization. Both internal factors (such as lack of information or adequate skills and abilities) and external factors (such as lack of opportunities or dependence on others) can hinder the realization of planned action (Ajzen, 2005), and can lead to the abandonment or postponement of plans. The intention may also be modified by an unexpected turn of events before the realization of the intention, or a by change in circumstances, which may alter the individual's motivation.

On the other hand, an insufficiently "serious" intention may also underlie a failure to realize the plans. The different measurement techniques applied to assess intentions capture people at different stages of the decision-making process (those disposed to migrate; those who are considering migration; those who have a migration plan; or those who have already taken steps toward mi-

⁹ Besides the failure of realizing migration, we can observe a discrepancy between intentions and action in terms of timing and destination country of migration (Gardner et al., 1985).

gration), and so “intentions” involve both general desires and specific, concrete plans (Fassmann and Hintermann, 1998). In the case of the former, however, the chances of realization are slight. The better we can capture real, actual migration intention, rather than just desires and dreams, the more reliable will be the predictions based on migration potential.

Another form of inconsistency between intention and action is when migration occurs in the absence of previous plans. This so-called “surprise move” (Gardner et al., 1985) or “unexpected move” (Lu, 1999) can occur due to changing circumstances, the emergence of new information, or an unexpected turn of events after the measurement of intention. It may also occur even if the individual interviewed had no personal intention of migrating: according to the new economics of migration, migration-related decisions are usually made by families or households, in order to increase their income or reduce their risks (Taylor, 1986; Stark, 1991). Thus, it is possible that a family decision or some other family member’s intention influenced the migration, even though the individual interviewed had had no thought of migrating.

Both the change in intentions over time and the inaccuracy of their measurement reduce the predictive power of this indicator. Intentions could be more accurate indicators when they include concrete plans that refer to the timing of migration and destination. However, we cannot ignore the role of different individual and structural background factors; nor the external constraints and barriers that influence the realization of migration along with (or sometimes in spite of) intentions.

DATA

The database of the panel survey *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania* provides a unique opportunity to examine selection during migration, as well as the factors influencing migration behavior.¹⁰ The first wave of the survey was conducted in 2006 on a representative sample of 2,492 persons from the Hungarian-speaking population of Transylvania aged 20–45. In the first wave, migration intentions were measured by a standard set of questions. These addressed the respondent’s plans for short-term (a few weeks or months) or long-term

¹⁰ The survey was conducted by the Hungarian Demographic Research Institute, in cooperation with the Max Weber Social Research Foundation (Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca) and the Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities (former Research Institute of Interethnic Relationships).

(several years) employment abroad, or emigration (permanently settling down abroad).

The second wave took place at the turn of 2008–2009, when respondents interviewed in 2006 were contacted again. For those who could not be re-interviewed, the reason was registered on the address card; if they had moved, their new place of residence was also recorded (whenever possible). The questionnaire for the second wave also contained questions relating to those who had returned after a period of time spent abroad (at least three months) between the two surveys (and so we also have information about their experience of working abroad, as well as the reasons for their return). By linking the data from the two waves and the address cards, it was possible not only to analyze the selection process of migrants, but also to test the realization of migration plans explored in the first wave. This reveals how well prior migration intentions predicted future migration.

Given the fact that there is little empirical information from panel surveys on the selection of international migrants and the relationship between migration intention and actual migration, the panel database of the research *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania* is particularly valuable. As far as we know, in the Central and Eastern European region – despite the relative abundance of studies on migration potential – this is the first study to analyse the total first-wave sample (not just the planners), allowing a detailed exploration of the explanatory factors of realized migration, with particular attention to the role of previous migration intentions.

Another novelty of the survey is that it is possible to apply Ajzen's theory of planned behavior to migration decisions. First-wave data include migration-related attitudes (assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of emigration), as well as subjective norms (beliefs about the external expectations of friends, parents, or relatives). These data enable us to analyse how these factors influence migration behavior.

HANDLING SAMPLE ATTRITION, ESTIMATING THE PROPORTION OF MIGRANTS AND RETURNEES

In panel studies, attrition is usually relevant because of sample distortion, i.e., the representativeness of the sample in subsequent waves. However, when the topic involves the realization of migration plans, or the occurrence of migration between the two waves, sample drop-out may be viewed in a different light, since

one of the reasons for attrition may be migration itself. In this case, if the residence of non-respondents in the second wave can be determined (at least whether they are in the home country or abroad), then they are not “missing” for the purposes of migration analysis (despite their failure to fill in the questionnaire).

Of the 2,492 persons¹¹ who comprised the first-wave sample of the survey *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania*, 1,690 were interviewed during the second wave; the whereabouts of an additional 410 people were identified by the interviewers; and 7 people were no longer alive at the time of the second wave. Thus, we have sufficient information on the whereabouts of 2,107 persons in total; no data are available on 385 people. *Table 1* contains the detailed attrition data from the second wave.

Thus, it is clear that about two-thirds of the total first-wave sample were interviewed in the second wave (attrition was 32.2%); however, overall (completed with data from address cards) 84.6% of first-wave respondents were successfully located. According to data from the address cards, 5.0% (106 persons) of those with “known whereabouts” (2,107 persons) were living abroad at the time of the second wave, and 14.4% (304) were living in their home country (at their original address or elsewhere), but were not interviewed. Using the weight of the first wave (which ensured the representativeness of the sample by sex, age group, level of education, and “ethnic microregion”), these proportions change slightly: at the time of the second wave, 5.5% of those with “known whereabouts” lived abroad,¹² 15.5% lived in the home country, but did not respond to the questionnaire (response rate was 78.6%), and 0.4% were no longer alive.

Those about whom no information was obtained during the second wave (385 persons) could have included persons located either in the home country or abroad; but it can be assumed that the rate of migrants among them is slightly higher than in the total sample. This is also suggested by the fact that among those with plans to migrate at the time of the first wave, the rate of those with “unknown whereabouts” in the second wave was much higher: whereas it was 16% among non-migration planners, the rate was 21% among planners of short-term migration, 24% among planners of long-term migration, and 26% among emigration planners.

¹¹ It is important to note that among those included in the first-wave sample, less mobile persons (reachable at their home address) were already likely to be overrepresented, and those “on the move” (Horváth, 2003) – who were already involved in some form of migration, either as temporarily absent or as commuters – were underrepresented.

¹² The rate of those living abroad (for the group with known whereabouts) was much more significant among persons who had previous migration plans: 9.6% among planners of short-term migration, 11.6% among planners of long-term migration, and 14.8% among emigration planners.

Table 1: Sample attrition between the two waves

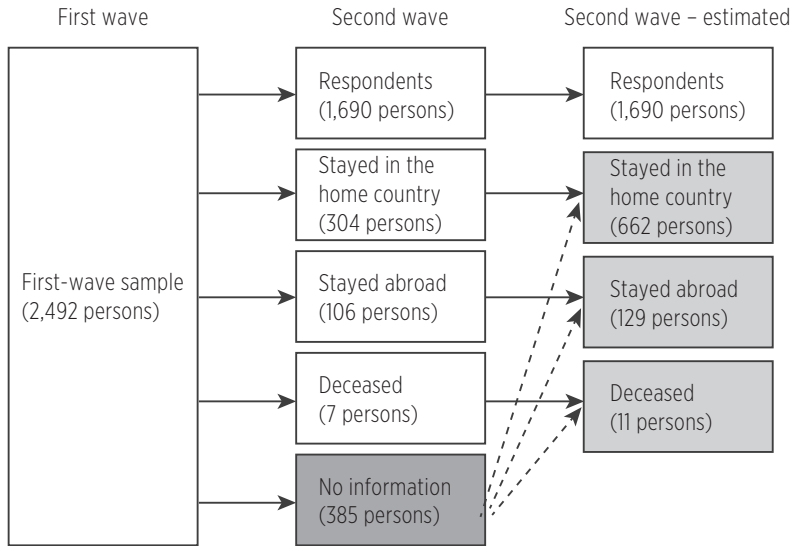
	First wave (2006)	Second wave (2009)	% of first-wave sample	% of first-wave sample (weighted)	% of those with known place of residence	% of those with known place of residence (weighted)
Respondent	2,492	1,690	67.8	64.7	80.2	78.6
Non-respondent but place of residence is known		410	16.5	17.3	19.5	21.0
Lived abroad		106	4.3	4.5	5.0	5.5
Moved elsewhere in the country		78	3.1	3.2	3.7	3.9
Refused to respond		130	5.2	5.4	6.2	6.6
Other failure (failed to contact the person, unable to respond)		96	3.9	4.2	4.6	5.0
Deceased		7	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4
<i>Sum</i>		<i>2,107</i>	<i>84.6</i>	<i>82.3</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Nothing known		385	15.4	17.7	–	–
Total		2,492	100.0	100.0	–	–

Source: *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania* (2006, 2009), authors' calculations.

Based on models that take account of the rate and composition of groups known to be located abroad or in the home country, we made an estimation of the place of residence for the 385 persons with unknown whereabouts.¹⁵ Accordingly, people with unknown whereabouts were distributed among the groups of those with foreign residence, non-respondents with domestic residence, and the deceased. Using these estimated data to complement the group of people living abroad based on their address cards (106 persons), it can be assumed that 129 individuals from the first-wave sample were living abroad at the time of the second wave (see *Figure 2*), which means 5.2% of the unweighted sample, and 5.8% of the weighted sample.

¹⁵ For a detailed description of the estimation and weighting procedures, see the annex in Gödri and Feleky, 2017.

Figure 2: The effective and estimated distribution of first-wave respondents by place of residence in the second wave (unweighted)



Source: *Turning Points of Life Course - Transylvania* (2006, 2009), authors' calculations.

As mentioned above, in addition to those living abroad at the time of the second-wave survey, some respondents had lived abroad for a period of time (at least three months) between the two waves of the survey, and had then returned: 48 of the 1,690 persons, or 3.2% of the weighted subsample of respondents. Assuming that a similar proportion of those who were in the home country at the time of the second wave, but failed to respond to the questionnaire, had lived abroad for at least three months between the two waves, then the number of returnees among them can be estimated at 21. In summary, the number of returnees from staying abroad was probably 69 persons from the total first-wave sample, making up 2.8% of the unweighted sample and 3.0% of the weighted sample. Our analyses took into account the estimated rates of those staying abroad and those who had returned, but used only the weighted subsample of persons with known whereabouts (2,107).

In order to examine the realization of migration plans, it would be useful to take into account the actual length of the sojourn abroad (if any) of those individuals who had planned for different durations of migration (a few weeks/months, a few years, or permanent stay). In most cases, however, there is insufficient information available on this. Some of those living abroad at the time of

the second wave had “emigrated”; others were “working abroad,” according to their address-card data. The date of departure is not known for either of these groups; and in the case of the latter group, the expected duration of foreign employment is also unknown. (Moreover, people from the “emigrated” group may also return later.) Similarly, in the case of returnees, the length of time spent abroad is not always known (only that it was at least three months).

In sum, our analysis regarded as a migrant everybody who was living abroad at the time of the second wave, or who had spent at least three months abroad between the two waves and had then returned. (A similar definition was used for migrants in previous panel studies; see Chort, 2012; Van Dalen and Henkens, 2008, 2013). For those who had been planning migration at the time of the first wave, the realization of those plans was also evaluated on this basis, although we are aware that this may imply some inaccuracy.¹⁴

REALIZATION AND CHANGE OF MIGRATION PLANS BETWEEN THE TWO WAVES

According to data from the first wave in 2006, almost one-third of respondents (30.3%) representing the Hungarian-speaking Transylvanian population aged 20–45 were planning some form of migration: 24.7% planned short-term employment abroad; 15.2% planned long-term employment abroad; and 7% planned emigration (Gödri and Kiss, 2009).¹⁵ Some 40% of the planners had various plans for the time they would spend abroad. About three years later, at the time of the second wave, 10% of earlier planners were living abroad, and 7% were return migrants (who had stayed abroad for at least three months after the previous interview, and had then returned home). In summary, about 17% of migration plans were realized more or less in some form (*Table 2*). This is in line with an earlier – already mentioned – Hungarian survey on the realization of employment intentions (Hárs, 2008); it, however, measured the realization rate after four years.

Plans made for long-term work abroad and for emigration were actually followed by migration slightly more frequently than were plans made for only short-term employment abroad. At the same time, far more of those who had

¹⁴ Realization of migration plans can actually be examined only with certain limitations, since what can be stated in many cases is only the start of realizing the plan.

¹⁵ Since then, the rate of persons within the Transylvanian population planning employment abroad has increased further, in particular in the younger generations (in 2013, 43% of those aged 18–35, and 51% of those aged 18–29 planned to work abroad), and the move toward Western Europe has further strengthened in migration intentions (Kiss and Barna, 2013).

been planning emigration in 2006 were living abroad at the time of the second wave (15.8%) than was the case for those who had been planning longer or shorter foreign employment. The rate of returnees, however, was higher among the latter: 48–53% of those migrating for work returned, compared to 12.5% of those who had moved with plans to emigrate. This latter group comprised persons who made plans for work, in addition to emigration. Migration was realized to the greatest degree among those who, in 2006, were considering all three types of migration plans: 23.4% of them had migrated, and most of them (22.1%) were also living abroad at the time of the second wave.

Taking into account the planned destination country for migration, it would seem that rather more migration plans were realized that primarily targeted Hungary (18%) than other (mostly Western European or overseas) destination countries (15%). Realization of plans was lowest among those who mentioned several migration plans and associated destination countries (9%); however, it was remarkably high among those who did not name a destination country (27%). Although the low sample sizes in both cases require us be cautious in our conclusions, this would indicate that the more “desperate” the planners were (i.e., they had various migration plans), the more likely they were to realize their intentions, even if they had no specific destination country; whereas if the plans involved a variety of destination countries (suggesting a kind of uncertainty), migration was less likely to occur.

The above table also shows that, while migration occurs over three times more frequently among those with previous plans than among non-planners, a relatively large proportion of migration plans did not come to fruition between the two waves of the survey. However, there were cases of migration in the absence of any previous intention – albeit less prevalent: 5.3% of non-planners still migrated later. Taking previous migration intention and realized migration together, four groups can be distinguished: *stayers*, who had no migration plans and did not move; *expected migrants*, who previously reported their intention of moving and who carried it out within the three-year follow-up period; *dreamers*, who planned migration, but did not realize it within three years; and *unexpected migrants*, who initially had no migration plans, but who moved nevertheless (*Table 3*). The highest proportion (two-thirds of the total sample) is made up of stayers; the rate of dreamers is also significant (a quarter of the sample); meanwhile the rates of expected and unexpected migrants are relatively small (5% and 3.8%, respectively).¹⁶

¹⁶ In the Dutch survey mentioned earlier, the rate of stayers was even more significant (86.5%), while that of dreamers was only 8.3%, expected migrants made up 4.2%, and unexpected migrants (termed “unintended movers”) accounted for only 1% (Van Dalen and Henkens, 2013).

Table 2: Occurrence of migration between the two waves by previous migration plans

Existence, type, and destination country of migration plans during the first wave	Occurrence of migration between the two waves				Total	N
	Did not live abroad	Lived abroad				
		(for at least three months), and then returned home	during the second wave	total		
<i>Total population</i>						
Migration plan in 2006***						
did not have	94.7	1.3	4.1	5.3	100.0	1,477
had	82.9	7.1	10.0	17.1	100.0	608
Total	91.2	3.0	5.8	8.8	100.0	2,095
<i>Migration planners</i>						
Type of migration plan in 2006 (longest planned duration)***						
short-term only (a few weeks or months)	84.3	7.5	8.2	15.7	100.0	266
long-term at most (a few years)	81.0	10.0	9.0	19.0	100.0	210
even emigration	82.0	2.3	15.8	18.0	100.0	132
First mentioned destination country*						
Hungary	81.7	8.2	10.1	18.3	100.0	279
other country	84.8	7.0	8.2	15.2	100.0	270
mixed	90.9	4.5	4.5	9.1	100.0	22
no destination country	73.0	0.0	27.0	27.0	100.0	37
Total	82.9	7.1	10.0	17.1	100.0	608

Notes: *** p<0.001; ** p<0.01; * p<0.05 (chi-square test). It was possible to name two destination countries (if various migration plans existed, then two in each case); "mixed" category stands as the first mentioned destination country if another destination country was mentioned, besides Hungary, in the case of various plans.

Source: *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania* (2006, 2009), authors' calculations.

Of the four groups, stayers and expected migrants behaved in accordance with their plans (72%), but there is inconsistency between intention and action in the other two groups (28%). For dreamers, this may reflect the possibility that their plans had not yet been realized – either because they had been postponed, or because they were planned for a later date. There is, however, no informa-

tion on this latter possibility, as the first wave contained no question about the planned timing of migration. The failure of planned migration may also result from the fact that the structure of the supply side (potential migrants) did not meet the demand of the destination countries. In this case, some of the dreamers can actually be regarded as having failed in their plans.

Table 3: Groups formed by previous migration plans and actual migration

		Migration between the two waves	
		yes	no
Migration intentions in 2006	yes	Expected migrants 5.0%	Dreamers 24.2%
	no	Unexpected migrants 3.8%	Stayers 67.0%

Source: *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania* (2006, 2009), authors' calculations.

In the case of unexpected migrants (who made up 43% of all migrants), migration intention may have been formed after the first wave of the survey (because circumstances changed in the meantime); however, as Hárs, Örkény and Sik (2006) point out, it cannot be ruled out that the intention of migrating could sometimes have been concealed during the previous interviews. Whatever the cause of unexpected migration, it indicates that migration may occur in spite of the lack of previous intentions.

In the second wave of the survey, migration intentions were reassessed. In that round, it was possible to interview those who had not moved (whether in accordance with or despite their earlier plans) and those who had returned following migration. This can be used to examine the change in migration intentions for the various groups – e.g., we can learn if dreamers had abandoned their previous migration plans, or had postponed them. The results show that in 2009, barely a third (32.8%) of those who had not realized their previous migration plans (measured in 2006) were still planning some type of migration, while 67.2% had given up their earlier plans (*Table 4*).

A reverse change can be observed in the case of stayers: although they had no previous intention of migrating, in 2009 a tenth of them mentioned migration-related plans (mainly for short-term employment). In 2009, the largest proportion of migration intentions was found among return migrants (a third of all migrants): two-thirds of them planned new migration (84.8% of returnees after expected migration). This also confirms the well-known relationship that prior migration experience

increases the occurrence of new migration plans. Based on migration intentions measured in 2009, it can be assumed that the rate of migrants within the surveyed population, estimated at 8.8% during the second wave, continues to grow over time.

Table 4: Migration plans in the second wave (in 2009) by groups formed on the basis of previous migration intentions and actual migration

Types	Migration plan in the second wave		Total	N
	yes	no		
Stayers	10.1	89.9	100.0	1,154
Dreamers	32.8	67.2	100.0	408
Returned migrants	66.2	33.8	100.0	71
Total	18.2	81.8	100.0	1,633

Note: The group of returned migrants includes returnees following both expected and unexpected migration; these have been combined due to low sample size. Based on chi-square test, significance: $p < 0.001$.

Source: *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania (2006, 2009)*, authors' calculations.

COMPOSITION OF MIGRANT AND NON-MIGRANT GROUPS

An important question – which perhaps may bring us closer to understanding the nature of migration intention and action – is what socio-demographic characteristics can describe the four groups distinguished by previous migration plans and realized migration. Is there a clear difference in composition between the two groups of migrants (i.e., expected and unexpected migrants) and between the two groups of non-migrants (i.e., dreamers and stayers)?¹⁷

Along with the basic socio-demographic characteristics of these four groups, *Table 5* contains some additional criteria, mainly related to financial status, employment, and housing conditions. It is clear that in both groups of migrants, there is a slightly higher rate of men, while women predominate among stayers (those who did not plan migration). Within the group of dreamers, however, the rate of men is extremely high, suggesting that – though men were more likely to move than women – there were even more men who planned migration, but failed to realize it. In terms of average age, expected migrants and dreamers are the two youngest groups, while the group of stayers is the oldest. Among the former groups

¹⁷ The results for the unexpected migrants are to be interpreted with caution, due to the small group size.

(particularly among expected migrants), the rate of those with at most lower secondary education is higher than in the total sample, and the proportion of those who were unemployed or otherwise inactive is also larger. While approximately only half of expected migrants and dreamers were employed (employees or self-employed) in 2006, this figure reached two-thirds among unexpected migrants and stayers. The differences are also shown in terms of marital status and number of children: the rate of unmarried and, in part, cohabiting people and of the childless was extremely high among expected migrants, but it was also above average in the groups of unexpected migrants and dreamers. By contrast, married people and those with children were overrepresented among the stayers.

Table 5: Socio-demographic characteristics of groups formed on the basis of previous migration intentions and actual migration, %

Socio-demographic characteristics in 2006	Expected migrants	Dreamers	Unexpected migrants	Stayers	Total
Sex**					
male	53.8	58.1	55.0	47.6	50.7
female	46.2	41.9	45.0	52.4	49.3
Age (mean)***	29.6	30.2	31.5	33.5	32.5
Educational attainment**					
at most lower secondary (8 classes or less)	31.1	23.4	21.5	17.4	19.7
vocational training school (10 classes)	22.3	17.5	19.0	23.7	21.9
upper secondary	35.9	47.2	50.6	47.7	47.1
higher education	10.7	11.9	8.9	11.3	11.3
Employment status***					
employee	50.0	44.5	60.3	58.0	54.4
self-employed	2.1	5.8	6.4	7.8	7.0
unemployed	12.5	15.2	1.3	5.8	8.2
student	4.2	7.8	3.8	6.1	6.3
other inactive	31.3	26.7	28.2	22.3	24.0
Marital and partnership status***					
unmarried (single)	50.0	37.8	33.7	25.0	29.7
married (lives with married partner)	33.7	49.3	56.2	63.8	58.5
cohabiting	14.4	8.7	6.3	6.5	7.4
divorced, widowed (single)	1.9	4.2	3.8	4.7	4.4

Table 5: Socio-demographic characteristics of groups formed on the basis of previous migration intentions and actual migration, % (continued)

Socio-demographic characteristics in 2006	Expected migrants	Dreamers	Unexpected migrants	Stayers	Total
Number of children***					
no child	54.8	50.8	49.4	36.6	41.4
one child	15.4	20.7	25.3	26.5	24.5
two or more children	29.8	28.5	25.3	36.9	34.1
Have a household member living abroad**	7.8	8.2	10.3	4.1	5.5
Have financial problems month after month***	34.7	26.3	26.0	18.8	21.7
Unemployment experience ***					
never	37.5	41.9	63.3	56.0	52.0
once	33.7	32.9	16.5	27.4	28.6
several times	28.8	25.1	20.3	16.6	19.4
Dissatisfied with job***	30.4	14.3	23.0	9.8	12.4
Poor housing conditions*	24.5	16.2	19.5	14.9	15.8
Absolute (material) deprivation**	34.3	28.2	29.1	22.7	24.8
Relative deprivation***	28.4	25.0	25.6	17.4	20.1
Anomie**	33.3	47.1	28.2	40.7	41.5
N	104	504	79	1,398	2,085

Note: *** p<0.001; ** p<0.01; * p<0.05 (chi-square test).

Source: *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania (2006, 2009)*, authors' calculations.

The proportion of household members who had been living abroad for at least one year – as a factor contributing to the formation of migration intention and to migration itself – was almost double in the groups of actual migrants or dreamers than among stayers. Adverse financial and labor market status, housing conditions, and correspondingly relative deprivation were all more characteristic of expected migrants than of the total population, and even more than of stayers.¹⁸ Some of these disadvantages (such as previous unemployment) occurred at a higher rate among dreamers; others (such as job dissatisfaction and poor housing conditions) were also high among unex-

¹⁸ The indicator for poor housing conditions (or housing poverty) takes into account the crowdedness and lack of comfort of the residence (Kapitány and Spéder, 2004); absolute (material) deprivation considers the material components of life circumstances, while relative deprivation sees them as shortage (“would need it but cannot afford”).

pected migrants. Financial problems and absolute (material) or relative deprivation were also more common in both groups than among stayers. Anomie,¹⁹ however, characterized movers (both expected and unexpected migrants) to a lesser extent, and dreamers who did not realize their plans to a greater extent than stayers.

In summary, it can be stated that the two groups who acted in accordance with their original plans – expected migrants and stayers – show a sharp separation from each other in terms of all the characteristics examined. The composition of dreamers, however, is in most respects closer to that of expected migrants than it is to stayers, indicating that selection is already in part completed even while the intention is being formed. In the case of dreamers, however, a number of characteristics (e.g., a high rate of low educational attainment, singles, and the childless, as well as those with financial problems and the deprived) are less marked, and job dissatisfaction and poor housing conditions are also no more typical of them than on average. The absence of these push factors probably contributed to the fact that their migration was not realized, despite their earlier intentions.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND AND SELECTION OF MIGRANTS

Following the first wave of the survey, analysis of the social profile of migration planners and the explanatory factors of migration intention indicated that in 2006, in the examined age group of ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania, the social status of potential migrants – contrary to the previous trend – was generally more negative (Gödri and Kiss, 2009). The data from the second wave suggest that this negative selection continued: expected migrants – as opposed to dreamers – were characterized in 2006 by lower educational attainment, more unfavorable financial and labor market status, and deprivation. For unexpected migrants, job dissatisfaction, financial problems, and deprivation also occurred to a greater degree than among stayers, although by no means as much as among expected migrants. The question arises as to what factors explain migration between the two waves of the survey, and what role previous migration intentions play in

¹⁹ In our analysis, the variable for anomie comprises the variables for lack of trust in the future, lack of control over everyday things (“I have no influence over my everyday affairs”), and the so-called orientational disorder (“life is so complicated nowadays that most of the time I don’t know what to do”), i.e. feeling “lost.”

them. Is it possible to estimate the composition of actual migrants based on the composition of potential migrants?

The previous findings have also shown that, in accordance with Ajzen's theory of planned behavior, both the assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of emigration, and perceived external norms influence emigration intentions (Gödri and Kiss, 2009). But what role do migration-related attitudes and subjective norms play in migration behavior? Do these factors affect actual migration directly, or only indirectly, through intentions?

To answer the questions above, we first examine the selection of migrants using a bivariate analysis – both in the total sample and in the group of planners; we then explore, using multivariate logistic regression models, the explanatory factors of actual migration (in the total sample), paying particular attention to the role of previous migration intentions, migration-related attitudes, and subjective norms.

Descriptive results

While the rate of participants in migration between the two waves was 8.8% in the total first-wave sample and 17.1% among those previously planning migration, certain socio-demographic groups moved or realized their migration plans to a higher degree (*Table 6*).²⁰

There is no significant difference by sex in the occurrence of migration, either in the total sample or among migration planners.²¹ Migration occurred at above average among those aged under 25, as well as among those with at most lower secondary education. Educational attainment shows a significant correlation within the group of planners, too: both those with lower secondary or vocational education realized their migration plans to a much greater degree than those with upper secondary education or higher education graduates. Migration was twice as frequent among unmarried singles and cohabiting partners as it was among married people. This was not simply because a greater proportion of them had initial plans: we can see that this selection continued during the reali-

²⁰ In the bivariate analysis, significance was cross-checked by the chi-square test; for ordinal variables we used Spearman's rank correlation (denotations are indicated below the tables).

²¹ Although we found significant variations by sex in the composition of migrant types, the high male surplus of dreamers and the female surplus of stayers not planning migration led to the result that the rate of occurrence of migration was not significantly higher in either sex.

zation of plans. The childless also moved more frequently; but in terms of realizing migration plans, there was no significant difference in this respect.

Although it seems that the highest percentage of migrants originated from South Transylvania and Banat (where the occurrence of migration plans measured in the first wave was also most common, and where the percentage of Hungarians within the population was lowest), variations by region did not prove significant either in the total sample or within the group of planners. In terms of settlement size, migration mostly occurred from settlements with a population of between 10,000 and 100,000, while it was least common from big cities with over 100,000 people. Presumably, this was also due to fewer economic constraints on residents living in larger cities, as a result of a booming local economy in the early 2000s. The Roma population was also characterized by higher rates of migration, but Roma origin does not show a significant connection with the realization of migration plans.

In the dimensions related to livelihood, work, and housing, the negative selection already mentioned predominated: the rate of migration was significantly higher in groups that were characterized by deprivation, job dissatisfaction, and poor housing conditions. In particular, a large proportion of those dissatisfied with their job moved – and the same was observed within the group of planners – suggesting that migration is in many cases a strategy to improve labor market prospects. In terms of home ownership, the higher migration frequency of non-owners (or their relatives) often mentioned in the literature cannot be observed. The larger degree of movement shown by other members of the owner's family is presumably connected with the more intense migration of young people (such as the owner's children).

Among those with a household member who had been living abroad for at least a year (i.e., had enough social capital to reduce the costs and risk of migration), the overall rate of migration was higher; but this selection was generated already at the formation of migration intention, because the group of planners showed no significant difference in realizing their plans in this respect.

Besides the above characteristics, the individual's psychosocial well-being and state of health can also influence migration or the realization of migration plans. Although a long period can pass between the collection of these data and the occurrence of migration – during which time these indicators of subjective well-being may have changed – it is worth looking at which earlier characteristics imply a major degree of movement.

Table 6: Occurrence of migration between the two waves in the total sample and among those having planned migration, by different socio-demographic groups, %

Socio-demographic characteristics in 2006	Total sample		Migration planners during the first wave	
	Occurrence of migration between the two waves, %	N	Occurrence of migration between the two waves, %	N
Sex				
male	9.4	1,063	16.1	348
female	8.2	1,032	18.5	259
Age group	***			
-25	14.1	375	19.4	170
25-29	8.4	395	17.8	129
30-34	8.6	421	14.0	121
35-39	6.9	475	17.0	100
40-45	6.8	429	16.3	86
Educational attainment	*		*	
at most lower secondary (8 classes or less)	12.2	411	21.3	150
vocational training school (10 classes)	8.3	457	20.7	111
upper secondary	7.9	989	13.5	275
higher education	7.6	238	15.5	71
Employment status	***		***	
employee	8.5	1,128	17.8	270
self-employed	4.9	144	6.5	31
unemployed	7.6	170	13.6	88
student	6.1	132	9.3	43
other inactive	10.5	495	18.4	163
Marital and partnership status	***		**	
unmarried (single)	12.5	625	21.5	242
married (lives with married partner)	6.6	1,223	12.4	283
cohabiting	12.9	155	25.4	59
divorced, widowed (single)	5.4	92	8.7	23
Number of children	**			
no child	11.1	867	18.4	310
one child	7.1	507	13.4	119
two or more children	7.3	710	17.9	173
Region in country of origin				
Székely Land	9.6	698	21.1	161
Partium	9.0	624	15.3	190
North Transylvania	7.1	622	14.4	201
South Transylvania and Banat	11.3	150	21.8	55

Table 6: Occurrence of migration between the two waves in the total sample and among those having planned migration, by different socio-demographic groups, % (continued)

Socio-demographic characteristics in 2006	Total sample		Migration planners during the first wave	
	Occurrence of migration between the two waves, %	N	Occurrence of migration between the two waves, %	N
Settlement size	*			
below 1,000	9.4	331	19.8	111
1,000–10,000	7.8	842	15.4	260
10,000–100,000	12.0	474	22.5	120
above 100,000	6.7	447	12.9	116
Ethnicity	**			
non-Roma	8.1	1,855	17.1	505
Roma	13.9	194	15.4	91
Living conditions	**			
lives without problems or acceptably well	7.3	771	15.7	172
barely makes ends meet	8.0	846	15.1	259
has financial problems month after month	12.3	447	21.2	165
Unemployment experience				
never	8.2	1,085	15.7	249
once	8.1	596	17.5	200
more than once	11.5	408	19.2	156
Job satisfaction	***		***	
satisfied	6.6	1,046	14.5	234
dissatisfied	19.3	254	30.7	101
not working	8.4	712	14.4	257
Housing poverty	*		*	
not in poor housing	8.0	1,740	15.6	495
poor housing	12.0	325	23.6	106
Home ownership	**			
owner	6.5	713	13.6	177
owner's partner	7.8	308	16.9	65
owner's other family member	11.2	932	20.2	322
other	6.9	131	9.3	43
Household member living abroad	*			
does not have	8.5	1,954	17.2	551
has	13.9	115	16.3	49
Total	8.8	2,095	17.1	608

Note: *** p<0.001; ** p<0.01; * p<0.05

Source: *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania* (2006, 2009), authors' calculations.

It can be seen (*Table 7*) that among those who did not feel that there was always someone to rely on (which can be interpreted as the absence of social capital), who were concerned about the economic situation in the country, and who believed that they deserved much better living conditions than they currently had, migration (and also the realization of migration intentions among planners) occurred to a greater degree.

Table 7: Occurrence of migration between the two waves in the total sample and among those having planned migration, by different variables of psychosocial well-being, %

Psychosocial well-being in 2006	Total sample		Migration planners during the first wave	
	Occurrence of migration between the two waves, %	N	Occurrence of migration between the two waves, %	N
Can always rely on someone if needed	**		*	
completely true	7.4	1,376	14.4	388
not true or only partly true	11.4	711	22.1	217
Health satisfaction	*			
dissatisfied	4.5	154	11.1	45
moderately satisfied	7.8	566	18.1	144
very satisfied	9.4	1,353	17.2	413
Anomie	**		*	
(rather) not characteristic	9.9	1,159	20.0	320
(rather) characteristic	6.3	823	12.3	260
Concerned for the future of child	***			
not at all or little	4.6	409	14.5	62
very much	8.9	903	17.2	261
not relevant	11.6	723	18.6	263
Concerned for the country's economic situation	***			
not at all or little	8.0	1,492	16.1	410
very much	10.9	551	18.9	185
Current and expected living conditions	*		*	
deserves current	6.7	343	11.6	95
deserves somewhat better	8.5	918	15.3	236
deserves much better	10.6	734	21.0	252
Total	8.8	2,095	17.1	608

Note: *** p<0.001; ** p<0.01; * p<0.05

Source: *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania* (2006, 2009), authors' calculations.

Those concerned about the future of their children moved to a higher degree than those unconcerned, but only among the childless was there an above-average rate of migration, as we have seen. While dissatisfaction with one's living conditions or job resulted in higher rates of migration, dissatisfaction with one's own health had the opposite effect: those very satisfied with their health moved the most, and those who were not (or were less) affected by anomie. Lack of anomie implied a higher rate of migration (i.e., more successful realization of plans) within the group of planners, too.

Factors influencing migration behavior – multivariate models

In order to examine the net effects on migration behavior of the socio-demographic characteristics previously presented – and thus to explore the explanatory factors of selection – we built logistic regression models. The dependent variable was migration behavior between the two waves of the survey (i.e., the variable had a value of 1 for all who were living abroad during the second wave or had spent at least three months abroad between the two waves).

The first base model involved four variables (sex, age group, educational attainment, and employment status), and controlling for them we checked the effect of previously surveyed variables one by one.²² Only those variables were built into later models whose univariate effect, controlled for the variables of the base model, proved to be significant. The second base model contained two additional control variables (settlement size and marital status), and then two groups of variables were added separately: one included variables for living conditions, unemployment experience, job satisfaction, housing conditions, and household member living abroad (*Model 1*); the other comprised indicators of subjective well-being (*Model 2*). Finally, we included both previous groups of variables in the final model.

The odds ratios of the models show that, while age and in part sex (in the case of work-related migration) were key determining factors of migration intentions (i.e., younger age groups and men were more likely to plan migration), sex had no significant influence on migration behavior, and we can observe a significantly greater chance of movement only among the youngest (aged under 25) (*Table 8*).

²² Although the variables of the base model are important also in terms of selection (and in this sense, they are non-neutral control variables), we still treated them as control variables for the exploration of additional factors explaining selection, as we were keen to find out whether financial and subjective well-being show a further selection effect along with them.

Table 8: Odds ratios of migration behavior between the two waves (logistic regression models – migrants versus stayers)

Explanatory variables (characteristics in 2006)	Base model 1 (B1)		Base model 2 (B2)		Model 1 (B2+living conditions, work, housing)		Model 2 (B2+sub- jective well- being)		Final model	
	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)
Sex										
male (ref.)		1		1		1		1		1
female		0.840		0.921		1.016		1.046		1.217
Age group	**				+					
under 25	***	2.587	*	1.796	*	2.080		1.650		1.715
25–29		1.340		1.115		1.295		1.246		1.393
30–34		1.360		1.233		1.282		1.324		1.344
35–39		1.072		1.018		0.887		1.021		0.805
over 40 (ref.)		1		1		1		1		1
Educational attainment			*							
at most lower secondary (ref.)		1		1		1		1		1
vocational training school		0.664	+	0.619		0.879		0.673		0.953
upper secondary	*	0.638	*	0.560		0.859	+	0.625		0.899
higher education	+	0.588	*	0.439		0.719	*	0.439		0.684
Employment status										
employee (ref.)		1		1		1		1		1
self-employed		0.671		0.731		0.995		0.610		0.703
unemployed		0.710		0.778		1.008		0.787		1.079
student		0.536		0.543		0.796	*	0.335		0.529
other inactive		1.152		1.189		1.431		1.114		1.441
Settlement size			**		*		**		**	
under 1,000				1.294		1.353		1.497		1.516
1,000–10,000 (ref.)				1		1		1		1
10,000–100,000			**	2.051	**	2.080	***	2.389	**	2.357
over 100,000				1.169		1.224		1.138		1.211
Marital and partnership status			*				*			
married (lives with married partner) (ref.)				1		1		1		1
unmarried (single)			*	1.747	*	1.584	**	2.438	*	1.986
divorced, widowed (single)				0.826		0.700		0.674		0.720
Cohabiting			*	1.808		1.316	**	2.305		1.357
Living conditions					+					
lives without problems or acceptably well (ref.)						1				1
can barely make ends meet						1.049				0.995
has financial problems month after month					*	1.686		+		1.646

Table 8: Odds ratios of migration behavior between the two waves (logistic regression models – migrants versus stayers) (continued)

Explanatory variables (characteristics in 2006)	Base model 1 (B1)		Base model 2 (B2)		Model 1 (B2+living conditions, work, housing)		Model 2 (B2+sub- jective well- being)		Final model	
	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)
Unemployment experience										
never (ref.)						1				1
once						1.010				1.139
more than once						1.344			+	1.600
Job satisfaction					***				***	
satisfied (ref.)						1				1
dissatisfied					***	2.834			***	3.031
not working						0.758				0.746
Housing poverty										
not in poor housing (ref.)						1				1
poor housing					+	1.590				1.553
Household member living										
abroad						1				1
no (ref.)						1				1
yes						1.550				1.123
Can always rely on someone if										
needed								1		1
completely true (ref.)								1		1
not true or only partly true								*	1.524	* 1.491
Health satisfaction										
satisfied (ref.)								1		1
moderately satisfied								2.060		2.187
very satisfied								+	2.541	+ 2.571
Anomie										
(rather) not characteristic (ref.)								1		1
(rather) characteristic								**	0.506	*** 0.421
Concern for the future of child										
not at all or little (ref.)								+		1
very much								+	1.756	+ 1.755
not relevant									1.050	1.192
Concern for the country's										
economic situation										
not at all or little (ref.)								1		1
very much								+	1.451	1.417
Current and expected living										
conditions										
deserves current (ref.)								1		
deserves somewhat better								1.236		
deserves much better								+	1.644	
Nagelkerke R ²		0.031		0.054		0.095		0.106		0.141

Note: *** p<0.001; ** p<0.01; * p<0.05; + p<0.1.

Source: *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania* (2006, 2009), authors' calculations.

In terms of educational attainment, migration behavior was more likely among those with lower secondary education (at most eight classes): compared to them, all three of the other educational groups – but mostly higher education graduates – were significantly less likely to move. This suggests that in the second half of the 2000s – contrary to the trend of the previous decade, and particularly the years immediately before and after the change of regime – emigration from Transylvania was no longer typical of professionals, but was rather the “coping strategy” of the lower educated. This is also suggested by the fact that, although there was no significant influence by employment status, the degree of move was greatest among “other inactive,” and this group (almost a quarter of the total sample!) was likely to include the hidden unemployed. At least a third of the movements were temporary,²³ which presumably served to increase the income of the household in the home country.

The interesting selection by settlement size was also confirmed by multivariate analysis: the chances of migrating from a settlement with a population of between 10,000 and 100,000 were about double those of migrating from a town with a population of between 1,000 and 10,000, and this remained significant in all models. It can be assumed that small-town residents had a better chance of obtaining the information needed for migration than those living in smaller settlements (villages), while their labor market opportunities lagged behind those of people living in larger cities.²⁴

In terms of marital status, the greater chances of migration for unmarried singles and cohabitantes proved significant both in the base model and in the model of subjective well-being; but in the model comprising variables for living conditions, employment status, and housing conditions, the significance for the latter category (cohabitantes) disappeared. This suggests that the greater chance of cohabitantes migrating is partly attributable to their less-favorable situation. Nevertheless, the unmarried group was more mobile, controlling also for the above-mentioned variables (possibly rather due to fewer constraints).

Roma origin, based on the bivariate analysis, implied a higher rate of migration intensity, but one that was not significant, controlling for the first base model; but it brought an interesting change in the influence of employment status. Controlling also for Roma origin (alongside sex, age group, and educational attainment), the unemployed and students were significantly less likely to move than were employees. This may suggest that the rate of these two groups was

²³ In the case of those staying abroad during the second wave, the rate of returnees is still unknown, and we have no data about the circular character of temporary moves.

²⁴ Based on this, we would expect that migration was less likely in the smallest settlements with fewer than 1,000 people, but our data did not confirm this.

higher among those with Roma origin;²⁵ and because Roma were involved in migration more intensively, it obscured the fact that both the unemployed and students were less likely to move.

Regarding the dimensions of living conditions, work, and housing conditions, the negative selection observed in the bivariate analysis was confirmed by the logistic regression (*Model 1*). People struggling with financial problems, dissatisfied with their job, living in poor housing conditions – even after controlling for the variables of the second base model – were more likely to get involved in migration than those living “without problems” or “acceptably well,” satisfied with their work, and not living in poor housing. These effects, except for housing poverty, can be observed in the final model, too, with the additional effect of unemployment experience (i.e., migration was more likely to occur among those who had repeatedly experienced unemployment earlier in their lives). However, the most significant effect was observed in job satisfaction: those dissatisfied with their work were three times more likely to move.

Household members living abroad significantly increased the chances of migration, controlling for variables of both base models (80% and 70%, respectively); but this effect was lost in the extended model (*Model 1*). It has to be noted, however, that this accounts for only part of the possible social capital, since other close family members (e.g., a sibling who is not a household member), or a relative, friend, etc. may be part of the social network living abroad that can contribute to increasing the chances of migration. However, we do not have information on that.

Variables reflecting subjective well-being and psychosocial condition (involved in the analysis) also showed significant effects, controlling for the variables of the second base model (*Model 2*). The inability to mobilize network capital in the community of origin increased the chances of migration: those who felt that they had no family members or friends they could rely on if necessary moved more easily, while having such a network could be an important restraint.²⁶ Migration behavior was also more likely among those who were concerned about the future of their children or about the country’s economic situation, and also among those for whom there was a major gulf between their actual living conditions and those that they believed they deserved. Of these factors, satisfaction with state of health contributed most to the migration behavior: those very satisfied with their health were two and a half times more likely to

²⁵ Indeed: of those of Roma origin, 21% were unemployed and 12% were students, while among non-Roma these groups represented 7% and 5.5%, respectively.

²⁶ Concern for personal relationships (with partner and parents) proved to be the strongest restraining factor, also at the forming of migration intentions (Gödri and Kiss, 2009).

migrate than were those dissatisfied with their health. By contrast, some level of anomie reduced the chances of migrating by half. In the final model, the majority of these variables – with the exception of concern for the country's economic situation – retained their impact, although with slightly weaker significance.

Regarding the final model, it might be claimed that although the effects of variables dealing with living conditions, work, and subjective well-being were also visible, the role of job satisfaction and anomie was the most significant overall; meanwhile, the effect of settlement size and marital status as control variables also remained significant. Therefore, small-town residence, unmarried marital status, and job dissatisfaction clearly increased the probability of migration; anomie, however, reduced it.

The role of previous migration intention, migration-related attitudes and subjective norms

The present study endeavored to explore what role previous migration intentions play in actual migration, and how migration behavior is determined by previous migration-related attitudes and perceived external norms. Migration-related attitudes were measured as the respondents' perceptions of the likely outcomes (i.e., advantages and disadvantages) of migration – in other words, the assumed effects of possible migration on various aspects of their lives. The question about the assumed effects of migration measured expectations in 10 dimensions, focusing on whether a deterioration or an improvement is expected in the given area in the case of migration; we only took into account eight of these in generating combined variables.²⁷ Subjective norms appear as emigration-related expectations by friends, parents, and relatives: i.e., external pressure – as perceived by the individual – towards emigration.

The results clearly show (*Table 9*) that those who, in the first wave, expected an improvement in various areas of their lives – and especially those who assumed positive changes in most of the areas listed – migrated at a higher rate. Among migration planners, however, the realization of plans did not show a significant connection to those previous attitudes. Similarly, the expectations of significant others (and in particular of parents) implied a significantly higher rate

²⁷ How would emigration affect 1) your employment prospects, 2) your financial status, 3) the opinion your relatives and friends hold about you, 4) your happiness and satisfaction with life, 5) you having a quiet and balanced life in your old age, 6) the relationship between you and your parents, 7) you preserving your Hungarian identity (your mother tongue and culture), 8) you being free to do what you want? (The items concerning the relationship with the partner and the partner's work prospects have been omitted to have an adequate sample size.)

of migration (almost double); but in case of the planners this kind of external pressure did not contribute to the realization of their plans. This suggests that both migration-related attitudes and subjective norms played a role in selection back when the intention to migrate was taking shape; later, however, these factors no longer played a role in the realization of the plans.

Table 9: Occurrence of migration between the two waves in the total sample and among those who planned to migrate, by migration-related attitudes and perceived external norms, %

Explanatory variables (characteristics in 2006)	Total sample		Migration planners during the first wave	
	Occurrence of migration between the two waves, %	N	Occurrence of migration between the two waves, %	N
Expectations about the outcomes of migration				
How would emigration affect ...	**			
expects rather a deterioration or both a deterioration and an improvement equally	6.5	857	15.0	140
expects only (or rather) improvement	10.3	1,238	17.9	469
Positive expectation (assumed improvement)	***			
in 0–2 areas	6.9	1,137	15.4	201
in 3–4 areas	9.8	583	18.5	211
in 5–8 areas	13.3	376	17.8	197
Perceived external norms				
Friends suggest emigration	**			
no	7.6	1,639	16.6	374
yes or partly	13.0	347	17.1	199
Parents suggest emigration	***			
no	8.0	1,743	16.4	450
yes or partly	16.0	187	19.3	114
Relatives suggest emigration	**			
no	7.8	1,762	16.7	430
yes or partly	13.7	242	15.5	148
Expectation by friend, parent, or relative	***			
perceived	7.4	1,601	16.6	355
not perceived	13.0	437	16.3	241
Total	8.8	2,095	17.1	608

Note: *** p<0.001; ** p<0.01.

Source: *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania* (2006, 2009), authors' calculations.

In order to find out what role previous migration intentions and plans (or migration willingness at all) played in actual migration, we added the related variables separately to the final model presented above. Our findings show that migration willingness itself – which can be considered a “weaker” indicator than migration intention – significantly increased the chances of migration: those who previously showed a willingness to move abroad to improve their living and working conditions were twice as likely to migrate in the surveyed period (*Table 10*). Those who had any kind of migration plan during the first wave were even more – almost three and a half times more – likely to move; and looking at the type of plan, it is clear that migration was most likely to occur in the case of longer-term plans for a few years of working abroad, or even for emigration.²⁸ Considering the increased explanatory power of the model, as well as the level of significance of odds ratios, it can be concluded that migration intention is a statistically significant predictor of migration. However, two variables in the final model – job satisfaction and anomie – also retained their influence at a very high level of significance ($p < 0.001$), even with the involvement of migration plans; and another five variables (marital status, settlement size, housing poverty, lack of social support, and health satisfaction) likewise had an influence, albeit with lower significance. This indicates that previous migration intentions and plans are important, but are not the only explanatory factors for migration behavior. The factors which continue to have an effect on migration behavior – even with the involvement of previous intentions – are those which actually affect the migration directly, not only through intentions.

And finally: do migration-related attitudes and perceived external norms have a role in migration behavior, or – in accordance with Ajzen’s theory – do they influence migration behavior only indirectly, via intentions? To answer this question, the variables of “attitudes” and “perceived external norms” were added to our existing models; and then, if the effect was significant, the model was further expanded with the variable “previous migration plan,” thereby testing whether the direct effect remained.

²⁸ The joint inclusion of migration willingness and migration plans in the model also indicates that plans explain migration behavior with a higher significance and greater odds ratio (2.904 versus 1.737) than does willingness.

Table 10: Role of previous migration willingness and migration intentions in migration behavior (odds ratios of logistic regression models)

Explanatory variables (migration willingness and intention in 2006)	Final model + migration willingness		Final model + migration plan		Final model + type of migration plan	
	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)
Migration willingness (ref.: did not have)	***	2.299				
Migration plan (ref.: did not have)			***	3.474		
Type of migration plan (longest planned duration)					***	
had no plan (ref.)					1	1
short-term at most (a few weeks/months)					***	3.126
long-term at most (a few years)					***	3.752
even emigration					***	3.849
Nagelkerke R ²		0.158		0.189		0.190

Note: *** p<0.001; ** p<0.01; * p<0.05.

Source: *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania* (2006, 2009), authors' calculations.

Table 11: Role of migration-related attitudes in migration behavior (odds ratios of logistic regression models)

Explanatory variables (attitudes and migration plans in 2006)	Model 1 + expecta- tion		Model 1 + expectation + migration plan		Model 2 + expectation + migration plan		Model 2 + expectation + migration plan		Final model + expectation + migration plan	
	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)
Positive expectation (assumed improvement)					*					
in 0–2 areas (ref.)		1		1		1		1		1
in 3–4 areas		1.235		1.037		1.052		0.828		1.032
in 5–8 areas	*	1.635		1.142	**	1.912		1.358	*	1.607
Migration plan (ref.: had no plan)			***	2.896			***	3.415		***
Nagelkerke R ²		0.101		0.135		0.116		0.163		0.146

Note: *** p<0.001; ** p<0.01; * p<0.05; + p<0.1.

Source: *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania* (2006, 2009), authors' calculations.

Of the migration-related attitudes, only positive expectations (i.e., the assumed advantages of migration) proved to have a significant effect. Those who expected a positive change (i.e., assumed an improvement) from migration in more than half of the areas listed were more likely to move (controlling for a number of other background variables presented earlier) (*Table 11*). After including “previous migration plan” in the model, however, this effect disappeared in all three models.

Perceived external norms (pressure from friends, parents, relatives) only had an influence on the model containing variables for subjective well-being (*Model 2*), increasing the chances of movement by one and a half times (*Table 12*). (Expectations of both parents and relatives proved slightly stronger; of friends it was not significant.) After involving “previous migration plan,” however, the effect disappeared in this case, too.

Table 12: Role of perceived external norms in migration behavior (odds ratios of logistic regression models)

Explanatory variables (perceived external norms and migration plans in 2006)	Model 1 + expectation		Model 2 + expectation + migration plan	
	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)
Expectation of friend, parent, or relative (ref.: not perceived)		1		1
perceived	*	1.486		1.037
Migration plan (ref.: did not have)			***	3.322
Nagelkerke R ²		0.111		0.156

Note: External norms influenced only Model 2. *** p<0.001; ** p<0.01; * p<0.05.

Source: *Turning Points of Life Course - Transylvania* (2006, 2009), authors' calculations.

All of the above confirms that although the subjective factors examined – both migration-related attitudes and perceived external norms – influence migration behavior, their influence works through migration intentions. Those who assume positive change (improvement) from migration in most areas, and who experience social pressure to migrate, are more likely to develop migration intentions, and thus have a higher chance of moving abroad. Our data therefore underpin Ajzen's theory of planned behavior, although we managed to test only two of its components: attitudes and subjective norms.

EXPLAINING THE REALIZATION OF MIGRATION INTENTIONS

Factors influencing migration behavior among planners – multivariate models

Although intentions are statistically significant predictors of migration behavior, they are not perfect, since in many cases there is a clear discrepancy between migration intention and subsequent behavior. As suggested by the bivariate analysis, the selection of migrants cannot be observed solely by considering the population of origin; we also need to look within the group of migration planners and compare those who realized their plans (expected migrants) and those who did not (dreamers).

In order to examine explanatory factors of selection in the realization phase of migration – and thus to reveal those factors that facilitate or hamper the realization of intentions – we also used logistic regression analysis. The models were constructed in the same way as described in the previous chapter, but in this case using the population of migration planners. The dependent variable was migration behavior between the two waves of the survey, and it had a value of 1 for those who realized their plans (expected migrants) and 0 for those who did not (dreamers).

Although sex did not have a significant effect in the base models, taking into account job satisfaction and housing conditions (*Model 1*) women were about 65% more likely to realize their migration plans (*Table 13*). This suggests that job dissatisfaction and poor housing conditions, being more typical of men, increased the chances that they would realize their migration plans, and thus obscured the fact that otherwise – controlling for these factors – they lagged behind women in realizing their migration plans. The influence of age group did not appear at all, and educational attainment was only partly manifest: those with upper secondary education were less likely to realize their plans than were those with lower secondary education (however, this relationship disappears once job satisfaction and housing conditions are included). Even employment status failed to influence the realization of plans: only after involving variables for subjective well-being (*Model 2*) can we observe lower odds among students.

Settlement size – an important selection factor in migration behavior in the sample as a whole – also underlay the realization of plans: small-town residents were more likely to migrate than were those living in smaller settlements – not only overall, but also among planners. Marital status was significant, too: not only

were migration plans more common among unmarried people and cohabiters, but their plans were also more likely to be realized than in the case of married people. In particular, unmarried status significantly increased the chances of the plans being realized (by more than five times in the final model, too).

Table 13: Odds ratios of migration behavior between the two waves among planners (logistic regression models – expected migrants versus dreamers)

Explanatory variables (characteristics in 2006)	Base model 1 (B1)		Base model 2 (B2)		Model 1 (B2+work, housing)		Model 2 (B2+ subjective wellbeing)		Final model	
	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)
Sex										
male (ref.)		1		1		1		1		1
female		1.253		1.451	+	1.649		1.495	+	1.687
Age group										
below 25		1.805		0.901		0.743		1.181		0.823
25–29		1.381		0.927		0.799		1.447		1.188
30–34		0.973		0.789		0.671		1.229		0.987
35–39		1.322		1.223		1.025		1.444		1.161
above 40 (ref.)		1		1		1		1		1
Educational attainment										
at most lower secondary (ref.)		1		1		1		1		1
vocational training school		0.929		0.857		1.043		0.748		0.948
upper secondary	+	0.564	*	0.493		0.631	*	0.427		0.577
higher education		0.648		0.511		0.654		0.463		0.593
Employment status										
employee (ref.)		1		1		1		1		1
self-employed		0.457		0.550		0.691		0.156		0.155
unemployed		0.656		0.756		1.120		0.728		1.008
student		0.489		0.493		0.726	*	0.210		0.304
other inactive		0.955		0.974		1.109		0.785		0.970
Settlement size					+				*	
below 1,000				1.268		1.557		1.259		1.452
1,000–10,000 (ref.)				1		1		1		1
10,000–100,000			*	1.852	*	2.359	+	1.961	*	2.626
above 100,000				0.913		1.191		0.769		0.911
Marital and partnership status			**		*		**		**	
married (lives with married partner) (ref.)				1		1		1		1
unmarried (single)			**	2.751	**	2.847	***	5.835	**	5.453
divorced, widowed (single)				0.697		0.781		0.670		0.962
cohabiting			*	2.736	*	2.573	*	3.073	*	2.686

Table 13: Odds ratios of migration behavior between the two waves among planners (logistic regression models – expected migrants versus dreamers) (continued)

Explanatory variables (characteristics in 2006)	Base model 1 (B1)		Base model 2 (B2)		Model 1 (B2+work, housing)		Model 2 (B2+ subjective wellbeing)		Final model	
	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)
Job satisfaction					*				*	
satisfied (ref.)						1				1
dissatisfied					**	2.425			*	2.462
not working						0.841				0.883
Housing poverty										
not in poor housing (ref.)						1				1
poor housing					*	2.056			*	2.084
Household member living abroad										
no (ref.)						1				1
yes						0.908				0.719
Can always rely on someone if needed										
completely true (ref.)								1		1
not true or only partly true							+	1.641	*	1.760
Health satisfaction										
dissatisfied (ref.)										1
moderately satisfied										2.816
very satisfied										3.122
Anomie										
(rather) not characteristic (ref.)								1		1
(rather) characteristic							**	0.452	**	0.448
Concern for the future of child										
not relevant (ref.)								1		1
not at all or little								2.547		2.042
very much							*	3.049	+	2.395
Concern for the country's economic situation										
not at all or little (ref.)								1		1
very much								1.413		1.322
Nagelkerke R ²		0.035		0.085		0.124		0.181		0.226

Note: *** p<0.001; ** p<0.01; * p<0.05; + p<0.1.

Source: *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania* (2006, 2009), authors' calculations.

The negative selection observed regarding employment status and housing conditions was also confirmed by multivariate analysis: those dissatisfied with their job and with poor housing conditions were at least twice as likely to migrate, even within the group of planners (*Model 1*). Living conditions (as a proxy indicator for income status) and experience of unemployment, however, did not

influence the realization of plans (not even controlling for the variables of the first base model, and so they were omitted from *Model 1*), although migration intentions were significantly determined by both factors. Similarly, household members living abroad only increased the likelihood of developing intentions, and had no effect on their realization.

Among variables with respect to subjective well-being, lack of social support and concern for the future of one's children increased the chances of realizing migration plans, while anomie reduced them (*Model 2*). The impact of all three factors – most significantly that of anomie – can be observed in the final model, too. It is worth noting that anomie has different effects in the two stages of the selection process: it increases the likelihood of forming migration intentions; however, it reduces the probability of realizing those intentions. Health satisfaction did not imply a greater chance of realizing the plans (though in the whole sample it increased the probability of migration behavior); concerns about their own state of health, however, kept some of the planners at home (though this effect was only significant when controlling for the first base model).

Although the realization of migration intentions is explained by fewer factors (compared, in particular, to the explanatory factors of migration intention itself), the explanatory power of those factors taken together is greater than that of the factors explaining migration behavior in the whole sample (the Nagelkerke R^2 in the final model is 0.226 here, contrasting with the value of 0.141 in the case of the whole sample).

However, migration-related attitudes (such as expectations about the outcomes of migration) and perceived external norms have no influence at all on the realization of plans (not even controlling for the variables in the first base model). Although a number of studies point out that expectations related to the advantages and disadvantages of migration²⁹ play an important part in the decision-making process of migration (Fawcett, 1985; Simmons 1985; De Jong et al., 1985; De Jong, 2000), and although moreover, in the case of internal migration, the influence of perceived external (mainly family) norms – controlled for intentions – have also been shown (De Jong, 2000), our analysis confirms that these factors affect only the development of migration intentions, and not subsequent behavior (i.e. the realization of intentions).

²⁹ These expectations appear in the works of several authors as the utility of different (current and alternative) places of residence, ranked in terms of reaching individual goals (place-utility) and as a result of considering the advantages and disadvantages of moving.

CONCLUSIONS

In our study, we examined the selection of migrants and the relationship between migration intentions and the realization of those intentions, using the two-wave panel survey *Turning Points of Life Course – Transylvania*, conducted in 2006 and 2009 among the Hungarian-speaking population of Transylvania aged 20–45. This is the first follow-up survey on migration potential in the Central and Eastern European region in which the exploration of migration intentions was followed by tracking each of the first-wave sample's respondents (not only the planners), and recording the place of residence of persons who had migrated. Thus, a detailed analysis of the explanatory factors of migration on the supply side became possible, as did clarification of the role of migration intentions in predicting migration behavior. Data collected during the first wave also allowed us – by applying Ajzen's theory of planned behavior to decisions on migration – to study the influence of migration-related attitudes (beliefs about the advantages and disadvantages of emigration) and of subjective norms (the perceived expectations of significant others) on migration.

The findings show that 17% of migration plans were followed by actual migration in the three-year period between the two waves of the survey; however, migration also occurred among those who had not planned to migrate – though at a relatively low rate (5%). Overall, nearly three-quarters of respondents acted in accordance with their previous intentions. *Expected migrants* (i.e., those who previously reported their intention of migrating) are not only younger, less likely to be married, and with lower educational attainment, but are also more likely to be characterized by poor finances, housing conditions, and labor market positions, compared to *stayers* (who did not plan to migrate at all). The composition of so-called *dreamers* (who failed to realize their migration plans) is, in many respects, similar to the composition of expected migrants, suggesting that selection partially took place in the phase during which intentions were formed.

The negative selection of migrants was also confirmed by multivariate analysis: in the second half of the 2000s, those who struggled with financial difficulties, experienced unemployment repeatedly, were dissatisfied with their job, and lived in poor housing conditions were more likely to be involved in some (even temporary) form of migration. Psychosocial well-being was also of key importance: lack of social support, as well as concern for the future of one's children, increased the chances of migration behavior, as did satisfaction with one's own health; anomie (lack of trust in the future, feeling “lost”), in turn, significantly reduced it. In summary, there tended to be negative selection in the dimensions

related to living conditions and work, and positive selection regarding the subjective state of one's health and anomie.

Previous migration intention proved to be the most important factor in increasing the chances of migration behavior: those who had any kind of migration plan at the time of the first wave were almost three and a half times more likely to migrate between the two waves than were non-planners (while the explanatory power of the regression model also increased considerably). Therefore, it can be stated that migration intentions are statistically significant predictors of actual migration. Nevertheless, besides previous intention, the influence of job dissatisfaction and anomie remains strongly significant: the former fosters migration, while the latter hinders it. Although migration-related positive attitudes and (in part) perceived external norms related to migration (controlling only for variables of subjective well-being) also increased the chances of migration, these effects disappeared when previous migration intentions (plans) were included as an explanatory variable. These findings confirm Ajzen's theory that migration-related attitudes and subjective norms influence migration behavior only indirectly, via migration intention.

The results indicate a negative selection of migrants not only compared to the population of origin, but also in the realization phase between expected migrants and dreamers. Job dissatisfaction and poor housing conditions at least doubled the chances of migration within the group of planners, too, as did concern for the future of their children and lack of a supportive social network. Anomie, however, reduced the likelihood of migration intentions being realized, although it did contribute to their development. In summary, it may be concluded that in the process of the emigration of ethnic Hungarians from Transylvania, the negative selection earlier identified (Gödri and Kiss, 2009) in the phase of planning for migration was also followed by negative selection in the realization stage, too, in several dimensions. Our assumption – that those groups which are better equipped with certain individual resources that can be converted during migration stand a better chance of realizing their migration plans – has failed in terms of age, level of education, and financial capital. Only the lack of anomie (i.e., trust in the future, control over everyday things, and the subjective sense of orientation in life) formed the “capital” that fostered the realization of migration plans.

Although previous migration intention is the primary determinant of migration behavior at the individual level (it contributes most to the likelihood of migrating), it is also clear that, based on intention alone, one may significantly overestimate the volume of actual migration; and estimations regarding the

composition of migrants are also likely to be biased. In order to use migration intentions as more appropriate indicators for predicting future migration, it is important to “refine” the measurement of intention. The influence of a migration plan on migration behavior proved to be stronger than the influence of migration willingness. This also indicates that the more accurate the assessment of individual “determination” to migrate, the better the predictive power of the indicator. Thus, it is important to identify “serious” plans (with additional questions, e.g., about timing and steps already taken) within migration plans. It is assumed that this approach could produce an indicator of migration potential which predicts the volume and composition of future migration more accurately.

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