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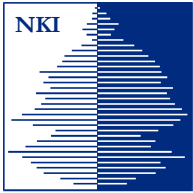
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**WORKING PAPERS ON POPULATION,
FAMILY AND WELFARE**

No 12

**THE ROLE OF ETHNICITY AND SOCIAL
CAPITAL IN IMMIGRATION TO HUNGARY**

by
Iren Gödri

2010

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1 Introduction

In the analysis of international migration, the network approach has gained increasing significance since the 1980's – besides the micro level (concentrating on individual decisions) and the macro level of analysis (which traces migration back to structural forces) –, particularly in the North American and Western European literature on migration.¹ By now, a multitude of theoretical and empirical works have proven the viability and the usefulness of this approach, highlighting the fact that migrant networks can maintain migration between two countries over long periods of time despite the disappearance of the individual or structural (economic, political) reasons that originally launched it (Massey et al. 1998).

Despite wide scale international recognition, in the research of migration that has unfolded in Hungary since 1989 the network approach has played little role. Although in several studies it is hinted that the decision to migrate is embedded into a network of individual ties, and there are also allusions to the role which interpersonal ties play in the integration of immigrants, the actual presence and role of personal networks within this process has remained unexplored. *Immigrants 2002* was the first representative survey which focused on this phenomenon and examined in detail the social ties which migrants had in the target country before immigration, the resources which flowed through these ties and the characteristics of migrant networks after migration. The questionnaire-based survey was carried out by Demographic Research Institute of Budapest in 2002 on a representative sample of 1015 persons aged over 18 who were granted immigrant status in Hungary in 2001.²

The present paper examining a particular segment of Hungarian immigration – which, at the same time, most powerfully determines the overall trend of immigration – explores the presence and role of migrants' personal ties and the resources available through these. The aim of the paper is to present the immigration process to Hungary from neighbouring countries utilising a network perspective and to reveal the role of social capital during migration in a case when most of the immigrants are of the same ethnicity as the receiving population, and thus – contrary to other immigrant groups – ethnic capital is also present in the process.

The paper first outlines the present context of the immigration process, as well as its historical background, highlighting the manifestations of its ethnic character to the present day. Next, we briefly review the way in which the network approach appears in migration research and we sum up its most important theoretical results. Then we provide a detailed description of the questions examined, the methods applied and the variables involved in the analysis. This is followed by the analysis of the empirical data exploring the

¹ Among others Taylor 1986; Massey et al. 1987; Boyd 1989; Fawcett 1989; Pohjola 1991; Gurak and Caces 1992; Wilpert 1992; Massey et al. 1993; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Böcker 1994; Nogle 1994; Bauer 1997; Massey and Espinosa 1997.

² The sample was based on the year not of arrival but of acquiring immigrant status, thus the sample included immigrants who arrived in different years. In order to homogenise the database we narrowed down the analysed sample to those who arrived between 1900–2001 and from the four main sending countries (Romania, the Ukraine, former Yugoslavia and Slovakia) (N = 980). The distributions of the homogenised sample according to the main variables involved in the analysis are contained in the Appendix (*Table A1*).

personal ties that immigrants had with the target country before their immigration and the resources (information, help) they were able to mobilize through this. Finally, we summarize the most important results and draw the conclusions.

2 Present Context and the Ethnic Character of Immigration

Ethnic Migration?

After the political transition in the Central and Eastern European countries, national borders became more open, political and economic structures were transformed and legal conditions changed, all of which opened the way for the unfolding of migration processes in the region. From the end of the 1980's onwards, Hungary turned from a sending³ into a receiving and partly a transit country. In the two decades that have gone by since then, it has mainly been a destination for citizens of the neighbouring countries. The majority of immigrants (varying between 50–80% a year) have come from the neighbouring countries (primarily Romania, as well as the Ukraine, former Yugoslavia and, to some extent, Slovakia) and are mostly ethnic Hungarian. Although statistical data do not inform us about the ethnic origins of immigrants, only about their citizenship, questionnaire surveys (*Citizens 1995*, *Immigrants 2002*) have shown that over 90% of immigrants who come from the neighbouring countries and settle in Hungary are Hungarian by mother tongue and ethnic origin.⁴ The rate of ethnic Hungarians is even higher among those who have been granted Hungarian citizenship. This segment of Hungarian immigration is classified by several Hungarian and foreign experts as belonging to the category of *ethnic migration* (Giorgi et al. 1992; Fassmann and Münz 1995; Brubaker 1998; Okólski 1998; Hárs 2001; Münz 2003), mostly on the basis of the ethnic origin of the immigrants and not taking into account the actual role of ethnicity in the various stages of the process.

At the turn of the 1980's and 90's at the time when immigration began (with thousands of refugees coming from Transylvania followed by further tens of thousands after opening the borders), ethnic discrimination in the sending country represented an important push factor. The ethnic character of this immigration process could be most readily described by *the model of ethnic discrimination* (Münz 2003). During the 1990's, however, this model was proving less appropriate as regards immigration to Hungary from the surrounding countries. According to results of *Immigrants 2002* survey, economic motivations have come to the forefront, and the family reunification also became important around the turn of the millennium. This time there were far fewer respondents who named fear of ethnic tension, human rights grievance or the shortage of Hungarian schools as causes for migration than earlier, nor was the political situation of the sending country as strong a push factor as it had been in the early 1990's.⁵

³ The last major wave of emigration from Hungary took place during the revolution of 1956 and the subsequent years, when nearly 200 thousand people left the country. After this date emigration remained low until end of the 1980's (4.3 thousand per year on average) and immigration was even lower (2.5 thousand persons per year on average) (Tóth 1997; Hárs 2001).

⁴ This rate varies according to the sending country, being higher among immigrants from Romania (92%) and lower among those from the Ukraine (86%).

⁵ All of these motivations were more important among immigrants from the former Yugoslavia, owing to the war situation and its consequences in that country.

As regards the motivation for migration, only a relative small portion of immigrants (18%) arriving after the mid-1990's could be categorised as *ethnic migrant* and the motivating force of ethnic oppression was not as emphatic even in their case as it had been earlier (Gödri 2005).⁶ Ethnicity no longer stimulated migration through the ethnic conflicts or discrimination experienced in the home country (even the group termed 'ethnic migrants' did not name this as the most important element, though they mentioned it above average). Instead, they rejected the status of living in a minority and the insecure vision of the future which they associated with that. Thus, the model of ethnic discrimination is becoming less and less applicable to the Hungarian immigration as an interpretative framework. In the light of this the question arises whether the migration of ethnic Hungarians from the surrounding countries to Hungary can be termed as ethnic migration, and if so, how the ethnic character of this migration can be grasped and what sort of role ethnicity plays in the migration process.

There are several examples of ethnic migration in Europe. Some countries (such as Israel, Germany or Russia) had special immigration programmes for co-ethnics or for those sharing religious orientation. The immigration of such minorities is often referred to in the literature as *return migration*, implying the idea that at some earlier stage these people had left their mother country.

However, the case of Hungarians migrating from neighbouring countries into Hungary is special in a number of ways. For them, ethnic background cannot be easily converted into citizenship like in the case of ethnic Germans migrating to Germany from various Eastern European countries (Brubaker 1998). Although after the post-communist transition they faced no particular obstacle in immigrating (despite the numerous administrative difficulties of the process of becoming a resident), and in fact they were privileged in a number of ways as compared to non-Hungarian immigrants⁷, yet the kind of active assistance which Germany and Israel extended to German and Jewish minorities migrating 'back home' has not been offered.

The second aspect is the *historical background*. Ethnic Hungarians living outside the borders of Hungary constitute the largest ethnic minority block in the region between Germany and Ukraine. Besides their sheer numbers, their situation is also specific because, several decades earlier they had come under foreign administration, and thus into a minority position, without ever leaving their homeland, as their homelands were annexed to neighbouring countries. (In fact in certain areas their citizenship has changed a number of times even since then, without people leaving their closer locations.) This way, contrary to many other minorities, they did not leave their homeland either voluntarily or under force, instead it was the borders that shifted 'over their heads'. All of this created a setting where, as soon as these people felt the need to move, in response to the pressure of economic and political factors or due to the newly opened opportunities after the collapse of the

*The Role of
Ethnicity in the
Immigration of
Ethnic
Hungarians*

⁶ Applying the method of cluster analysis, four immigrant types arise on the basis of migratory motivations: the two largest groups were *economic migrants* (28%) and those involved in *family unification* (27%). Another large group contained the so-called *career migrants* (25%). The main motivations of economic migrants were the anxiety over the future of children and the desire to improve their living conditions. The career migrants were motivated by professional reasons (better utilisation of skills and knowledge, lack of professional advancement at home).

⁷ For example they are entitled to apply for residence and citizenship after a shorter stay.

communist regimes, most of them chose the mother country as a destination.⁸ However, their migration cannot be termed 'return migration' because of the factors described above.

This migration movement, although it involves crossing national boundaries, differs from the classic pattern of international migration in that the sending and the receiving society belong to the same historical nation. Immigrants are moving into a foreign country only in the legal sense, but in terms of language and culture they are arriving at the 'mother country' which they perceive as their own homeland. The migration does not cause them to form a minority group in the receiving country (at least not from a cultural and ethnic point of view), instead, it means escaping from their minority status in the sending country. Bearing all of this in mind it is obvious that even if oppression no longer represents the direct cause for the decision to migrate, ethnicity plays an important role in the migratory process, and this manifests itself in a number of ways.

On the one hand, the shared language and cultural traditions between the immigrants and the receiving population provide the immigrants with significant *ethnic and cultural capital* reducing the risks and the costs of migration. On the labour market of the receiving society and in confronting social barriers, this cultural and ethnic capital can usually be converted into different types of advantages. Although occasionally, ethnic migrants also discover the strangeness of the receiving (mother) country: guest workers from Transylvania, for instance, experienced economic and national exclusion (i. e. they were perceived as "Romanian") as a daily reality despite their shared ethnicity (Kovács and Melegh 2001; Fox 2003, 2007).

On the other hand, ethnic origin usually guarantees significant *social capital* for these immigrants. As a consequence of their historical background, common ethnic origin and mother tongue, even before the first major wave of migration there were significant networks of relationships overarching the national borders and functionally connecting Hungarian communities beyond the borders with Hungary. These played an important role in launching the waves of immigration (though these were mostly motivated by political and economic factors). As a result of migration, also owing to more frequent contact related to more porous borders, these networks became more extensive (now also developing between the migrants and those staying at home). This made further moves easier. Recent surveys in Romania, however, have shown that alongside ethnically based networks of immigrants there is a growing number of networks operating on a local/regional basis, too (Sandu 2005). This entails that in villages or towns with a mixed population Hungarians join the networks of Romanians heading for Western and Southern European destinations, and as a result, Hungary is losing some of its prominence as a target country for migration (Kiss 2007; Gödri and Kiss 2009).

Another, similarly important factor of the process is also linked to ethnic identity. In the neighbouring countries, ethnic Hungarians living in minority had limited opportunities for social mobility, restricted in different ways and

⁸ The 'virtual migration' which took place ninety years ago as a result of the shifting of Hungary's border served as a basis for the actual migration of the later period (Tóth 2003), but cannot be perceived as its direct cause (particularly not today). From some areas which had been annexed away from Hungary, where economic, political and social conditions did not justify it, there was no significant migration to Hungary.

times varying according to the concerned countries. Therefore, once the opportunity was open, such ambitions often inspired people to emigrate from the country where they were officially citizens to the mother country where they faced no linguistic or cultural difficulties. Among Hungarians living in minority, due to the awareness of a 'cultural nation' (that is most emphatic for people with a high social status), moving geographically from the 'periphery' to the 'centre' was often seen as *a possible channel for social mobility*.⁹ Such an approach considers the migration of ethnic Hungarians from outside the borders into Hungary as a form of internal migration taking place within the Hungarian nation as a cultural nation, and this makes the move easier.

Taking the above into account we can state that this migration process may be classified as somewhere between internal and international migration in a somewhat unique interpretative frame which takes into account the roles of *shared historical roots, ethnic identity, shared language and cultural traditions*. Altogether, ethnicity is present in the process as *an important form of cultural, ethnic and social capital* and plays a stimulating and regulating role (see Brubaker 1998; Horváth 2002; Gödri 2004). Regardless of push factors this background determines to a great extent why this group of immigrants chooses Hungary as a target country. Although over the past two decades this migration movement was mostly kept alive by social and economic inequalities between the neighbouring sending countries and Hungary, the networks and the ethnic identity of the immigrants were both important catalysts of the process.

3 The Network Approach to Migration – Theoretical Considerations

Ever since the 1960's there have been an increasing number of research findings to demonstrate that social networks connecting migrants with relatives and friends staying at home, and thus also the populations in receiving and sending countries, play a very important role in the process of migration. They support potential migrants planning departure, and after migration has taken place, assist in the process of integration in the new community (Litwak 1960; Tilly and Brown 1967). However, it has been observed that these relationships occasionally limit or delay the integration of immigrants into the host society and the labour market (Choldin 1973). It has also been recognised that these networks (informing migrants, financing their travel, providing them with accommodation and work after arrival) may result in *chain migration* (MacDonald – MacDonald, 1964), which explains why immigrants sometimes concentrate in certain target areas.

In the wake of earlier research, by the end of the 1980's it was not only clear that networks of relatives and friends meant the basis of immigration into industrial societies (through providing information, help and support), but it also became clear that this approach may link the macro- and the micro-level perspective in the analysis of migration (Boyd 1989; Fawcett 1989). The network-based approach has highlighted the fact that although

⁹ This is also indicated by the fact that a preference for Budapest, although somewhat diminished compared to the 1990's, is still predominant, particularly among young and more educated immigrants.

the emergence of migration, its direction, composition and duration are influenced by *individual ambitions* and by historically generated *social, political and economic structures* which characterise the sending and the receiving countries, *the mediating element among them is provided by social networks* (Boyd 1989). Networks influence the migration process by transforming the system of migration itself and create what is called a social infrastructure between the sending and the receiving countries (Gurak and Caces 1992).

The network approach also illuminates that once migration has started, migration flows often become *a self-sustaining, dynamic process* (Massey 1990). The reason is that these networks sustain the momentum of migration even after the economic motivation has decreased or legislation on migration becomes stricter in the receiving country (examples of this kind are available in the context of different waves of migration, see Massey et al. 1987; Balán 1992; Wilpert 1992). In the case of significant cultural difference between the receiving and the sending country, networks of migrants function even more intensely (see e.g. Bauer 1997). Examining European destinations for migration, Salt (2001) has also pointed out that emigrants from various sending countries go to specific target areas and that migrant networks play a considerable role in this: migrants mainly go to countries where some of their compatriots are already resident, and this in turn strengthen already existing patterns of migration.

*Theories
Explaining the
Perpetuation of
Migration*

As opposed to theories explaining the initiation of migration, theories of migration focusing on the role of networks and social capital explain the way in which migration is sustained and becomes permanent. The two most important of such theories are network theory (or social capital theory) and the theory of cumulative causation.

Network theory (Massey et al. 1993) or, to use its later name, the *theory of social capital* (Massey et al. 1998) says that migrant networks constitute a form of social capital which enables migrants to reduce the costs and risks of movement and to increase the expected net returns. Massey et al. were the first to describe the networks of migrants specifically as a resource for social capital (Massey et al. 1987). They believe that if somebody from the personal network emigrates, contact with this person instantly becomes extremely important from the point of view of planning migration. As a consequence, all the people who are in contact with earlier emigrants or persons with migration experience have access to the kind of social capital which significantly increases their chance of choosing migration. This explains both the existence of waves in migration and why they concentrate on certain target areas.

Migrant networks thus enhance the probability of moving, while further moves increase the size of the network. Finally, as a result of these circular processes the number of ties in the network reaches a critical level where the migration becomes self-sustaining. Due to the emergence of networks, the migration takes an institutional form and becomes increasingly independent of the initiating factors, whether individual or structural. The expansion of the network, however, is limited: it keeps on growing until all people who wish to emigrate from the sending region have been able to do so without particular difficulty, then migration begins to decelerate (Massey et al. 1993; 1998).

As a result of migration, through the expansion of networks and the emergence and growth of institutions helping migrants, the social context also changes in which further decisions to migrate are made. At this point what is called the mechanism of cumulative causation emerges. According to the *theory of cumulative causation*, a feedback-mechanism is launched during the process of migration whereby the social and economic structures of the sending society change in such a way as to increase the probability of further migration. The factors which strengthen the self-generating character of migration include, besides networks, *the culture of migration* (Massey et al. 1993). As migration becomes more widespread, the place which it occupies within the value system of the community and its cultural perception also changes: migration becomes accepted and comes to be seen as a normal part of the individual life course (indeed, often indispensable for social and economic mobility, for attaining a higher income). Information about migration also becomes accessible to an ever broader stratum. Thus, similarly to migrant networks, the social, economic and cultural changes which were generated by migration itself in the sending community have the effect of sustaining the dynamism of migration.

The central role of migrant networks and social capital in the process of international migration has been demonstrated by a great deal of empirical research since the emergence of the above theories. The concept of social capital as used in research and theories of migration primarily refers to relationships between individuals and their utilisation as a resource. This way the emphasis is placed on the element of social capital which can also be termed as *network capital*, namely that resources are embedded into personal networks and become accessible or may be mobilized through these ties (Lin 2001).

4 Methodology

Interpersonal ties which connect immigrants with the target country before migration play a very important role in the course of migration from a number of aspects. Through these ties immigrants gain access to resources which reduce the costs and risks of migration. Relying on these ties they can *mobilize the inherent social capital* and thus gain information, support and help which can render it easier for them to make the decision to migrate and migration itself also becomes easier. The closer the tie in the target country, the greater the incentive to migrate – this way the primary role is played by family members (Fawcett 1989; Pohjola 1991), even though certain types of information are easier to access through weak ties (Garnovetter 1973; Lin 1982).

At the same time, having contact persons in the target country in itself can influence the decision to migrate, even if they mean only *potential capital (access to resources)* and are not mobilised either before or after migration, meaning that they do not provide actual information or help. Thus from the point of view of the decision to migrate the possibility of access, the awareness that the ties are available can be important and can motivate action.

Contact persons existing in the receiving country play a role not only in the decision to migrate and in the realisation of the migration, but once the

*Research
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migration has taken place they heavily influence initial adaptation, as well as long term integration of the migrants. While from the point of view of the decision to migrate, potentially available and actually mobilised ties and resources may be equally important, in the course of adaptation after migration the latter have a primary role.

On the basis of the above considerations in this paper we examine the contacts that immigrants to Hungary from the neighbouring countries had in the target country before migration – as *potential social (network) capital*, and the resources (information, assistance) which they mobilise through these – as *mobilised (network) social capital*. We are seeking to answer

- to what extent the immigrants had potential social capital before migration, to what extent they actually mobilised this capital and how these types of capital varied depending on the period when the immigrant arrived, as well as within the various socio-demographic groups;
- what sort of factors influenced the occurrence of different types of potential and mobilised social capital;
- what types of immigrants can be identified on the basis of the different elements of social capital they possess.

Using Lin's (2001) functionalist approach, thus we talk about potential social capital if we are only considering the existence of relationships (access to the resources) and about mobilised social capital if it is also to do with relying on these relationships, i.e. mobilising the available resources. We also distinguish different types of potential and mobilised social capital depending on the character of the ties (family, relatives, friends or more distant acquaintances) and the origin of the contact persons (earlier immigrant or born in Hungary).¹⁰

Hypotheses

It is widely acknowledged in the relevant literature that the persons who rely most heavily on their personal contacts are those who have very limited resources concerning other types of capital. At the same time, the greater the expected costs and risks of migration and the barriers to movement, network ties in the target country become more important (Massey et al. 1998; Massey and Aysa 2005). This explains that network connections play a greater part in international migration than in internal migration (Taylor 1986). However, while during international migration in addition to the costs of moving, settling and seeking jobs usually there are the costs of learning the language and adopting to the new culture, in cases where immigrants share a language and culture with the receiving population (as in the analysed migration process), these costs practically do not occur (or they are insignificant). The ethnic and cultural background of this group is in itself a resource which is likely to reduce the costs and risk of migration and increase its expected profit.

Taking all of this into account we can formulate a number of hypotheses. On the one hand we may assume that

- *immigrants with less human and economic capital or not having Hungarian ethnic origin were more likely to possess and mobilise their social (network) capital during migration.*

¹⁰ This distinction is also justified by the fact that, as a result of the previously described characteristics and historical background of immigration, the migrants had a number of ties not only to earlier immigrants but also with members of the receiving society even before migration.

On the other hand, we can also presume that

- *in the analysed migration process, variance of social (network) capital according to other resources (such as human and economic capital) is not truly significant due to the fact that most immigrants also possess ethnic capital.*

Furthermore, taking into consideration that the incessant flow of immigration since the change of regime has led to the expansion of migrant networks, we may also assume that

- *the migrant cohorts arriving in later years were more likely to possess social (network) capital than those coming in the early 1990's.*

We are going to examine the occurrence of potential and mobilised social (network) capital in different social and demographic groups by a two-variable descriptive analysis, next we apply the method of *multi-variable logistic regression* in order to explore what kind of factors explain the occurrence of the different types of social capital.¹¹ Dependent variables were given the value of 1 if the type of social capital under examination did occur (in other words in case of having immigrant or Hungarian born family member/relative/friend/acquaintance, respectively receiving information or help from them), and 0 if it did not. The independent variables included in the models can be classified in the following way:

- *socio-demographic characteristics:* gender, age, level of education, economic activity before migration, type of residence in Hungary;
- *factors specific to migration:* time of arrival, country of origin, type of migrant (on the basis of the individual migratory motivation);
- *economic capital:* financial situation before migration¹²
- *ethnic capital:* Hungarian ethnic origin.

In order to distinguish different types of immigrants on the basis of social capital we use cluster analysis (the method of TwoStep Cluster). Clusters were formed according to the kind of ties the respondents had in the target country before migration (what sort of social capital they had access to) and the kind of ties they mobilised during migration in order to acquire information or to help adaptation (i.e. what kind of social capital they mobilised).

*Methods,
Variables*

¹¹ This method enables us to analyse the effect of several factors independently of each other, as it shows the effect of individual explanatory factors while controlling the other independent variables. The effect of the explanatory variables could be interpreted on the basis of the odds ratios and levels of significance, as well as the Nagelkerke R² which shows the explanatory power of the model.

¹² The indicator of financial situation before migration is an index created on the basis of standardised values (Z scores) of variables measuring the level of equipment in the household and ownership of various material assets. On this basis we ranked respondents into three groups – the bottom, the middle and the top third.

5 Potential Social Capital

Types of Potential Social Capital

Earlier Immigrant Contacts

Contact persons who had migrated earlier represented the main source of potential social (network) capital for immigrants (those who acquired the immigrant status during 2001). There was a high rate (48%) of immigrants with a family member who had settled in Hungary previously¹³, but relatives (36.4%), friends (34.5%) and acquaintances (31.5%) were also mentioned in considerably high proportions. Altogether three quarters of the respondents mentioned close contact persons who had settled earlier such as family members, relatives or friends (so-called strong ties), 35% mentioned as many as 2–3 different persons, and the rate is 78% if we also take into account acquaintances (weak ties), too.

Concerning the occurrence of migrant contacts, and the character of these ties, there are significant differences between individual socio-demographic groups (*Appendix, Table A2*). The rate of people who mentioned members of their family who had migrated before them was particularly high among older people (86% among the over-60s), among pensioners (83%), and was over the average among people with a low level of education (60%). These groups mostly included retired parents who followed their earlier migrated children.

By contrast, for people under 30, potential social capital mainly meant friends or siblings, who had migrated before. People with university or college degrees were also more likely to have friends who had repatriated, and the same is true of people who had been in a white-collar or management positions before they had left. There is a noticeable difference between the two sexes: while for women the most important factor was the presence of family members, for men friends were somewhat more important, even if this difference is not as outstanding as in the case of age groups or levels of education.

All types of migrant ties (family member, relative, friend, acquaintance) occurred less frequently among people arriving from villages than among those from large cities, which is related to the fact that migration to Hungary, particularly the type which leads to permanent residency, was more widespread in the cities of the neighbouring countries. (Village dwellers were less likely to settle down, they were more inclined to come to Hungary as guest worker.)

Among non-Hungarians the ratio of persons having contacts with earlier migrants was considerably under the average: less than one fifth of them mentioned a relative, friend or acquaintance and only 38% had family members who had migrated to Hungary. According to financial position before migration varied mostly the type of relationship. Having an immigrant friend or acquaintance was higher than average among the top income category, while having an immigrant family member was mentioned mostly by the less wealthy.

The occurrence of migrant contacts varies notably according to the *time of arrival* which also indicates changes in the nature of the process. Immigrants who arrived in later years have a higher rate of previously immigrated family members (66%) or relatives (44%) than those who

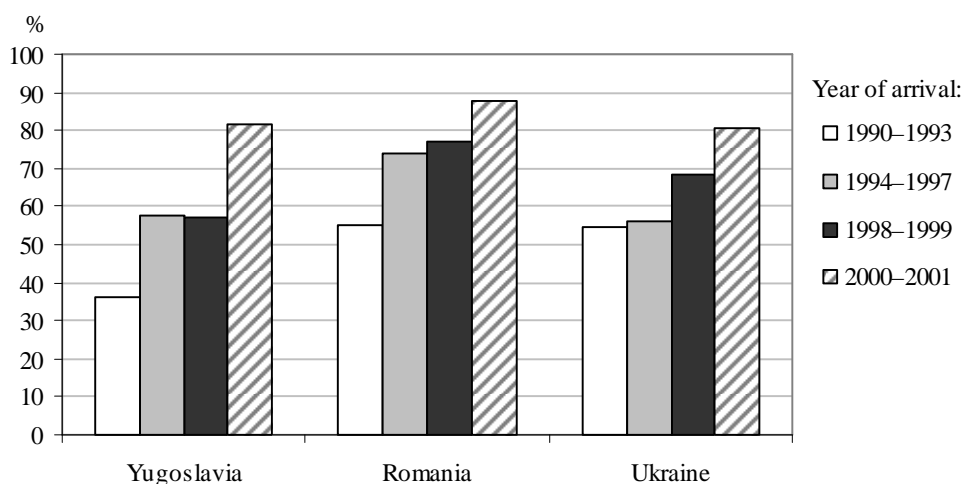
¹³ This rate remains high (43%) even if we only consider the close family (spouse, child, parent, sibling). Besides these, the survey also included the child's spouse, parents-in-law and sisters-/brothers-in-law.

arrived in the early 1990's (20% and 25%). This indicates that *the wave of migration that started in the late 1980's was relying more and more on family and kin networks at the turn of millennium*. Although there is also a growth in the rate of people mentioning friends and acquaintances, this is not as significant as in the case of family members. At the same time, 60% of those who had a migrant family member chose migration in order to unite the family, which also shows that in most cases *the immigrant family member meant not purely a model for migration and potential social capital but a direct link used in the migration of the respondent*.

The presence of previously migrated family members and relatives is most characteristic of people arriving from Romania and the Ukraine, in other words from countries where emigration to Hungary started earlier or was more intense. Having an earlier immigrant acquaintance – which indicates the intensity of migration in the sending community – was mostly characteristic among people arriving from Yugoslavia and Romania. Having migrant contacts occurred least frequently among immigrants from Slovakia: only one tenth of respondents mentioned an immigrant family member, and only less than one fifth of them mentioned relatives, friends or acquaintances who had migrated earlier. This relates to the fact that of the four sending countries Slovakia showed the lowest rate of emigration to Hungary in the period under examination.

Increase in the ratio of people with migrant contacts according to the time of arrival is noticeable among all sending countries (Figure 1). However, while among those arriving from former Yugoslavia at the beginning of the decade barely more than one third mentioned a contact person who had moved earlier, in the case of Romania and the Ukraine this ratio was already over 50% at this time.

Figure 1
Ratio of Immigrants Having Earlier Immigrant Contacts before Migration, According to the Country of Origin and Time of Arrival



Note: Owing to a low sample size, Slovakia was not included separately.

Source: Immigrants 2002 survey, DRI.

*Hungarian
Born Contacts*

The reference to *Hungarian born contact persons* was lower before migration: approximately one third of immigrants had relatives, 27% friends and one quarter acquaintances.¹⁴ Altogether 54% of the respondents mentioned some sort of Hungarian born contact person (relative, friend or acquaintance), but there were differences between socio-demographic groups (*Appendix, table A3*).

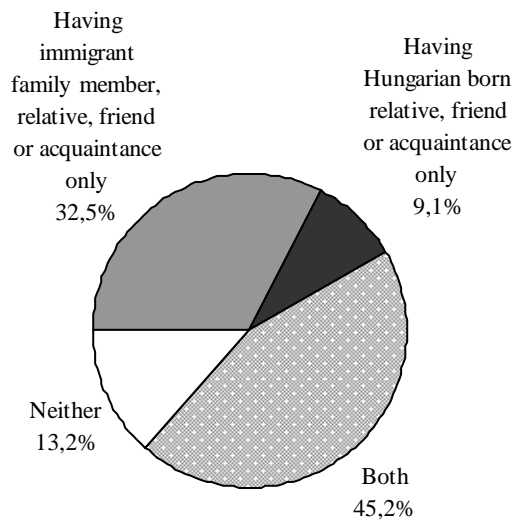
Immigrants from Slovakia and the Ukraine had a higher than average rate of Hungarian born contacts (72% and 61%). A similar tendency could be observed among those with a college/university degree or secondary grammar school qualifications (66% and 59%), those who had been in white-collar or management positions before migration (64%), those aged between 30–44 (61%) and persons in a good or medium financial position (60%). Although differences according to the year of arrival are not as extreme as in the case of migrant contact persons, the differences clearly indicate that after the opening up of borders the contacts between cross-border friends and relatives became much more intense.

There are also differences according to the character of ties: Hungarian born relatives were mentioned mainly by elderly people and pensioners, while friends and acquaintances were noted by migrants in the 30–44 age group and among intellectuals. At the same time, all three types of relationships occurred relatively frequently among those with university degrees, people who were in a good financial position before migration and those who arrived in more recent years. The ‘advantage’ of ethnic Hungarians appeared only with respect to Hungarian born relatives.

Taking into account migrant, as well as Hungarian born contacts, only a small portion of respondents (no more than 13%) were entirely without any potential social (network) capital –this rate is 16% if we only consider strong ties such as family, relatives or friends, which are more relevant from the point of view of migration. Almost half of the respondents had both migrant and Hungarian born contacts before migration (Figure 2). This shows clearly that this form of potential social capital was important in the process examined.

¹⁴ We only considered those Hungarian contacts which meant a genuine, living relationship manifesting in mutual or one-sided visits before migration.

Figure 2
Distribution of Immigrants According to the Two Types of Potential Social Capital



Source: Immigrants 2002 survey, DRI.

Since the occurrence of migrant and Hungarian born contacts, as we have seen above, varies according to different socio-economic groups, the logistic regression analysis exploring the chances of having such contacts was carried out separately for these two types of potential social capital and, respectively according to the types of relationships.

Among the independent variables included in the first model, the ones that most powerfully determined the presence of contact with *earlier immigrant contact persons* were *the time of arrival, the country of origin* and *ethnicity* (Table 1). It is noticeable that those arriving in later years had a far greater chance of having earlier immigrant contacts (four times higher in the last years of this period) than those who arrived in the early 1990's. Coming from Romania and being ethnic Hungarian also significantly increased the presence of migrant contacts. At the same time, while levels of education and economic activity before migration do not have a significant influence on the whole, having a college or university degree went along with a higher chance of having this type of social capital, while being unemployed before migration reduced the chance of such.

**Factors
Determining
the Presence of
Potential Social
Capital**

Table 1
*Odds Ratios of Logistic Regression Models Analysing
the Chances of Having Potential Social Capital
(Earlier Immigrant or Hungarian Born Contacts)*

Independent variables, categories	Having earlier immigrant family members, relatives or friends		Having Hungarian born relatives, friends or acquaintances	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)
Sex				
Male (ref.)				
Female	1,169	1,087	0,892	0,884
Age group (at the time of migration)				
-29 (ref.)				
30-44	0,869	0,909	1,497*	1,540*
45-59	1,786	1,612	1,030	1,030
60+	1,719	1,317	1,239	1,239
Level of education			***	***
Max. elementary	0,954	0,975	0,767	0,755
Technical school (ref.)				
Secondary school	1,421	1,438	1,941***	1,908***
Higher education	1,557*	1,612*	2,477***	2,322***
Time of arrival	***	***		
1990-1993 (ref.)				
1994-1997	2,475**	2,499**	1,243	1,281
1998-1999	2,700***	2,772***	1,107	1,204
2000-2001	4,150***	3,995***	1,303	1,413
Country of origin	***	***		
Yugoslavia (ref.)				
Romania	2,558***	2,614**	1,205	1,196
Slovakia	0,466	0,359*	2,054	1,937
Ukraine	1,622	1,721	1,584	1,640
Economic activity before migration				
Employed (ref.)				
Pensioner	1,258	1,231	1,139	1,097
Student	0,794	0,756	0,889	0,817
Unemployed	0,553*	0,576*	0,742	0,742
Other inactive	1,136	1,217	1,020	1,007
Financial position before migration			**	**
Lower third (ref.)				
Medium third	0,978	1,004	1,722***	1,774***
Upper third	0,893	0,926	1,435*	1,418*
Ethnicity				
Not Hungarian (ref.)				
Hungarian	2,615***	2,765***	1,342	1,473
Type of migrant		**		
Economic migrant (ref.)				
Ethnic migrant		1,612		0,973
Career migrant		1,593*		1,348
Family unification		2,472***		0,987
Nagelkerke R^2	0,18	0,19	0,11	0,11
N	902	886	932	915

Note: Significance: *** < 0,001; ** < 0,01; * < 0,1

Source: Immigrants 2002 survey, DRI.

If we included among the explanatory variables the *types of migrants* as defined according to motivations of migration (second model), we found that, while the above effects remained, those who were migrating with the aim of uniting their family (and, to a smaller extent, career migrants) had a higher chance of having contact with an earlier migrant than those migrating

for economic reasons. At the same time in this model we may notice that coming from Slovakia was a factor which reduced the chances of having migrant contacts. The fact that having an earlier migrant family member, relative or friend was least characteristic of unemployed persons and economic migrants, allows us to conclude that people driven by the pressure to make a living, by a concern about the future, or the ambition to improve their standard of living were most likely to migrate without having migrant contacts to rely on.

The presence of the other element of potential social capital, Hungarian born contacts, is explained by very different factors. This is not influenced by the time of arrival or the sending country – instead, *levels of education, financial position before migration* and, partly, *age* had a detectable influence (Table 1).

Higher levels of education (secondary grammar school and particularly tertiary level education) increased the chance of having Hungarian born contacts as compared to technical school qualification. The 30–44 age group were also more likely to have access to this type of social capital than those under 30. Concerning financial position before migration, people in the medium or upper third category had a higher chance of having a Hungarian born relative, friend or acquaintance, than those in the lower third.¹⁵

The picture becomes more nuanced if we examine the factors which explain the presence of potential social capital according to the type of contacts separately. It is noticeable that arriving in later years increased to the largest extent the probability of having earlier immigrant family member or relative to rely on (Table 2), confirming the idea that this segment of immigration mostly takes place through family ties. As compared to people who arrived in the early 1990's, those who arrived later were also more likely to mention friends that had migrated previously, but the presence of migrant acquaintances was not influenced by the year of arrival.

¹⁵ Contacts with native Hungarians were only considered if they represented a living relationship. Thus it is understandable that a poor financial situation was a disadvantage both for visiting and for receiving visitors.

Table 2
*Odds Ratios of Logistic Regression Models Analysing the Chances of
 Having Different Types of Earlier Immigrant Contacts*

Independent variables, categories	Having earlier immigrant family members, and/or relatives	Having earlier immigrant friends	Having earlier immigrant acquaintances
	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)
Sex			
Male (ref.)			
Female	1,218	0,795	0,870
Age group (at the time of migration)	*	*	*
-29 (ref.)			
30-44	1,056	0,712*	1,047
45-59	2,327*	0,583*	0,671
60+	2,576*	0,492*	0,306**
Level of education		*	*
Max. elementary	1,036	0,901	1,039
Technical school (ref.)			
Secondary school	1,237	1,385	1,878**
Higher education	1,223	1,802**	1,695*
Time of arrival	***		
1990-1993 (ref.)			
1994-1997	2,091**	1,945*	1,199
1998-1999	2,263**	1,904*	1,200
2000-2001	3,999***	1,965*	1,235
Country of origin	***	*	*
Yugoslavia (ref.)	ref.	ref.	2,311
Romania	2,461***	1,374	3,329*
Slovakia	0,406*	0,347*	ref.
Ukraine	2,099*	0,979	2,599*
Economic activity before migration		*	
Employed (ref.)			
Pensioner	1,592	0,800	1,603
Student	1,243	0,500**	0,768
Unemployed	0,679	0,576*	0,932
Other inactive	1,403	0,804	1,036
Financial position before migration			
Lower third (ref.)			
Medium third	1,120	1,253	1,056
Upper third	0,856	1,325	1,419*
Ethnicity			
Not Hungarian (ref.)			
Hungarian	1,849*	3,237***	2,461**
<i>Nagelkerke R²</i>	<i>0,21</i>	<i>0,11</i>	<i>0,08</i>
<i>N</i>	<i>919</i>	<i>908</i>	<i>909</i>

Note: Significance: *** < 0,001; ** < 0,01; * < 0,1

Source: Immigrants 2002 survey, DRI.

The influence of the country of origin is observable concerning all three types of contacts: coming from Romania or the Ukraine considerably increased the odds of having a migrant family member or relative. This indicates that migration to Hungary is most common in the Hungarian community of these two countries. Coming from Slovakia was a factor which reduced the chances of having any type of migrant contact.

While previously it seemed that age did not have a significant influence on the occurrence of migrant contacts, it is observable here that in fact there are two opposing tendencies at work: older people were more likely to have

earlier migrant family members or relatives, while the chance of having migrant friends reduced with age and elderly migrants were also least likely to mention migrant acquaintances. Higher level of education only brought an increase in the chance of having a migrant friend and acquaintances, and being ethnic Hungarian also had a most powerful influence in their cases, although it increased the chances of having any type of migrant contact.

If we examine Hungarian born contacts separately according to the type of relationship (Table 3), we can see that the effect of two explanatory factors explored above, level of education and financial position before migration, is significant in all three models. At the same time, the older generation and ethnic Hungarians were more likely to mention Hungarian born relatives, even though these influences were hidden previously.

Table 3
Odds Ratios of Logistic Regression Models Analysing the Chances of Having Different Types of Hungarian Born Contacts

Independent variables, categories	Having Hungarian born relatives	Having Hungarian born friends	Having Hungarian born acquaintances
	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)
Sex			
Male (ref.)			
Female	0,855	0,926	0,844
Age group (at the time of migration)			
-29 (ref.)			
30-44	1,353	1,175	1,514*
45-59	1,694*	0,791	0,850
60+	1,992*	0,800	0,701
Level of education	**	*	**
Max. elementary	0,772	0,618	1,001
Technical school (ref.)			
Secondary school	1,767**	1,430	1,728*
Higher education	2,043**	1,529*	2,245**
Time of arrival			
1990-1993 (ref.)			
1994-1997	1,052	1,442	1,174
1998-1999	1,073	1,239	0,936
2000-2001	1,102	1,491	1,139
Country of origin	*		**
Yugoslavia (ref.)			
Romania	1,203	1,115	2,049*
Slovakia	3,256**	1,390	1,753
Ukraine	1,519	1,366	3,220**
Economic activity before migration		*	
Employed (ref.)			
Pensioner	1,414	0,798	1,225
Student	0,930	0,677	0,998
Unemployed	0,895	0,506*	0,520*
Other inactive	0,755	1,302	0,854
Financial position before migration	**	*	*
Lower third (ref.)			
Medium third	1,898***	1,631*	1,492*
Upper third	1,581*	1,607*	1,764**
Ethnicity			
Not Hungarian (ref.)			
Hungarian	1,903*	1,236	1,342
Nagelkerke R²	<i>0,11</i>	<i>0,08</i>	<i>0,10</i>
N	932	932	932

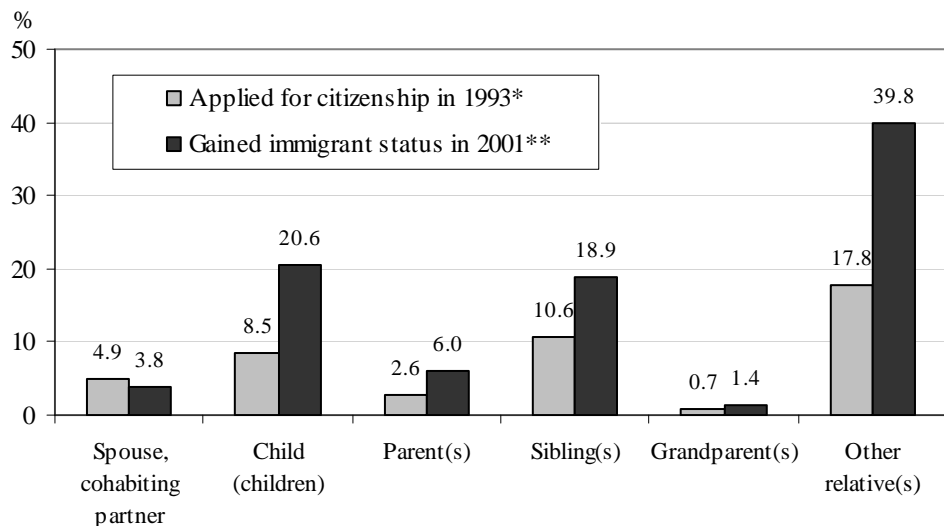
Note: Significance: *** < 0,001; ** < 0,01; * < 0,1
Source: Immigrants 2002 survey, DRI.

The effect of the country of origin is another factor which did not become manifest when we disregarded the type of contacts. Here, however, we can see that people from Romania and the Ukraine were more likely to have Hungarian born acquaintances before migration (which indicates the above mentioned existence of ethnic-based networks overarching international borders), while the chance of having Hungarian born relatives increased significantly among immigrants from Slovakia (which reflects the peculiar historical past of the two countries, i.e. the forced exchange of people after World War II.).

This way, in our multi-variable analysis the occurrence of migrant family members/relatives was the only item not influenced by the level of education; all other elements of potential social capital were more likely to be present in the case of immigrants with a higher level of education. The time of arrival only influenced the odds of having earlier immigrant contacts and, within that, primarily family members or relatives. This confirmed the conclusion that *family ties play an increasingly powerful role in migration to Hungary* (particularly in the older age groups).

The above statement is also supported by the fact that among people receiving immigrant status in 2001, the ratio of persons having earlier immigrant family members or relatives was higher than among immigrants who applied for citizenship in 1993 and had mostly arrived in Hungary in the late 1980's, early 90's. Children, siblings and other relatives migrating earlier into Hungary were more frequently mentioned in the later survey (Figure 3). All of this indicates that in this migration process which had been going on for some time past, family unification gains an increasingly important part even among motivations to migrate.

Figure 3
Ratio of Immigrants Having Earlier Immigrant Family Members or Relatives in Surveys from 1995 and 2002



Source: *Citizen 1995 survey, **Immigrants 2002 survey, DRI.

6 Mobilised Social Capital

Concerning the mobilization of existing potential social capital as an effective resource, we examined whether the immigrants received *information* through personal ties before immigration on the one hand, and whether they received any *support or assistance* through these channels after migration on the other hand.

When asked whether before migration they received information on administrative tasks related to migration and opportunities available in the target country, nearly two thirds of the respondents said that they had acquired information through personal contacts: 52% mentioned earlier migrants and 35% mentioned Hungarian born contacts (22% mentioned both). Gaining information from earlier migrants was more common than average among the older generation, pensioners, those arriving in the later years and people migrating from Romania and the Ukraine. Acquiring information from Hungarian born people was more common among middle-aged persons, among people who had been in white-collar positions before migration, had higher levels of education or came from Slovakia (*Appendix, table A4*). Groups which before migration lacked resources of other types (with low level of education, bottom third income category, unemployed and other inactive persons or those of non-Hungarian ethnicity) were rather unlikely to gain the necessary information either through migrants or Hungarian born contacts.

This way, gaining information through personal ties was most common among groups where potential social capital was also more readily available, but the rates were regularly under that of the latter. Only 62% of people who had contact with an earlier migrant stated that this person gave them information before they departed, and only 45% of those who had a Hungarian born contact person mentioned gaining information from them. *Potential social capital was thus only partially mobilised before migration and migrant contacts were used mainly for acquiring information.*

Analysing the occurrence of this type of mobilised social capital by logistic regression we can see that *the chance of receiving information from previous migrants* was mainly determined by *the time of arrival*: those who arrived later than the first wave of the 1990's, had an increasing chance, fivefold by 2000–2001, of receiving information from earlier migrants (Table 4). Furthermore, people between 45–59, as well as students, had a higher chance of having such information, while those with only elementary education and those unemployed before migration had a lower chance.

Information before Migration

Table 4
*Odds Ratios of Logistic Regression Models Analysing the Chances of
Receiving Information from Earlier Immigrants and from People
Born in Hungary*

Independent variables, categories	Receiving information from earlier immigrant(s)		Receiving information from people born in Hungary	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)
Sex				
Male (ref.)				
Female	0,790	0,706*	0,707*	0,721*
Age group (at the time of migration)	*		*	*
-29 (ref.)				
30-44	1,251	1,276	1,367	1,287
45-59	2,269**	1,998*	1,958*	2,063*
60+	1,515	1,202	1,409	1,450
Level of education				
Max. elementary	0,536*	0,535*	1,023	1,096
Technical school (ref.)				
Secondary school	0,911	0,816	1,201	1,039
Higher education	0,851	0,747	1,133	0,922
Time of arrival	***	***		
1990-1993 (ref.)				
1994-1997	2,479**	2,130*	1,570	1,510
1998-1999	3,171***	2,657**	1,494	1,487
2000-2001	5,217***	3,641***	1,296	1,212
Country of origin			*	*
Yugoslavia (ref.)				
Romania	1,453	1,208	1,850*	1,726*
Slovakia	0,537	0,738	3,946***	3,486**
Ukraine	1,177	1,058	1,554	1,272
Economic activity before migration	**	**		
Employed (ref.)				
Pensioner	0,922	0,854	0,676	0,644
Student	1,698*	2,044**	0,814	0,870
Unemployed	0,468**	0,491*	0,793	0,921
Other inactive	0,728	0,798	0,558*	0,532*
Financial position before migration				
Lower third (ref.)				
Medium third	1,046	0,977	1,430*	1,227
Upper third	1,027	1,022	1,354	1,154
Ethnicity				
Not Hungarian (ref.)				
Hungarian	1,310	0,968	1,403	1,288
Having earlier immigrant family member (ref.: not)		3,466***		
Having earlier immigrant relative (ref.: not)		1,690**		
Having earlier immigrant friend (ref.: not)		1,920***		
Having earlier immigrant acquaintance (ref.: not)		1,332		
Having Hungarian born relative (ref.: not)				1,634**
Having Hungarian born friend (ref.: not)				2,150***
Having Hungarian born acquaintance (ref.: not)				1,684**
<i>Nagelkerke R²</i>	<i>0,14</i>	<i>0,26</i>	<i>0,06</i>	<i>0,14</i>
<i>N</i>	<i>932</i>	<i>895</i>	<i>932</i>	<i>932</i>

Note: Significance: *** < 0,001; ** < 0,01; * < 0,1
Source: Immigrants 2002 survey, DRI.

If we also include the various elements of potential social capital in the explanatory model (see Model 2), we may notice that the chance of receiving information from earlier migrants increased most clearly in cases where there was a family member who had migrated previously (an almost three-fold increase), but the influence of relatives and friends who had migrated was also considerable. Thus, *among migrant contacts, strong ties were the truly important source of information*, while acquaintances did not play an important role.

It is important to note that the effect of the time of arrival on the chance of gaining information from an earlier migrant remained significant (only slightly moderated) after involving the potential social capital variables. This indicates that *compared to migrants who arrived in the early 1990's, later arrivals had not only a greater chance of having migrant contacts but were also more likely to mobilise them for acquiring information*.

The chance of *receiving information from Hungarian born contacts*, however, was not influenced by the time of arrival, while the country of origin played an important role: odds were higher for those arriving from Slovakia and, to a smaller extent, for people from Romania (Table 4). Moreover, middle aged persons and those of medium financial status were also more likely to gain information from a Hungarian born contact, while being in other inactive status before migration reduced the likelihood of doing so. If we include the elements of potential social capital in the explanatory model, we can see that all types of Hungarian born contacts increased the chance of gaining information prior to migration, but the existence of a friend was particularly important.

Concerning the other form of mobilised social capital – the help that migrants receive after migration – we may observe that the overwhelming majority of migrants (89%) received some form of assistance¹⁶ through personal contacts: 58% from persons who had migrated into Hungary earlier, 42% from people born in Hungary, (16% from both sources) and a further 11% also received help from persons living at home (in the sending country).

As far as the source of assistance and support is concerned, most help came from family members, their role was particularly important in financial assistance and emotional support (mentioned by 58% and 50% of respondents, respectively). Finding a job was the only area where the role of friends and acquaintances, representing weak ties, was more significant, reaching almost the level of family members, and this is also where the assistance from Hungarian born contacts appeared most significantly (in conformity with Granovetter's theory (Granovetter 1973, 1982)).

Receiving help from earlier migrants occurred most frequently among the older generation, pensioners, those arriving in 2000–2001 and the least educated, but was higher than average also among those who settled in Budapest and those arriving from Romania and from large cities (*Appendix, Table A5*). Assistance from Hungarian born contacts on the other hand was most common among people coming from Slovakia, those arriving in the

Help after Migration

¹⁶ The questionnaire included seven forms of assistance: providing accommodation, help in finding a home, help in finding a job, emotional support, advice/information, practical help and financial assistance.

early 1990's, young people, graduates and those coming from villages.¹⁷ It is noticeable that in the entire group examined, assistance in the early period after migration was mainly provided by persons who had migrated earlier, but in the case of certain socio-demographic groups assistance from the receiving population was more significant.

Applying logistic regression to reveal the odds of receiving help after migration, and also taking into account the source of such help, the most marked differences were noticeable in terms of *the time of arrival, the sending country and the type of residence in Hungary* (Table 5). Odds of *receiving help from previous migrants* were higher for later arrivals, aged over 60, residents in Budapest, and those coming from Romania, while coming from Slovakia reduced such chances. Thus, migrant networks assisted adaptation most effectively in the case of the older generation, people from Romania, those who arrived after the second half of the 1990's and those who settled in Budapest. By contrast, odds of *receiving help from Hungarian born people* were lower among later arrivals, those who settled down in Budapest, people over 60 and pensioners, while Slovakian origin, and to a smaller extent Ukrainian origin, increased the chance of such help.

¹⁷ In examining help after migration we took into account the type of residence in Hungary, assuming that mobilising social capital may vary depending on the size of locality.

Table 5

Odds Ratios of Logistic Regression Models Analysing the Chances of Receiving Assistance from Earlier Immigrants and from People Born in Hungary

Independent variables, categories	Receiving assistance from earlier immigrant(s)		Receiving assistance from people born in Hungary	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)
Sex				
Male (ref.)				
Female	0,932	0,863	1,176	1,226
Age group (at the time of migration)	*			
–29 (ref.)				
30–44	0,864	0,868	0,903	0,844
45–59	1,513	1,175	0,655	0,635
60+	3,364**	2,574*	0,473*	0,455*
Level of education				
Max. elementary	1,548	1,528	1,036	1,045
Technical school (ref.)				
Secondary school	1,182	1,123	0,975	0,888
Higher education	0,995	0,944	1,225	1,078
Time of arrival	***	*	**	**
1990–1993 (ref.)				
1994–1997	2,693***	2,090*	0,553*	0,526*
1998–1999	3,083***	2,251**	0,671	0,659
2000–2001	4,871***	2,762**	0,403***	0,377***
Country of origin	***	***	*	*
Yugoslavia (ref.)	ref.	ref.	1,243	1,370
Romania	2,069**	1,706*	ref.	ref.
Slovakia	0,286*	0,444	2,860*	2,687*
Ukraine	1,083	0,796	1,434*	1,348
Economic activity before migration			*	*
Employed (ref.)				
Pensioner	1,374	1,186	0,358**	0,342**
Student	1,098	1,249	1,085	1,112
Unemployed	0,672	0,707	0,994	1,080
Other inactive	1,334	1,085	0,927	0,956
Financial position before migration				
Lower third (ref.)				
Medium third	1,021	0,961	1,224	1,115
Upper third	1,048	1,133	0,998	0,905
Ethnicity				
Not Hungarian (ref.)				
Hungarian	1,487	1,070	1,194	1,118
Type of residence in Hungary	***	**	***	***
Village (ref.)				
Town	1,532*	1,463*	0,794	0,766
Budapest	2,315***	2,230***	0,454***	0,442***
Having earlier immigrant family member (ref.: not)		6,235***		
Having earlier immigrant relative (ref.: not)		2,207***		
Having earlier immigrant friend (ref.: not)		1,880**		
Having earlier immigrant acquaintance (ref.: not)		0,829		
Having Hungarian born relative (ref.: not)				1,508*
Having Hungarian born friend (ref.: not)				1,259
Having Hungarian born acquaintance (ref.: not)				1,617**
<i>Nagelkerke R²</i>	<i>0,24</i>	<i>0,40</i>	<i>0,19</i>	<i>0,22</i>
<i>N</i>	<i>932</i>	<i>895</i>	<i>932</i>	<i>932</i>

Note: Significance: *** < 0,001; ** < 0,01; * < 0,1

Source: Immigrants 2002 survey, DRI.

We can see that the time of arrival and the type of residence in Hungary influence the chances of receiving helps from migrant contacts in opposite directions: while earlier migrants were most likely to serve as sources of help for later arrivals and those who settled in the capital, help from Hungarian born contacts was least likely in their case.

The chances of receiving help from earlier migrants increased over time, which indicates the expansion of migrant networks and a growing tendency to mobilise the inherent social capital. The fact that chances of receiving assistance from the host society reduced over time might be partly due to a decline in acceptance of immigrants. At the same time, the more intense working of migrant networks is likely to have reduced the amount of help needed from the host population.

Immigrants residing in towns, particularly in Budapest, were more likely to receive help from earlier migrants, because, on the one hand, the chances of the presence of available migrant contacts was higher here (a considerable portion of immigrants settle down in the capital). On the other hand this reflects that in the relatively impersonal, alienated metropolitan setting even the immigrants who do not face language difficulties are more likely to need the assistance and experience of earlier migrants.

Including the different elements of potential social capital in the explanatory models (Table 5, Models 2), we find that assistance from migrants was most likely, as predictable, in cases where there was a family member who had moved earlier (the chance being almost six times higher in such cases), but the role of migrant relatives and friends was also important (but that of acquaintances had no influence here). The time of arrival and type of residence in Hungary continue to be important (although the former impact is less intense) and the same is true, to some extent, of the effect of the country of origin. Thus, *immigrants arriving in the later years, coming from Romania or settling in the capital received more help from earlier migrants not only because they had access to a migrant network but also because they mobilised these ties to a greater extent.*

Chances of receiving help from Hungarian born people increased with the presence of relatives or acquaintances in Hungary (the role of friends was not significant in this case). Taking into account these elements of potential social capital the influences shown in the first model persisted, in other words, *mobilising Hungarian born contact persons was most common among immigrants who had come from Slovakia, those who had arrived in the early 1990's and who settled in villages.*

7 Types of Immigrant on the Basis of Social Capital

We distinguished four types of immigrant on the basis of different social capital elements – the kind of contacts that they had in Hungary before migration (as potential social capital) and the ties they mobilised in order to get information and assistance (as mobilised social capital) – applying the method of cluster analysis (Table 6).

The first type contains *immigrants rich in social capital* (this includes 36% of the total sample). They had a higher than average rate of contacts with both migrants and native Hungarians, including relatives, friends and

acquaintances alike (only the rate of migrant family members was at the average level observed in the whole sample), in addition they also had a high rate of mobilised social capital. It is noticeable that information and assistance received from earlier migrants was particularly characteristic and this latter came mostly from 'other persons' and relatives, less from members of the family.

The second type consists of *immigrants who mobilised weak ties* after migration. They had very few contacts in the target country before migration and within the rate of migrant contacts was particularly low. Only a small rate of them had previous information about migration and what they received, in contrast to the average, came from Hungarian nationals instead of earlier migrants. In spite of this (or as compensation), after migration they all received help from native Hungarians who were usually not family members or relatives but 'other persons' (presumably contacts made after migration). This group includes 22% of the entire sample.

The third type consists of people who *migrated 'under family protection'* – most of them had family members who had migrated before, and the rate of Hungarian born relatives was also higher than average among them. Information received from earlier migrants was also notable and assistance received from family members was present in all cases. Other migrant contacts (outside the family), and Hungarian born friends and acquaintances occurred in this group to an average or even lower extent. 30% of immigrants belonged to this type.

Finally, the fourth type consists of *immigrants lacking social capital*, whose potential social capital before migration was also poor concerning both migrant and Hungarian born contacts and this also became manifest in the absence of information and assistance. The only source of help they could rely on were family members or relatives remaining in the sending country, but even this was only characteristic of a small portion of them. This type constitutes the smallest group of immigrants (12.5%).

Table 6
*Immigrant Types Identified on the Basis of Different Social Capital
 Elements (by Cluster Analysis)*

Period	Elements of potential and mobilised social capital	Immigrant types				Total sample
		Immigrants rich in social capital	Immigrants mobilising only weak ties	Immigrants 'under family protection'	Immigrants lacking social capital	
Before migration	Having earlier immigrant... family member(s)	44.3	14.0	91.7	12.3	47.7
	relative(s)	52.9	15.4	37.2	15.6	35.3
	friend(s)	57.1	12.6	28.3	17.2	33.8
	acquaintance(s)	48.3	16.8	26.9	16.4	31.0
	Having Hungarian born... relative(s)	37.1	23.8	37.2	11.5	31.0
	friend(s)	32.6	24.8	24.1	16.4	26.3
	acquaintance(s)	31.1	25.7	23.1	13.9	25.4
	Acquired information from... earlier immigrant(s)	72.9	16.8	71.0	12.3	52.5
	Hungarian national(s)	44.3	29.9	31.0	16.4	33.7
	In the early post-migration period	Received assistance from... family member(s)	30.9	33.2	100.0	7.4
relatives(s)		47.1	16.8	4.1	4.9	22.4
other persons(s)		68.9	78.0	3.8	1.6	43.1
Received assistance from... earlier immigrant(s)		75.1	7.9	96.6	0.0	57.4
Hungarian national(s)		52.0	99.5	3.4	0.0	41.5
person(s) living in sending country		18.5	10.5	6.5	8.5	12.0
<i>Distribution of immigrant types in the entire sample (%)</i>		35.9	21.9	29.7	12.5	100.0

Note: table contains the percentage rates of the various elements of potential and mobilised social capital. Ratios higher than those describing the total sample are highlighted in grey.

Source: Immigrants 2002 survey, DRI.

The composition of these four groups shows some interesting characteristics. Both the group rich in contacts and the one mobilising only weak ties contain an outstanding rate of single people under 30. Immigrants rich in social capital were often graduates, speaking foreign languages and being in a good financial position, while the second group included a particularly high rate of people who had either studied or lived as unemployed before they migrated and who came from villages. The group migrating 'under family protection' mainly consisted of older people (mostly over 60), of pensioners, of married or widowed persons as regards family status, of people with primary education only, who spoke no foreign languages and were in a worse financial position.

Migrating without social capital (the fourth type) was common among immigrants who had other kinds of capital which was likely to make it easier to integrate in the host country (young age, skilled profession, foreign languages, financial assets) or as opposed to the previous subgroups, their difficult position (unemployment) had inspired them to move without supporting contacts.

The lack of contacts in the target country, particularly with earlier migrants, (third and fourth type) was most common among migrants who are not ethnic Hungarian, while ‘migrating under family protection’ was most frequent among Hungarians.

Certain characteristic traits may be observed in relation to the time of arrival. Migrants without social capital (at least before migration) were more likely to come from those groups who arrived in the early 1990’s, while those migrating ‘under family protection’ came at the turn of the century. In this latter group migrants from Romania had a higher than average presence, while migrating without contacts was most common among those coming from Yugoslavia, under pressure of the political situation.

We also used logistic regression for drawing *the socio-demographic profile of the four immigrant types* (Table 7). From this it becomes clear that even if we control for the other independent variables, the time of arrival remains an important differentiating factor which significantly influences the probability of the occurrence of all four types of immigrants. Immigrants rich in social capital and those migrating ‘under family protection’ were more common among those arriving in the later years than in the early period of the 1990’s, the latter type occurred more frequently among those arriving at the turn of the millennium. By contrast, migrants who lacked social capital and had few ties to earlier migrants before they migrated were more common among those who arrived in the early part of the decade, while they disappeared in the cohorts of later migrants.

Migrants rich in social capital were more common among those arriving from Romania or the Ukraine, among people who had been in a relatively good financial position before migration and, to some extent, among those who settled in the cities. This immigrant type was more common among women, people over 60, pensioners and the unemployed. Persons who had few contacts in target country before migrating but enjoyed the support of the host society after migration were mostly from Slovakia, women and formerly unemployed persons, but this was less common among those arriving from Romania or those who settled in Budapest.

Migrating ‘under family protection’ was most common in the older generation (aged 45–59 and even more among the over-60s), among pensioners and those who settled in Budapest, but was less characteristic among people in a good financial position. Migrants who lacked social capital, besides arriving mostly in the early 1990’s, were most common among those settling in the villages, while other factors involved in the analysis showed no significant influence on the occurrence of this type.

The Socio-Demographic Profile of the Different Types of Immigrants

Table 7
*Odds Ratios of Logistic Regression Models Analysing the Chances of
 Occurrence of Different Immigrant Types*

Independent variables, categories	Immigrant types on the basis of social capital			
	Immigrants rich in social capital	Immigrants mobilising weak ties	Immigrants 'under family protection'	Immigrants lacking social capital
	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)
Sex				
Male (ref.)				
Female	0,744*	1,583*	1,200	0,755
Age group (at the time of migration)			***	
-29 (ref.)				
30-44	0,788	0,961	1,002	1,512
45-59	0,615	0,579	3,636***	0,857
60+	0,402*	0,333	4,765***	0,572
Level of education				
Max. elementary	0,973	1,081	1,325	0,752
Technical school (ref.)				
Secondary school	0,983	0,874	1,454	0,871
Higher education	1,174	0,909	1,072	0,762
Time of arrival	*	***	**	**
1990-1993 (ref.)				
1994-1997	2,219**	0,360***	2,293*	0,709
1998-1999	2,263**	0,420**	2,435*	0,522*
2000-2001	2,605**	0,252***	4,578***	0,294**
Country of origin	**	***		
Yugoslavia (ref.)				
Romania	2,414**	0,450**	0,933	0,695
Slovakia	0,652	2,205*	0,183	1,112
Ukraine	1,810*	0,682	0,654	1,030
Economic activity before migration	*		**	
Employed (ref.)				
Pensioner	0,345**	0,439	3,326**	0,959
Student	0,777	1,249	1,277	0,880
Unemployed	0,604*	1,644*	0,695	1,566
Other inactive	1,003	1,098	0,907	0,880
Financial position before migration	*		*	
Lower third (ref.)				
Medium third	1,336	1,135	0,661*	0,824
Upper third	1,636*	0,747	0,472**	1,446
Ethnicity				
Not Hungarian (ref.)				
Hungarian	1,385	0,613	1,882	0,637
Type of residence in Hungary		**	**	*
Village (ref.)				
Town	1,365*	0,779	1,282	0,541*
Budapest	1,089	0,447**	2,361***	0,841
<i>Nagelkerke R²</i>	<i>0,16</i>	<i>0,21</i>	<i>0,43</i>	<i>0,11</i>
<i>N</i>	895	895	895	895

Note: Significance: *** < 0,001; ** < 0,01; * < 0,1
 Source: Immigrants 2002 survey, DRI.

8 Conclusions

Examined from the point of view of networks, an important question regarding immigration into Hungary is what role social capital plays in sustaining immigration, and what future scenarios we can draw on this basis. It is clear that the social, economic and political conditions which, after a

restrictive period launched the process of immigration at the time of the post-communist transition, have now changed significantly. In spite of this, the process has not halted, despite a decline in the mid-1990's; indeed it intensified again around the turn of the millennium. This was partly due to the cumulative causation which confirms the self-sustaining nature of migration. On the one hand, in the sending countries the social context has changed within which further migratory decisions are made, while the cultural perception and acceptance of migration has also been modified. On the other hand, migrant networks (as sources of potential social capital), as well as the information and assistance which flow through them (as mobilised social capital) form the basis for cumulative causation in migration.

Our results have shown that the ties between the sending communities of the neighbouring countries and Hungary (connecting new migrants to earlier and to the receiving population) play an important role – not in themselves but alongside other micro and macro factors – in sustaining this migration process. The phenomenon of *secondary migration* embedded into family unification, which was particularly common among immigrants from Romania and the Ukraine, as well as *chain migration* which functions through ties of relatives and friends, both indicate that migration to Hungary is on the way to becoming a self-sustaining process. In other words, it has a segment which emerges more or less independently of the social, economic and political conditions of the sending countries and which is likely to continue in the foreseeable future.

The results presented here demonstrate that social capital plays a significant role in the migration process between Hungary and the neighbouring countries. They highlight the fact that this segment of immigration takes place increasingly within family and kinship frameworks. These ties, beyond transmitting the pattern for migration, provide a considerable resource for new arrivals, often acting as the direct link for shifting from one country to the other (in the case of family unification).

Contrary to our initial hypothesis, however, it cannot be stated that the migrants with remarkable potential social capital before migration were those who had little access to any other resources regarding education, economic activity or material assets. Chances of having earlier immigrant contacts were high among graduates and low among the unemployed, while Hungarian born contacts were more likely to occur among those with higher education and in a good financial position. Thus the presence of social capital relevant from the point of view of migration was most common among people who were already well supplied with other resources (human and economic capital).

The absence of ethnic capital was not compensated through social capital, either. To the contrary: being ethnic Hungarian increased the chance of having earlier immigrant contacts, indicating that migration to Hungary is most common in Hungarian communities living outside the national borders rather than in other ethnic groups in the surrounding countries.¹⁸

We explored the questions whether potential social capital actually served as a resource in the course of migration (provided information, help) and which migrants could mobilise successfully their existing personal

¹⁸ Because of the low number of persons of non-Hungarian ethnicity, our results on the role played by ethnic capital are merely indicative and require further confirmation.

contacts in order to access such resources. Results showed that information gained through such channels was most clearly present in groups where potential social capital was also prevalent, but the rates of the former were lower than of the latter in each case. Thus, potential social capital was only partially mobilised before migration and, understandably, migrant contacts were more frequently used for providing information. Migrants not well supplied with other resources (regarding education, social status, wealth), did not tend to mobilise social capital neither for acquiring information before migration.

However, directly after arriving in Hungary, migrant contacts were generally mobilised (for help and support) by the older generation (over-60s) and those coming from Romania. This indicates that these are the groups where adaptation was frequently assisted by existing migrant networks. Help from the host society, on the other hand, was most common among immigrants from Slovakia and among people arriving in the early 1990's.

Beyond demonstrating that social capital was present in the process of immigration to Hungary, our results have highlighted that its importance is growing over time. Migrants who arrived around the turn of the millennium were more likely to have migrant contacts at the time of their arrival (particularly migrant family members and relatives) as compared to those who had come in the early 1990's. They were also more likely to mobilise their contacts in order to acquire information prior to migration and help adapt after arrival. This also shows that with time, as the process 'develops', migration results in *the expansion and more intense working of migrant networks*. This in turn sustains the momentum of migration itself, facilitating to become a self-sustaining, dynamic process.

Although the role of migrant contacts is more significant, the social capital which Hungarian born contacts represented for the immigrant group examined was also far from negligible. However, as regards information provided prior to migration, these contacts were less frequently mobilised than contacts with earlier migrants. With regard to offering help after migration, a reverse tendency may be observed – cohorts of later migrants were less likely to be helped by the host population than those who arrived in the early 1990's. This might be due to a decline in the openness of the host society to receive further migrants and at the same time more intense migrant networks were probably large enough in themselves to reduce the amount of help needed from the host society.

Concerning help received by earlier migrants and the host population, a further significant *difference* may be found *according to the type of residence where the migrants settled down*. Immigrants who settled in Budapest were the most likely to mobilise their migrant contacts to help them in the early stages of adaptation. Receiving help from native Hungarians was most common among those who settled in a village. This is partly due to the fact that a considerable proportion of migrants to Hungary settle in the capital, and this way the new arrivals are more likely to find contact with earlier migrants. On the other hand, it reflects clearly that in the more alienated, impersonal milieu of the metropolis even immigrants who don't have to struggle with linguistic and cultural barriers are more likely to rely on the assistance and experience of earlier migrants.

Generational differences can also be observed both in terms of potential and of mobilised social capital. For older migrants, family ties meant the

main channels of migration, while after migration these contact persons, themselves earlier migrants, offered them a resource (help, support). By contrast, in the case of younger immigrants, earlier migrant friends represented potential social capital, while after migration they were more likely to receive help from the host society as compared to the older generation.

Differences according to sending country are also clear. Having contact with earlier migrants, and within that with family members, relatives or acquaintances, was most common among people arriving from Romania and the Ukraine, and the former were also most likely to mobilise these contacts upon arrival. This shows that the longer a migration process exists between two countries, the greater the likelihood that migrant networks will emerge and operate. By contrast, the probability of having Hungarian born relatives was highest among people arriving from Slovakia, which reflects the peculiar historical past of the two countries (i.e. the forced exchange of people after World War II.).

Our data have also shown that the significance of social (network) capital varies with the strength and closeness of the ties. Of all migrant contacts, strong ties (most of all direct family members) represented effective channels of information and source of assistance, while acquaintances played little part in either case. If we look at contacts with persons born in Hungary, we find that gaining information was increased most clearly by having friends, and receiving help was most common among those having relatives or acquaintances. In the latter context it is likely that the effect of weak ties (pointed out by Granovetter) has manifested, the more so, as the most emphatic role of acquaintances was in finding a job.

Regarding social capital (contacts that migrants had in Hungary before migration and mobilised during migration) we identified four types of immigrants: migrants rich in social capital; migrants who had little social capital before migration but thereafter mobilised weak ties; people migrating 'under family protection' and migrants lacking social capital.

Each type of immigrant may be described by its characteristic socio-demographic profile, at the same time the factor which showed a significant effect in each case was the time of arrival in Hungary. Immigrants who lacked social capital or had few migrant contacts before migration were found mainly among people who arrived in the early 1990's, while migrants rich in social capital, and even more those migrating 'under family protection', were more commonly found among those arriving in later years. All of the above demonstrates that the analysed migration process has an inherent dynamism, already mentioned earlier, and highlights that chain migration, particularly through family and kinship ties, is gaining an increasing role in immigration to Hungary.

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Appendix

Table A1
*Distribution of Immigrants by the Main Variables Involved
 in the Analysis (Homogenised Sample, N = 980)*

Variables, categories	Distribution. %
Sex	
Male	42.1
Female	57.9
Age group (at the time of migration)	
-29	49.9
30-44	21.5
45-59	11.7
60+	16.8
Level of education	
Max. elementary	12.6
Technical school	20.7
Secondary school	37.1
Higher education	29.6
Time of arrival	
1990-1993	10.2
1994-1997	20.3
1998-1999	29.8
2000-2001	39.7
Country of origin	
Romania	71.4
Ukraine	16.8
Yugoslavia	8.5
Slovakia	3.3
Economic activity before migration	
Employed	43.3
Self-employed	4.7
Pensioner	22.5
Student	15.4
Unemployed	7.7
Other inactive	6.4
Financial position before migration	
Lower third	41.3
Medium third	31.5
Upper third	27.2
Type of residence in Hungary	
Village	34.9
Town	38.1
Budapest	27.0
Ethnicity	
Hungarian	92.8
Not Hungarian	7.2

Table A2
Ratio of Immigrants Having Earlier Immigrant Contacts in Hungary before Migration by Different Socio-Demographic Categories (%)

Variables, categories	Earlier immigrant contacts					
	Family member(s)	Relative(s)	Friend(s)	Acquaintance(s)	Strong ties together (family members, relatives and friends)	All ties together
Sex						
Male	50.1	37.2	31.1	30.2	75.7	78.8
Female	45.1	35.4	39.1	33.3	73.3	76.1
Age group (at the time of migration)						
–29	33.2	36.4	39.8	33.8	70.0	73.9
30–44	40.0	33.3	36.4	36.0	68.9	73.0
45–59	66.9	41.0	29.9	32.2	85.2	86.7
60+	86.2	36.2	26.0	22.0	89.8	90.3
Level of education						
Max. elementary	60.3	32.0	22.7	24.0	75.2	77.4
Technical school	50.5	31.7	28.4	23.1	73.4	76.8
Secondary school	48.7	40.7	35.8	35.5	76.0	79.0
Higher education	39.8	36.3	42.6	36.0	73.6	76.7
Time of arrival						
1990–1993	20.0	24.7	24.5	27.6	50.0	57.3
1994–1997	32.2	35.7	35.9	30.8	68.6	72.8
1998–1999	41.6	34.8	37.0	33.0	72.4	76.2
2000–2001	65.6	40.7	34.4	31.8	84.3	85.3
Country of origin						
Yugoslavia	33.7	28.0	35.0	34.6	61.3	65.8
Romania	50.9	38.2	36.6	32.9	79.1	81.2
Slovakia	9.4	18.8	16.1	16.1	38.7	48.4
Ukraine	50.9	37.6	29.9	28.0	71.3	75.3
Type of residence before migration						
Village	43.3	31.6	29.5	27.8	66.8	73.1
Town	43.0	36.9	33.0	30.6	73.0	75.6
City	53.3	38.5	37.9	33.9	79.7	81.2
Economic activity before migration						
Employed	37.9	36.6	42.3	35.5	73.6	76.1
Intellectual	41.2	36.2	45.0	33.3	79.1	81.0
Skilled worker	35.9	32.7	38.3	33.3	68.1	70.1
Pensioner	82.7	38.3	25.4	23.6	89.4	89.3
Student	32.2	39.6	31.2	31.0	66.4	69.8
Unemployed	37.0	32.9	29.2	32.9	63.9	73.6
Other inactive	44.3	40.7	32.1	29.8	70.9	76.4
Financial position before migration						
Lower third	51.6	34.4	27.8	26.3	74.8	78.1
Medium third	50.0	39.0	37.5	31.3	76.4	79.4
Upper third	40.5	36.5	38.8	37.1	72.4	75.2
Ethnicity						
Hungarian	48.9	38.0	36.2	32.9	76.6	79.5
Not Hungarian	37.7	18.4	14.5	15.8	52.6	57.9
Total sample	48.0	36.4	34.5	31.5	74.7	77.6

Table A3

Ratio of Immigrants Having Hungarian Born Contacts in Hungary before Migration by Different Socio-Demographic Categories (%)

Variables, categories	Hungarian born contacts			
	Relative(s)	Friend(s)	Acquain- tance(s)	All ties together
Sex				
Male	29.8	25.2	23.2	52.1
Female	33.8	28.5	27.8	57.2
Age group (at the time of migration)				
–29	26.9	27.3	24.9	52.8
30–44	31.6	32.1	33.0	60.5
45–59	38.4	23.1	23.1	51.2
60+	42.0	20.4	19.9	55.8
Level of education				
Max. elementary	23.7	11.5	13.0	36.6
Technical school	23.3	21.4	16.7	41.4
Secondary school	34.0	29.7	26.7	58.8
Higher education	37.8	33.1	34.4	65.6
Time of arrival				
1990–1993	25.0	20.0	21.0	45.0
1994–1997	25.7	26.2	26.2	52.0
1998–1999	29.7	27.0	22.9	52.2
2000–2001	36.7	28.1	27.8	58.4
Country of origin				
Yugoslavia	30.1	27.7	16.9	53.0
Romania	29.8	25.5	23.7	52.1
Slovakia	53.1	34.4	31.3	71.9
Ukraine	36.3	29.8	33.3	60.8
Type of residence before migration				
Village	27.5	24.6	23.3	50.4
Town	36.2	28.3	28.7	58.7
City	30.7	26.6	23.9	53.5
Economic activity before migration				
Employed	30.6	31.7	28.7	56.5
Intellectual	34.4	36.6	31.3	64.1
Skilled worker	25.9	25.9	25.9	44.7
Pensioner	40.2	19.2	20.6	51.9
Student	28.8	25.3	28.1	54.1
Unemployed	24.7	17.8	16.4	45.2
Other inactive	19.7	31.1	19.7	47.5
Financial position before migration				
Lower third	22.4	17.7	17.1	42.2
Medium third	37.2	30.2	26.8	60.7
Upper third	35.4	32.9	32.6	60.4
Ethnicity				
Hungarian	32.5	26.9	25.1	54.7
Not Hungarian	20.8	24.7	26.0	50.6
Total sample	31.5	26.6	25.1	54.3

Table A4
*Ratio of Immigrants Receiving Information before Migration
 by Different Socio-Demographic Categories (%)*

Variables, categories	Receiving information before migration		
	trough personal ties	from earlier immigrant(s)	from Hungarian born people
Sex			
Male	62.1	50.1	31.0
Female	68.8	55.6	39.4
Age group (at the time of migration)			
-29	58.7	45.4	32.1
30-44	66.0	50.7	40.5
45-59	76.0	65.1	39.7
60+	74.6	66.2	33.7
Level of education			
Max. elementary	60.3	44.3	27.5
Technical school	64.8	54.8	31.9
Secondary school	66.0	53.5	36.4
Higher education	65.6	52.8	37.5
Time of arrival			
1990-1993	39.0	26.0	26.0
1994-1997	56.9	43.1	34.2
1998-1999	63.5	49.8	36.5
2000-2001	76.0	64.5	35.2
Country of origin			
Yugoslavia	59.0	47.0	26.5
Romania	66.2	54.8	35.4
Slovakia	65.6	31.3	53.1
Ukraine	64.3	50.9	32.7
Type of residence before migration			
Village	62.1	46.7	30.4
Town	62.8	49.5	36.2
City	67.6	57.1	35.7
Economic activity before migration			
Employed	65.2	52.3	39.2
Intellectual	67.3	51.9	42.0
Skilled worker	60.2	50.0	35.3
Pensioner	74.8	63.6	32.2
Student	63.7	53.4	31.5
Unemployed	57.5	34.2	31.5
Other inactive	47.5	37.7	23.0
Financial position before migration			
Lower third	61.5	48.8	28.3
Medium third	67.1	53.7	38.1
Upper third	66.8	54.1	37.3
Ethnicity			
Hungarian	65.5	53.4	35.2
Not Hungarian	57.1	40.3	26.0
Total sample	64.9	52.4	34.6

Table A5
*Ratio of Immigrants Receiving Assistance after Migration
 by Different Socio-Demographic Categories (%)*

Variables, categories	Receiving assistance after migration		
	trough personal ties	from earlier immigrant(s)	from Hungarian born people
Sex			
Male	90.6	58.0	42.5
Female	86.6	57.9	40.0
Age group (at the time of migration)			
-29	89.1	50.2	51.1
30-44	84.2	47.4	48.8
45-59	90.1	65.3	29.8
60+	95.0	87.8	13.8
Level of education			
Max. elementary	91.6	68.7	31.3
Technical school	86.2	57.1	39.0
Secondary school	90.4	58.6	42.5
Higher education	87.6	52.8	46.5
Time of arrival			
1990-1993	82.0	30.0	59.0
1994-1997	83.2	50.5	45.5
1998-1999	87.4	53.9	48.8
2000-2001	94.4	70.7	30.4
Country of origin			
Yugoslavia	86.7	44.6	47.0
Romania	90.3	63.9	38.3
Slovakia	81.3	15.6	71.9
Ukraine	86.5	48.5	46.8
Type of residence before migration			
Village	90.0	49.6	50.8
Town	89.8	55.3	43.7
City	87.8	63.7	35.5
Economic activity before migration			
Employed	87.1	51.4	47.9
Intellectual	85.5	51.9	45.0
Skilled worker	84.7	52.4	43.5
Pensioner	94.4	84.1	14.0
Student	90.4	50.0	54.1
Unemployed	82.2	41.1	50.7
Other inactive	90.2	55.7	49.2
Financial position before migration			
Lower third	89.1	59.3	39.1
Medium third	91.8	59.8	43.6
Upper third	86.4	55.1	43.0
Ethnicity			
Hungarian	89.3	59.1	41.4
Not Hungarian	83.1	44.2	41.6
Type of residence in Hungary			
Village	86.0	53.5	44.4
Town	92.2	56.8	45.0
Budapest	88.3	64.5	34.0
Total sample	88.9	57.9	41.5

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