Patterns of success amongst Hungarians living in the UK

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Abstract This paper investigates the characteristics of Hungarian migration into the UK, the distinctive features of different migrant groups, and the chances for perceived individual success. The study is based on an on-line study conducted in 2014, using a large sample, albeit a non-representative method of data collection. By presenting the results related to migration to the UK, one can have a broader picture on present day migration starting from Hungary. The study demonstrates that migration from Hungary is neither a straightforward, nor a mono-dimensional process: migrants abroad form a diaspora in a transnational environment that maintains several links to their country of origin. Professional development, fulfilling individual potential, and career-mobility all play a very important role in migration. A significant number of migrants consider migration a success, and experience upward mobility while changing their places of residence. Venturing out from the ethnic "niche" seems to bring better networking resources and more openness, which further contributes to migrants' success. There seems to be a strong correlation between success in the new country and the frequency of visits to the country of origin: this might be exploited by a dynamic diaspora politics that regards migrants abroad an important resource of the country.

Keywords: migration, UK, on-line study, labour market success

Introduction

recently, the growing number of Hungarian citizens leaving the country has received considerable attention. It is important from the point of view of social policies and national strategy to investigate the social and demographic background, future plans and current life satisfaction of such citizens. The issue of Hungarians leaving the country evokes mixed social and political opinions: some consider it a danger to the unity of state and nation, whereas others see new opportunities and resources in the growing Hungarian expat community.

Perhaps it is needless to say that migration in and of itself is neither positive nor negative: it depends on individual life events, the social context prior to and following migration, and the effects of migration on the job market, educational system and social and cultural norms that determine how migration should be viewed. In order to make this evaluation, however, we need to gather appropriate background information, which is not readily available at the moment (Kapitány – Rohr 2013, Blaskó – Gödri

2014), and the idea is widely shared amongst professionals that we need to collect more data in this field. There is a considerable shortage of empirical data within the country, since most studies focus on the effects of migration on the job market and employees (Bodnár – Szabó 2014, Hárs – Simon 2015), or on a particular profession (Girasek et al. 2013), or on the general propensity for migration (Nyírő 2013).

The current study investigates which factors predict the perceived individual success of migrants based on a questionnaire-based data collection process conducted in 2014. The online questionnaire was constructed for a piece of research at the Institute for Minority Studies at the Centre for Social Sciences, Hungarian Academy of Sciences and had 5200 respondents, all of whom were Hungarian citizens residing in the United Kingdom. The study was designed to serve as supporting information for the London episode of the documentary series *Shall I go or shall I stay* produced in the framework of the Speakeasy Project. The questionnaire consisted of 23 items and required approximately 10 minutes to fill in. The questions gathered information about respondents' reasons for moving to the UK, their socio-economic status, their perceived success in the UK, and their future plans. Data were collected during April/May 2014. The questionnaire was made public through major Hungarian news portals such as *HVG.hu, Origo* and *Index*, and subsequently was picked up by other news portals and social media. The expatriate-oriented *Határátkelő* blog also drew its followers' attention to the questionnaire. Although the questionnaire was open for a month, 66 percent of all respondents answered it within 24 hours of its launch. The only criteria for filling in the questionnaire were that the respondents had to be Hungarians who had once moved to the United Kingdom and who were living there at the time of the research. There was no defined age limit: the youngest respondent was 14, and the oldest 74, but 99 percent of respondents were between 20 and 59 years old.

As is often the case with research conducted online, the data were not representative (in this case, of the entire Hungarian population residing in the UK), but related to a sub-set of individuals who are active users of social media and more generally, the internet. However, we find it very important to note that due to the large number of respondents, we managed to contribute to the national discussion about the mechanisms of Hungarians who migrate. The study was not designed to provide an analysis of Hungarian migrant groups in the UK or their socio-demographic background, since this would have been very difficult considering the methods used by the study. Nevertheless, we acknowledge that through weighting it would technically have been possible to create a sample that was representative of the Hungarian population living in the UK by age, gender and level of education. The survey statistical data that could have served as a basis for weighting are contained in the so-far-one-and-only SEEMIG dataset (Blaskó – Gödri 2014). As the SEEMIG sample includes cases only from a four-year period preceding the stage of data collection, we would have had to apply the same restriction to our sample, reducing it to 52% of its original size and thereby omitting a significant sub-group: those who had been resident in the UK for a longer period of

time. As is well known from the literature, and also transpired during our analysis, time spent in the destination country is an important factor in shaping migration strategies (Dustmann and Kirchkamp 2002). Eventually we decided not to apply this method due to the significant loss of data it would have caused and the relative unreliability of the small SEEMIG sub-sample of Hungarians in the UK (N=160).

Another possible source for weighting would have been the estimations of Christian Moreh (Moreh 2014 and 2016) based on the 2011 UK Census and the flow data of National Insurance (NI) registrations in the UK. The problem here centred on the validity of those data in the context of our population: the census data are simply too old and are thus inappropriate for weighting a sample 40% of which arrived in the UK after the time of data collection. Using the NI registration dataset would have been equally problematic due to its unreliability, a fact which the author explains convincingly (Moreh 2014 pp. 320-222). Nevertheless, it may still be interesting for the reader to have a general understanding of how our non-representative sample relates to these known datasets that claim representativeness. The SEEMIG data can be compared to our adjusted dataset when equivalent years of arrival are selected along certain socio-demographic variables.[1]

As for distribution by gender, males are underrepresented in our sample compared to both the SEEMIG data and the UK Labour Force Survey data presented by Moreh. The age distribution of our sample is almost identical to the age distribution of the SEEMIG sample. As for level of education, our data is significantly biased toward those who are more educated: over 50% are highly educated and just 1% only finished primary schooling or less, compared to 32% and 9% respectively in the SEEMIG sample. The high level of employment and low level of unemployment or inactivity in our sample is similar to the UK-based LFS findings (Moreh 2016, 70), although the employed population is somewhat over-represented: 90.5% compared to 82.5%. Finally, compared to Moreh's findings those who settled in London are over-represented in our sample: at the time of surveying 50% were staying in one of the Greater London boroughs, whereas Moreh reports that 35% of Hungarians in the UK were located in these areas.

Thus the issues that we investigate are restricted to different migration strategies, differences between migrant groups regarding migration intentions, the geographic and social mobility of migrants, the social networks and socio-economic statuses of migrants, and the underlying causes and trends of migration. We believe that the data that were collected are sufficient for an investigation of the characteristics of Hungarian migration into the UK, and for determining the extent to which various patterns of migration emerge from the study population.

Although the subjective evaluations of success given by respondents are not a perfect quantitative measure, they are a relatively reliable indicator of migration success; i.e., the

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1   For a comparison of our data with the SEEMIG dataset, see Appendices.

extent to which respondents evaluate their migration as a positive change and a potential example to others. Subjective satisfaction and success gained through migration is an important factor of the process known as "the culture of migration" (Massey et al. 1993: 452-453). In these situations, migration itself contributes to elevating individual social status and can only happen when the venture is considered to be successful. If the majority of the diaspora community assess their situation as successful, this has a significant effect on the attitudes of those who are still in the sending communities as regards seeing immigration as a viable component of a survival strategy. It is important to note, however, that there are two possible confounding factors relating to the subjective evaluation of migration. When considering the subjective success of migration, we only used data collected from respondents currently living abroad, thereby disregarding information about the population of individuals who had returned to Hungary after living in the UK for some time. Therefore we have no valid data with which to make an overall assessment of the success of the migration of Hungarians who have migrated at some point, but only of those who were in the UK at the time of our survey. Secondly, the potential effect of a reduction in cognitive dissonance should not be dismissed; i.e. the fact that respondents are more likely to positively evaluate their stay abroad in order to justify their actual choice to move.

The study described in this paper is composed of two major parts. In the first section we give a general introduction to our research question, and discuss the characteristics of our sample, emphasising the differences between the younger (age 18-35) and the older age groups (age 35 and above) of migrants. We discuss whether there is a difference between urban and rural populations, both in terms of the place of origin in Hungary, as well as the chosen destination in the UK. We look at the characteristics of the highly educated sub-set of respondents (i.e. those that hold a master's degree) in comparison to the rest of the sample. We were interested in seeing whether there are any characteristic and specific migration-related features of this population.

In the second section we look at the potential success of migration. We investigate different patterns of successful migration in terms of subjective evaluations and workforce mobility, as well as different predictors of the success/failure of migration. The study examines subjective and objective evaluations of success separately (through self-reporting and working conditions, respectively), as well as the interaction between the two that is observed in different fields of migration and amongst different groups of migrants.

General patterns

Basic statistics

Approximately two-thirds of respondents (65.1%) had moved to the UK since 2010. Most of them arrived in the UK in 2012. A small number of respondents had moved to the UK before Hungary joined the EU in 2004. The date of respondents' arrival

into the UK is not directly informative of the "currents of migration" in different years, since there is no data about those respondents who have already returned to Hungary, or relocated in another country. However, the well-known phenomenon of a "wave" of migration between 2009 and 2012 is easily identifiable in the data set.

Figure 1. Number of respondents by year of arrival in the United Kingdom
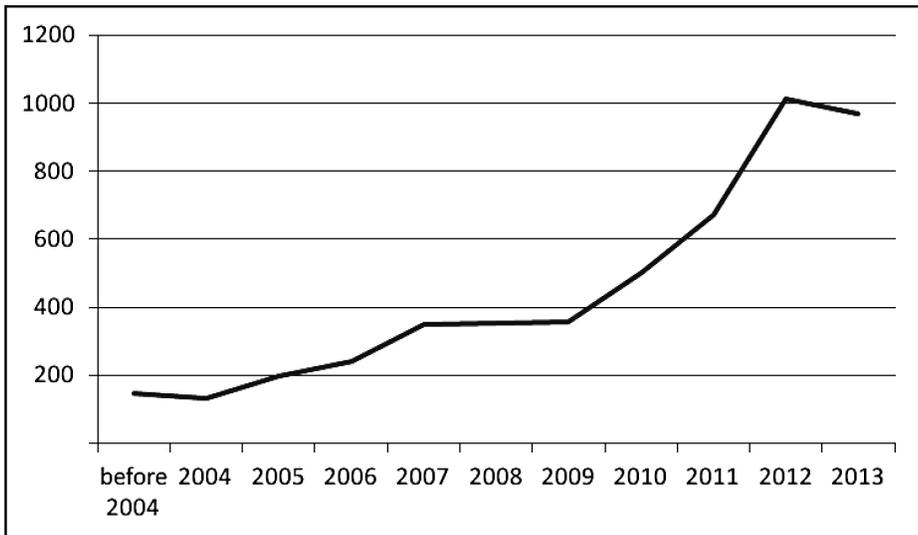
Approximately half of all respondents (53.2%) had obtained an undergraduate or postgraduate degree. Only 1% of respondents had only completed 8 or fewer classes at school, and approximately half of them had completed high school. The fact that data were collected through network-based sources online is a potentially confounding factor, since these sources are more readily used by more educated individuals. Hence our study is not appropriate for drawing conclusions regarding less well educated or uneducated migrants. According to the Hungarian Central Statistical Office, migration into the UK involves a highly qualified section of society to a greater extent than does migration into Germany or Austria (Blaskó - Gödri 2014: 290), but even taking this into account, the less educated and uneducated migrant population in the UK is clearly underrepresented in our sample. On the other hand, due to its robustness the sample is adequate for studying certain characteristics of the migrant population in the UK who hold high school qualifications, or undergraduate and postgraduate degrees.

**Figure 2.** Distribution of respondents by level of education
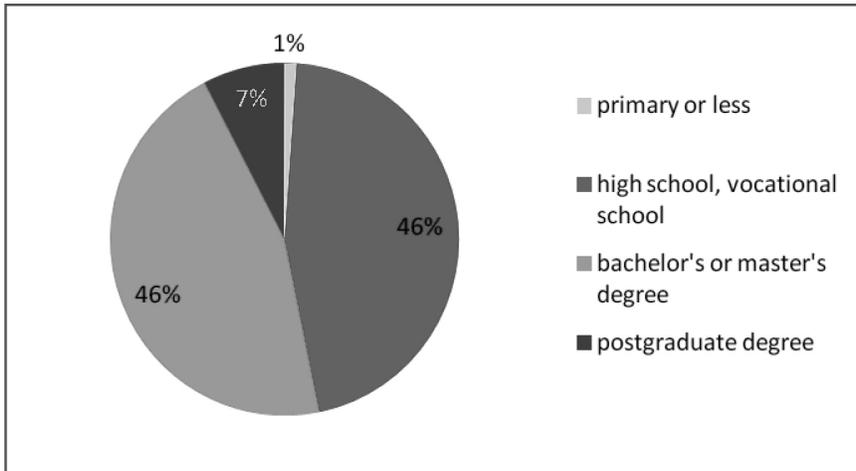
Males and females were represented nearly equally in the sample (49.2 % female, 50.8 % male). Approximately two-thirds of respondents were aged between 25 and 40, the mean age being 33 years, which fits well with the general trends of migration within Europe, with males typically being slightly older than females (mean age/males: 33.7 years, mean age/females: 32.2 years).

The cause of migration was predominantly employment-related. More than three-quarters of respondents chose to move because of work. Approximately half of all respondents arrived in the UK with a concrete job offer, while the other half started searching for jobs upon arrival. Those who arrived with a job offer had been in the UK longer (group mean: 4.3 years) than those who started searching after arriving to the UK (3.6 years) prior to the time of data collection. This fact is related to the observed tendency for network building amongst migrants. With regard to those respondents who had arrived in the UK for a different reason, approximately 10% had moved to the UK to join their partners (9.9%); the rest arrived in the UK to study (7.2%) or simply to "try their luck" (5.1%). Those who had arrived with the purpose of studying or being reunited with their partners typically belong to the "newer" migrant group: the mean number of years spent in the UK was 3.7 and 3.5, respectively. Those who had left Hungary to "try their luck" typically arrived earlier (group mean: 5.1 years).

Individual decisions about migrating can rarely be traced back to a single underlying cause. The decision to leave one's home country is often a product of a complicated mix of causes and goals. In the survey respondents were asked to comment on 10 commonly established driving forces of migration and to evaluate to what extent these factors had played a part in their decision to relocate. These factors were the following: better quality of life and more job opportunities in

the UK, bad economic and political situation in Hungary, repaying loans taken in Hungary, financing businesses started in Hungary, professional growth and better quality of higher education in the UK, personal problems, or simply curiosity and adventure-seeking. The following figure shows the impact of the individual factors, as well as the percentage of respondents who indicated the high importance of these factors (i.e. evaluated them at 9 or 10 in importance on a 10-point scale).

Figure 3. Importance of factors that played a part in respondents' decisions to relocate (i.e. % of respondents who felt these factors to be important in their decision-making)
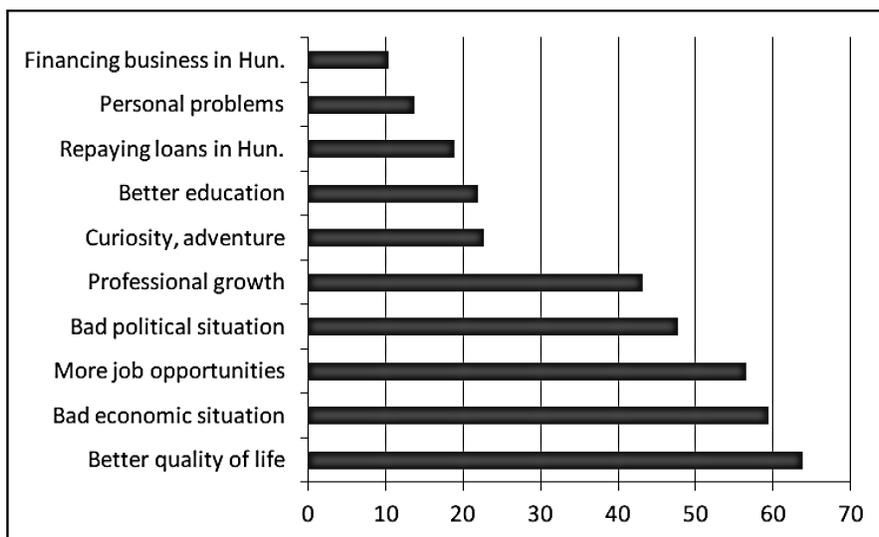
More than half of all respondents deemed a better quality of life and better job opportunities, as well as the bad economic situation in Hungary, to be important. A considerable proportion of all migrants considered the bad political situation in Hungary and professional growth to be important. Other potential drivers of migration were much less pronounced.

With regards to the cause for leaving Hungary, there is a significant difference between certain sub-sections of the sample. This provides a further opportunity to characterize the Hungarian population living in the UK, and to create clusters of migration strategies (detailed tables available from the authors upon request).

- The *prospect of a better quality of life* more strongly motivated the following sample sub-groups: those who did not have a university degree, those who were relatively new in the UK, and those who did not intend to return to Hungary.
- *Bad economic conditions in Hungary* more strongly motivated those who did not have a university degree, those who were relatively new in the UK, those

who came to the UK from outside Budapest, and those who did not intend to
return to Hungary.

- The *prospect of better job opportunities* had been an important decision-making
  factor for those who were relatively new to the UK, and those who did not
  intend to return to Hungary.
- *The bad political situation in Hungary* had also been a major decision-making
  factor for those who were relatively new to the UK, and those who did not
  intend to return to Hungary at all, or only after a longer period of time.
- The opportunity for *personal or career development* had mostly motivated
  women, those who had a university degree, and those who came to the UK
  from Budapest or from another country outside Hungary, and those who were
  living in London.
- *Curiosity* and *adventure-seeking* had affected more strongly the decisions of
  more highly educated individuals and those who had been living in the UK
  for a while but who were planning to move back to Hungary soon. This factor
  played a stronger role in the decision-making of those who had moved to the
  UK from Budapest or another foreign country as well as of those who were
  living in London.
- *Better education prospects* had primarily motivated women, those who had
  been living in Budapest or another country outside Hungary before moving
  to the UK, and those who did not plan to return to Hungary, or at least not in
  the near future.
- *Repaying debts or loans taken in Hungary* seemed to have been a stronger
  driving force for those who did not have a university degree, those who had
  only been living in the UK for a short while, and those who intended to return
  to Hungary as soon as possible (within a year), and for those who had come to
  the UK from outside Budapest.
- *Personal and relationship issues* had a significantly stronger impact only in case
  of women, in general.
- *The desire to finance businesses in Hungary* was a stronger driving force only in
  case of those who intended to return to Hungary as soon as possible.

Migrants aged under 35 emphasised the prospect of better higher education,
financing businesses in Hungary, curiosity and adventure-seeking, and professional
development. In general, 7 out of 10 migration factors impacted young people more
than they did the rest of the sample. The factors that were slightly less influential
for young people involved the generic negative statements (i.e. the bad political and
economic situation in Hungary). Repayment of loans taken out in Hungary proved to be
significantly less influential in the case of young people than for the older generation.

The majority of respondents (70.1%) had been working either part-time or full-
time in Hungary prior to leaving for the UK. The rest of the sample had been either
students (16.1%), or unemployed/employed on temporary contracts (13.8%).

Moving to the UK had brought a significant change in respondents' working conditions: the move had greatly improved their employment situation, less than one-tenth (9.5%) of them were unemployed or inactive. The majority of this sub-group were students, and some of them were working on temporary contracts. Work-force mobility proved to be very strong, both on the vertical and on the horizontal axis: most respondents had entered a new professional field than the one they had been involved in in Hungary. The direction of mobility, however, is slightly different from the usual East-West migration trend inasmuch as it was commonly observed that respondents acquired high status positions following their move to the UK. Data regarding workforce mobility has not been processed yet in its entirety, hence we have yet to formulate a more detailed picture about the employment dynamics of this population.

The vast majority of respondents were satisfied with their situation, especially compared with their prior quality of life in Hungary. Only approximately 10% of respondents felt that their situation had not improved or had worsened upon leaving Hungary. As a result, it is hardly surprising that most of the respondents were not planning to return to Hungary in the near future. Approximately three-quarters of respondents (73.1%) did not plan to return to Hungary at all, or at least not in the next 5 years. One-fifth (20.8%) of respondents were planning to return in a few years, but very few responded that they planned to return in less than a year (6.1%).

Figure 4. Distribution of respondents according to plans to return
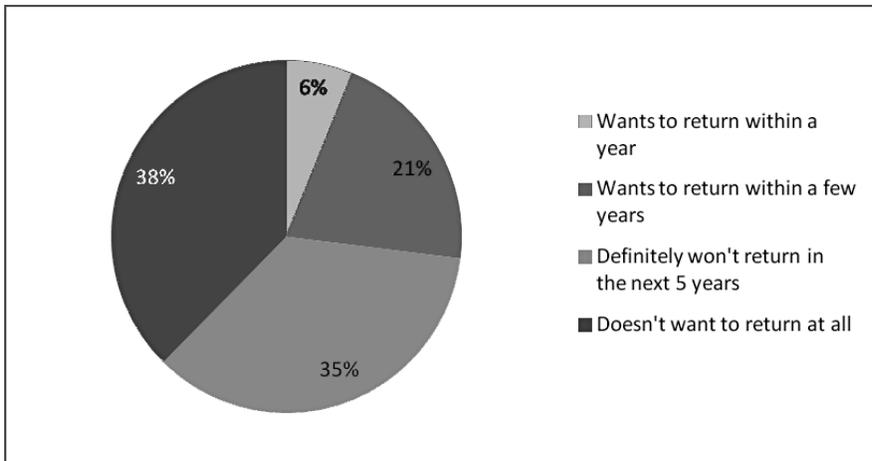

It was apparent that although young respondents (under 35) evaluated their situation as more favourable than it was in Hungary (similarly to the older sub-group), they seemed to be more willing to return to Hungary in the future. Only 34.6% of respondents under 35 years did not plan to return to Hungary at all, as opposed to the

42.3% of the older sub-group, and 6.9% of young people planned to return within a year, whereas only 5.0% of older respondents reported having such plans.

The majority of respondents had visited Hungary within a year prior to the time of data collection. Only 12% of them had not been back since relocating, and approximately one-third of them (32%) had visited three or more times. On average, men had visited Hungary more times than women, and highly educated individuals significantly more times than their less educated counterparts.[2] Those who had plans to return were much more likely to visit than those who had no such intentions. It appears that time spent in the UK did not correlate with the average number of visits to Hungary: those who had lived in the UK for five years prior to data collection were just as likely to visit Hungary regularly as those who had recently moved to the UK.

Figure 5. Number of visits respondents made to Hungary within 12 months prior to survey completion
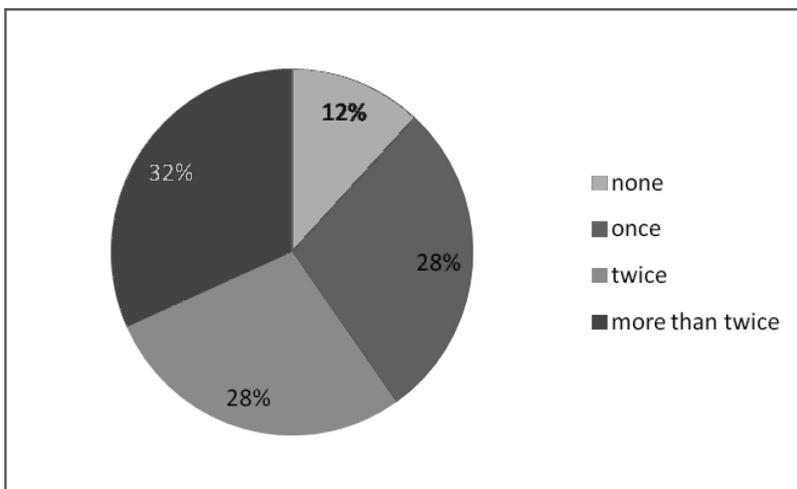
The capital city and other areas of residence before and after migration

It is frequently mentioned that the migration of Hungarians to the UK is a somewhat "atypical" phenomenon, being largely heterogeneous in nature. Firstly, Hungarians from Budapest are significantly overrepresented in the Hungarian population living in

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2   It may be thought that the differences between the frequency of visits along the variables of gender and education can be explained by the different family and professional roles of certain groups of respondents. However, as no questions were included in the survey regarding family or social or professional networks in Hungary, we cannot comment futher about these differences.

the UK. Secondly, there seems to be a marked difference between migration to London and to the rest of the UK which might be due to the different socio-economic statuses of migrants. These dichotomies are reflected in the dataset, providing a valuable opportunity to investigate diversity amongst migrants (i.e. between those who migrate from Budapest/from the rest of Hungary to London/to the rest of the UK).

Hungarians from Budapest (i.e. those who had lived in Budapest prior to moving to the UK) are significantly overrepresented in our sample. Former residents of Budapest accounted for 39.9% of the sample (4809 participants), while 53.8% of them came from a different city or town in Hungary. A small proportion of respondents (6.3%) did not arrive to the UK from Hungary. Former countries of residence included Romania, Slovakia, Ireland, Germany, and the USA. Half of the participants in our sample lived in London, and the other half in various other cities or towns in the UK. We counted residents of the Greater London area as residents of London, conforming to the self-reported identity of most (but not all) respondents.

We went on to investigate whether we would arrive at any meaningful conclusions by separating the data into sub-groups along the lines of migration from Budapest/not from Budapest and to London/not to London.

Regarding the gender distribution in the separate data sets, we observed no significant differences: males and females were represented equally in all sub-groups. One exception to this is the sub-group of individuals who arrived to the UK from a country other than Hungary: here, females were slightly overrepresented compared to males (52.4%). Average time spent in the UK did not correlate with arrival from Hungary or from another country, or living in London/outside London.

In terms of age we observed a difference between those who arrived to the UK from Budapest as opposed to other areas of Hungary: the former sub-group was slightly older on average compared to the latter. Participants who had arrived to the UK from a third country were older on average than either of the members of the previous two groups. The mean age of participants arriving from areas other than Budapest was 32.7 years and the mean age of those arriving from Budapest was 33 years, whereas the mean age of those arriving from a third country was 34.1 years. Those living in London were slightly younger than those who were living elsewhere in the UK (32.3 years and 33.4 years, respectively).

The average level of education was highest amongst respondents who had arrived to the UK from a third country, second highest amongst individuals arriving from Budapest, and lowest amongst respondents arriving to the UK from various parts of Hungary, excluding Budapest. Hungarians who were living in London had a slightly higher level of education on average compared to Hungarians living outside of the Greater London area: 56.7% of Hungarians living in London had a university degree, in comparison to the 49.8% of Hungarians living outside of London.

Figure 6. Distribution of respondents from different places of origin by level of education (%)
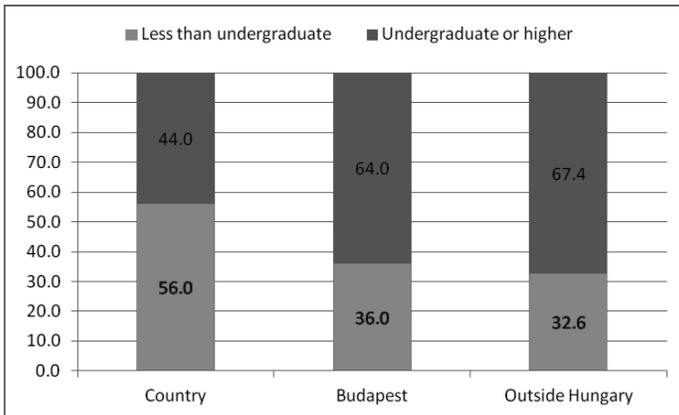
The intention to return to Hungary did not correlate either with place of previous residence in Hungary, or the location of current residence in the UK. Frequency of visits to Hungary, however, was significantly different across the two aforementioned sub-groups. Hungarians arriving to the UK from Budapest and Hungarians living in London were much more likely to visit Hungary frequently compared to their counterparts (i.e. those originating from other parts of Hungary, and those living outside London). This might in part be due to the differences in logistical difficulty involved in travelling from London to Budapest and back compared with travelling from other parts of the UK to areas outside the capital in Hungary. This information contributes to our previous observation regarding the connection between frequency of visits to Hungary and plans to return. It is noteworthy that we found no relationship between frequency of visits to Hungary and time spent in the UK. Budapest seems to be much closer to London in a number of respects than Szombathely is to Aberdeen.

Figure 7. Distribution of respondents from place of origin by annual frequency of visits to Hungary (%)
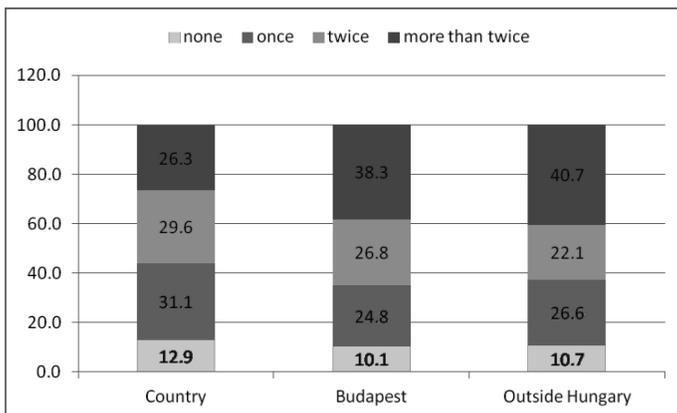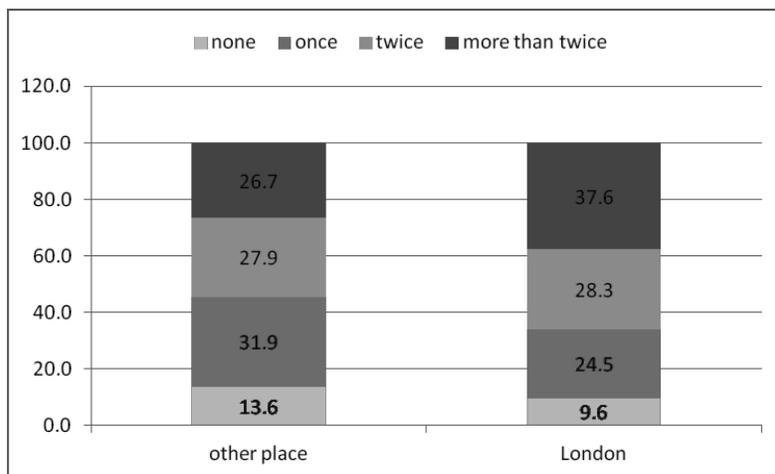
Figure 8. Distribution of respondents by location and annual frequency of visits to Hungary (%)

When investigating the causes/reasons associated with leaving Hungary, we observed that previous residence in Hungary was closely linked with respondents' motivation to leave, whereas the residence in the UK was not linked to migrants' motivations almost at all. Along the lines of the somewhat oversimplified "push-pull" theories found in migration literature, it is safe to say that the quality of life in Hungary more significantly impacted the decision to leave than the actual opportunities on offer in the UK, let alone the consideration of the likelihood of being able to take advantage of these opportunities.

According to the last two figures in the *Appendices*, Hungarians migrating to the UK from Budapest were more likely to specify that better education prospects, fulfilling their potential, curiosity and adventure-seeking were reasons for leaving than were their counterparts who departed from other areas in Hungary. Hungarians leaving from areas outside the capital were more likely to refer to better employment prospects, better pay, the unfavourable economic and political situation in Hungary, and to covering loans and business costs in Hungary as major reasons for leaving.

There was also a significant difference in motivation for leaving between participants living inside and outside London. Those who lived outside of London were more likely to emphasise the unfavourable economic conditions in Hungary and the importance of covering loans and business costs in Hungary than those who lived in London. In contrast, Hungarians living in London were more likely to refer to professional and personal development, curiosity and adventure-seeking as main reasons to move to the UK.

Migration of the highly qualified population

As can be seen from *Figure 2*, individuals holding a post-graduate degree were highly overrepresented in our sample. However, this might be explained by the fact that

highly qualified individuals are more likely to follow the media and to take part in data collection activities online. On the other hand, and as observed in other studies, the proportion of highly qualified individuals in the population of migrants who have left Hungary since 1989 is much higher than the national average. Moreover, Hungarian migrants arriving to the UK are better educated and more highly qualified than migrants who choose to emigrate in other destinations (Blaskó - Gödri 2014: 290).

In our sample, women were overrepresented in the sub-group of individuals holding a post-graduate degree (55.7% of people with a post-graduate degree in the sample were women, compared to the 48.8% of people who did not hold such qualifications). The mean age of participants with such qualifications was 36 years, in contrast to the mean age of 33 years in the group of participants without such degrees. The sub-set of the sample holding a post-graduate degree was significantly more likely to have come from Budapest than from other areas in Hungary, or from a third country (60.1% of them came from Budapest, 26.2% from other areas in Hungary, and 13.7% from a third country). The majority of people who did not hold such degrees came from areas in Hungary other than the capital: 56.1% of them came from areas in Hungary excluding Budapest, 38.4% from Budapest, and merely 5.5% from a third country. Individuals holding a post-graduate degree had arrived to the UK 5.5 years ago on average, whereas less qualified individuals had arrived less than 4 years ago on average.

The vast majority of the participants with a post-graduate degree arrived to the UK with the intention of working (67.3%); however, this number is slightly lower compared with the entire sample. Approximately 15% of them (15.8%) arrived to the UK to study – potentially the majority of the participants in this sub-group had acquired their post-graduate degree in the UK. This casts a somewhat different light on hypothesized "brain drain" than is commonly mentioned: although it seems to be the case that a large number of individuals who had acquired an MA/MSc or PhD in Hungary continue to leave the country, it also seems reasonable to suppose that a considerable number of people leave the country precisely to attain these qualifications and do not return upon completion of their studies. There did not seem to be any significant difference regarding willingness to return between the sub-groups of participants with or without post-graduate degrees: 71.9% of participants with the highest level of qualifications reported that they did not intend to return at all, or at least not in the next 5 years. In the less qualified sub-group, this proportion was 73.1%.

Regarding their motivation to leave, there was a significant difference between those who had a post-graduate degree and those who did not. The more highly qualified sub-group found the desire for a better quality of life in the UK and unfavourable economic conditions in Hungary less pressing than did their less educated counterparts. In addition, highly qualified individuals were less likely to specify the need to repay loans as one of their major reasons. We found a significant effect in terms of the variables of educational prospects and professional growth: these two factors were regarded as significantly more important by this population than by those who were academically less qualified. The

most important factor in migration amongst the highly qualified group of participants was the desire for professional development, followed by better employment prospects and a better quality of life. It is worth mentioning that although the latter two were among the three most important sources of motivation, their ranking in importance was lower than that given by the less well-educated sub-group of participants who rated better quality of life as the most important factor, followed by bad economic conditions in Hungary, followed by better employment prospects (See *Figure 9*).

Figure 9. Importance of factors that played a part in respondents' decisions to relocate among postgraduates and those with lower level of education (% of respondents who felt these factors to be important in their decision-making)
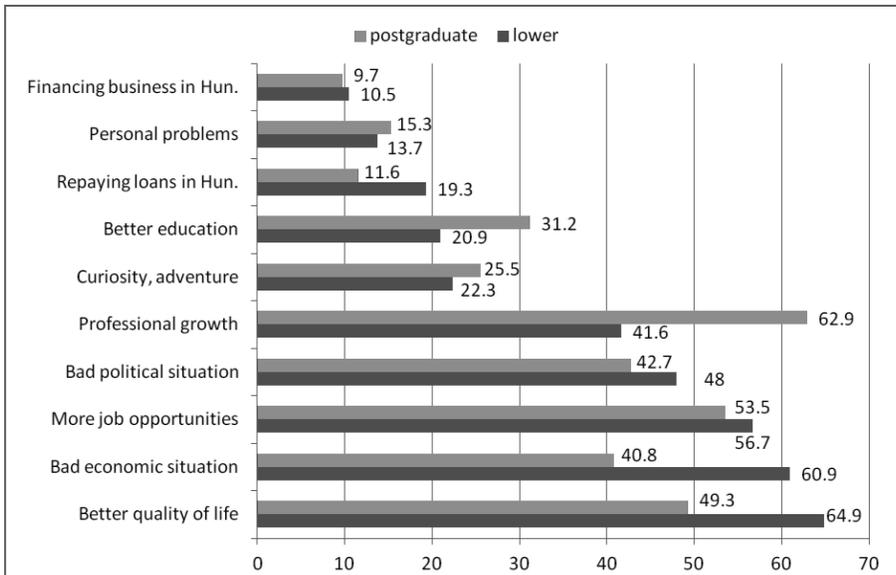
We predicted that we would find a difference regarding the subjective evaluation of quality of life between the most highly qualified sub-group of participants and the rest of the sample. We assumed that these highly qualified individuals were more likely to have higher socio-economic status, which is associated with higher levels of life satisfaction and which in turn results in a more positive subjective evaluation of their situation. Since professional development and academic success were rated as much more important by this group of participants compared to material or personal-psychological aspects, we assumed that this pattern would have an effect on their subjective evaluation scores. Results are summarized in *Figure 10*.

Figure 10. Level of satisfaction with different aspects of life among postgraduates and those with lower level of education (% of those who are satisfied, scoring 9 or 10 on a 10-point scale)
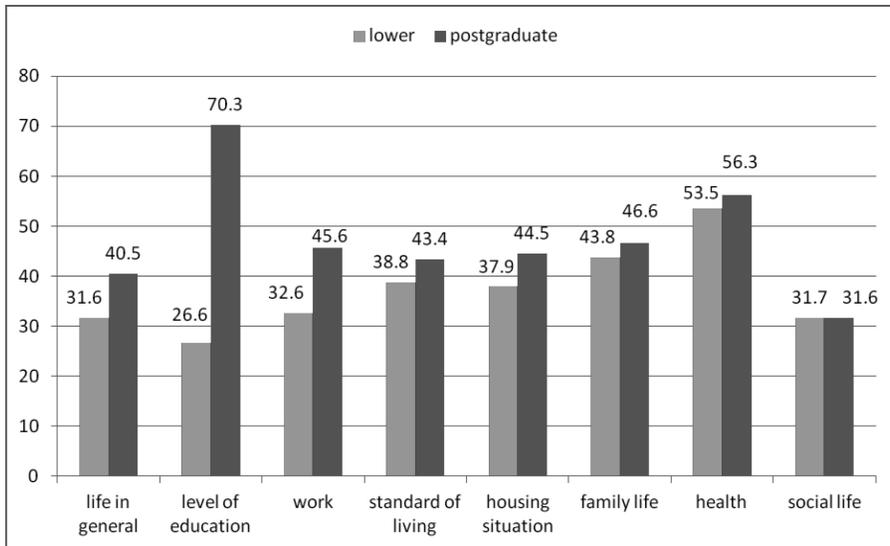
The data confirmed our predictions: postgraduate education has a weak positive effect on life satisfaction, a very strong positive effect on professional qualification, and a strong positive effect on work satisfaction. There is a moderate effect on other indicators of satisfaction as well, but these are not significant. There seems to be no effect on social life so it appears that having a higher level of education does not prove to be an advantage in this regard. The same phenomenon was observed with regard to status mobility: respondents with a post-graduate education are more likely to judge their situation in the UK to be the same as or worse than it used to be in Hungary. 17.3% of respondents with a postgraduate education indicated this, as opposed to 10.6% of respondents with lower levels of education. This might suggest that better academic qualifications were likely to result in higher social status and/or personal success in the respondents' lives prior to arriving to the UK. Thus, the relative improvement in social status and personal success is likely to be less pronounced than with individuals who arrived to the UK without these qualifications. The majority of this latter population is more likely to measure mobility and success in terms of financial gain than the former.

It follows that it is less likely that respondents with a postgraduate education will claim that they never intend to return to Hungary, inasmuch as the question refers to remaining in the UK indefinitely. Furthermore, it also seems to follow that this sub-group is more likely to visit Hungary on a regular basis. This should be kept in mind when initiatives that encourage highly educated people to return to Hungary

are designed. It would appear that establishing research projects and designing professional development plans linking their prior work to Hungarian initiatives would be more effective at persuading such individuals to return to Hungary than targeting their intention to return per se.

Subjective and structural patterns of success
Migration and success in Great Britain

'Success' in migration may be interpreted in many ways. In sociological, anthropological or social psychological terms it often means the integration or assimilation or acculturation of migrants into larger society (Gordon 1964, Alba-Nee 1997, Berry 1997, Kováts 2013) and it is clear that success takes on a different meaning from the perspective of migrants and that of the receiving community, and that these two perspectives do not always entirely overlap. Success at a micro or personal level may not be perceived as such by migrants' families or by wider society. The crucial point here is to obtain knowledge about the individual's motivation for migration. We should also acknowledge that, besides economic and labour-market-related impacts, there are a set of social factors that determine individual satisfaction and assessments of success (De Jong 2000).

Our analysis is based on a neoclassical economic model, therefore we assume that the migration process is mainly a result of the wage differences in different countries, and that migrants are interested in obtaining a higher level of living standards (Massey et al., 1993). Therefore, satisfaction with life itself or with the job, family life, etc. may be interpreted as indicators of success measured in subjective dimensions. At the same time, one can also grasp the success of migration in objective, structural terms by comparing an individual's employment status before and after migration. For example, if a part-time job before migration changes into a full-time job after migration we interpret it as an indicator of success. In this regard there is a special case concerning changes in student status. We interpret as successful cases in which through the migration process student status changes into a part-time or full-time job, and, vice-versa, we consider the opposite to represent failure. However, we are aware that in some cases these types of changes do not necessary refer to success or the lack of it as the over-qualification of migrants can play a special role in interpreting success.

We look at success from two angles: in terms of respondents' subjective evaluations, as well as in a structural sense by measuring changes in professional status. In the section of our questionnaire that measured subjective success we identify clusters of opinions and describe sub-groups along the lines of these clusters, indicating more/less subjective success.

In relation to the structural aspect of our inquiries, success is to be understood as movement along the scale of employment status. Since we have data regarding subjects' employment status before and after migration, we can define success along the lines of

status consistency; i.e., as a change in status in a positive or negative direction compared with the initial situation. Those whose employment status improved following migration may be categorized as successful, and those whose status decreased might be regarded as unsuccessful. We used the following categories to measure professional status: working full-time, working part-time, being employed on a temporary contracts (working "on and off"), studying, and neither working nor studying.

Subjective evaluation of success linked to life satisfaction

We explored the areas that respondents were most/least satisfied with regarding their day-to-day lives. We found that the area that respondents were most satisfied with was their health, while respondents were least satisfied with their social lives. The former finding might be explained by the fact that most migrants were relatively young, whereas the latter finding might refer to a subjective feeling of "being cast away", and to the fading of informal ties and friendships. It is noteworthy, however, that family life satisfaction was higher in the sample than social life satisfaction. Nevertheless, it is satisfaction with family life that shows the highest variation (i.e. the data points are most scattered around the mean, as indicated in the last column of the table below).

Table 1. Means and standard deviations of scores given in response to questions about satisfaction with different aspects of life (1 - totally unsatisfied; 10 - totally satisfied)

How satisfied are you with your...?	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
health	8,12	2,008	5041
standard of living	7,76	1,934	5046
life in general	7,51	1,976	5050
housing situation	7,28	2,438	5048
family life	7,14	2,862	5041
level of education	7,08	2,266	5042
work	7,05	2,473	5014
social life	6,72	2,692	5041

We reduced the above items that measure satisfaction in a way that preserves as much of the original information as possible. We identified two extracted variables by using Principal Component Analysis which jointly preserved 65% of the original heterogeneity. We did not include general life satisfaction, since it does not refer to a particular segment of life. Another two variables were not included in order to attain a better fit.[3] By using this analysis, we arrived at two factors: the first one is related to the dimension of private life (family, health, circle of friends), and the second one career satisfaction.

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3   We tried to extract three factors but, unfortunately, general life satisfaction and satisfaction with housing conditions and standard of living do not fit properly in the model. An alternative two-factor model could be based on private life and material satisfaction, but we chose the model presented in the text. The reason for this is that professional life and items included in material satisfaction (satisfaction with standard of life and housing conditions) are positively correlated. Therefore, it can be assumed that satisfaction with professional life to a certain degree expresses material satisfaction too.

Table 2. Correlation of satisfaction items with principal components

|	Principal components	
	Private life	Professional life
Family life	,791	
Health	,784	
Social life	,716	
Work		,775
Level of education		,849
Explained variance	36,6%	29,0%

The principal components above capture strong opinions and seem to indicate that the life satisfaction of Hungarian migrants in the UK relates either to private life satisfaction or career satisfaction (these two principal components are independent of one another). Since these opinions seemed to be present across migrants, we continued by creating groups with characteristic opinions, each one consisting of enough participants to allow further statistical analyses. By using cluster analysis we formed four groups. The internal structure of these are indicated in the table below (*Table 3*).

Table 3. Success groups formulated by satisfaction (final cluster centres)

|	Cluster			
	Unsuccessful	Successful	Success in private life	Professional success
Satisfaction with private life (family, health, social life)	-1,128	0,491	0,692	-1,238
Career satisfaction (work, education)	-0,994	0,614	-1,052	0,727

According to the reported opinions, 85% of migrants consider themselves to be successful in some aspects, and 15% might be considered unsuccessful. An average of 45% of migrants can be considered successful on both axes, and an additional 23.4% might be considered as such in terms of private life satisfaction, while the following 17% consider themselves to be successful in terms of their professional lives. In order to ascertain whether these groups are indeed related to subjective success as indicated by self-reported opinions, we checked the data against the variable of general life satisfaction (which variable was not included when establishing the principal components). According to this analysis, those who might be considered successful based on their subjective evaluation scored 8.5 on a 10-point scale of life satisfaction, while their unsuccessful counterparts only scored 5.3, on average.

Figure 11. Size of (un)successful groups (%, N=4958)
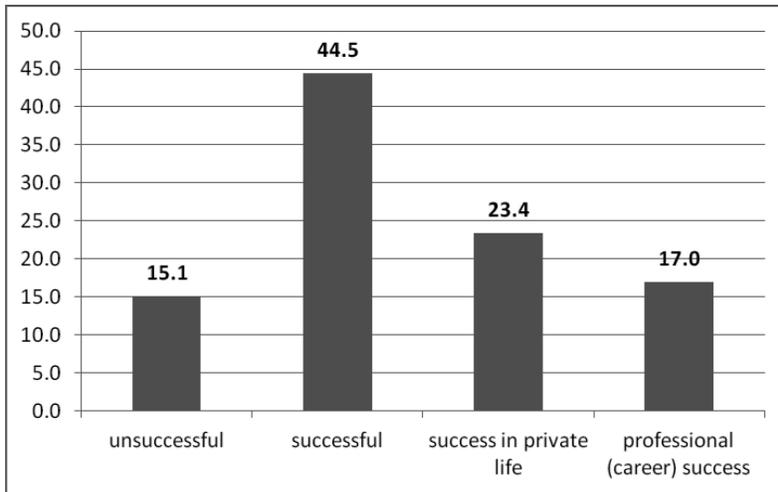
With regard to the socio-demographic and other characteristics of the groups, we can conclude that those who held a university degree were significantly overrepresented in both the groups of successful migrants, and in the group of professionally successful migrants. In contrast, those who held an equivalent of an NVQ/SVQ qualification or lower were overrepresented in the larger group of unsuccessful migrants, and in the group who reporting to having success in private life.

Figure 12. Distribution of success groups by level of education (chi-square: 265,9, sign: 0.000)
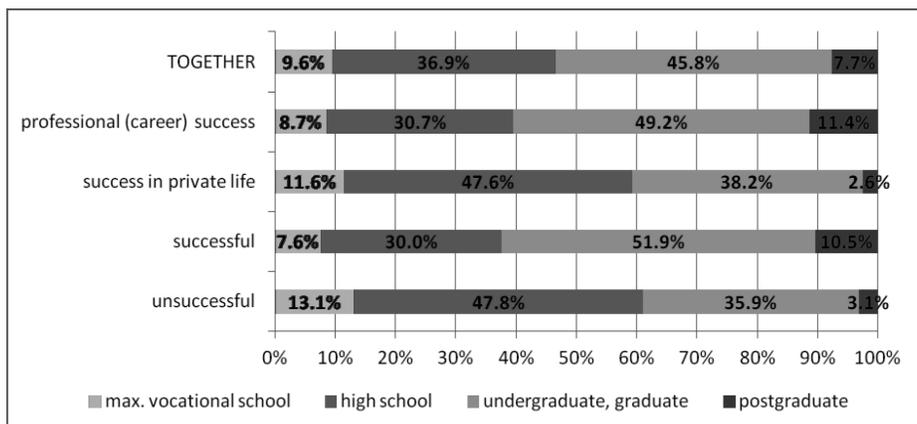
A significant relationship exists between perceived success (satisfaction) and age: an increase in age was associated with higher levels of satisfaction. Satisfaction was further linked to time spent abroad, which indicates the trend towards social integration: the more time spent abroad, the higher the satisfaction and perceived success.

In relation to gender, we confirmed the well-known pattern that women report to having higher levels of success in private life, and men report higher levels of professional success on the whole. It is noteworthy, however, that the proportion of men was also significantly higher in the unsuccessful group.

With regard to participants' prior place of residence in Hungary, we conclude that migrants who came from Budapest are overrepresented amongst participants who report to having professional success. With regards to participants' current residence in the UK, we observed higher levels of overall success as well as professional success amongst those living in London, while private life success was more pronounced amongst Hungarians living elsewhere in the UK.

Approximately half of the unsuccessful migrants (42%) reported that they felt they should return to Hungary, while the vast majority (82%) of those respondents who considered themselves successful on both axes did not intend to return to Hungary at all. Those who reported only private life success did not differ from the wider sample in terms of their willingness to return, but those who considered themselves successful solely in terms of their professional lives were more likely to intend to return to Hungary. Perhaps those who considered themselves successful only from a professional point of view had not become detached from their country of origin to the extent that they no longer planned to return. However, it is important to note that in this group the proportion of those who held a university degree was significantly higher than in the broader sample. Since highly educated people seemed to be more motivated to migrate due to adventure-seeking, the increased rates of willingness to return to Hungary might also be explained by this aspect of migration. On the other hand, when professional success is combined with private life success, there is a steady decline in willingness to return to Hungary.

Success based on change in employment status

Success might also be described based on the change in the individual's employment status. As indicated above, we collected data regarding the employment status of respondents prior to and following migration. Comparing the data points we can establish the proportion of respondents whose status remained largely unchanged (no mobility), those whose status improved following migration (upward mobility), and those whose status declined following migration (downward mobility). In this context, we refer to positive status mobility as a shift from inactive to active participation in the workforce (e.g. from unemployed/out of education to employed/

in education), or as a shift from a relatively unstable to safer employment status (e.g. from sporadic employment to part-time employment, or from part-time employment to full-time employment).

The proportion of different directions of status mobility is indicated in *Table 4* and *5*. As outlined in *Table 4*, 86% of those who had worked full-time prior to migrating maintained their employment status, whereas the remaining 14% of them lost it: 8.5% of them continued to work part-time, and 1.2% of them were employed on a temporary basis. As indicated by the figures, the proportionately most successful were those who had neither worked nor studied in Hungary: 76% of them started working full-time following migration, another 13% of them worked part-time or were employed on a temporary basis, while another 4% of them continued their education. In relation to those who had left Hungary after finishing their education, approximately two-thirds of them worked full-time, and another 16% of them worked either on a part-time or on a temporary basis. Accordingly, migration did not fulfil the expectations of only 2.6% of respondents because the remaining 16.3% of this sample continued their education in the UK.

Considering status mobility on the whole (See *Table 5*), there was no observable status change for 60% of respondents (apart from a horizontal shift), whereas we observed upward mobility in 30% of respondents, indicating successful dynamism from a structural point of view. The remaining 10% of respondents might be considered unsuccessful in this regard since they demonstrated downward mobility in terms of employment status.[4]

Table 4. Employment status after migrating as a function of status prior to migration

Did you work in the six months before you left Hungary?	What has been your employment situation in the UK for the past month?					TOTAL
	worked full-time	worked part-time	worked occasion-ally	was a student	didn't work, wasn't a student	
yes, full-time	85,9%	8,5%	1,2%	1,7%	2,6%	100,0%
yes, part-time	71,2%	18,1%	3,2%	4,3%	3,2%	100,0%
yes, but only occasionally	78,0%	9,4%	5,5%	3,5%	3,5%	100,0%
no, I was a student	65,6%	12,9%	2,6%	16,3%	2,6%	100,0%
I didn't work, wasn't a student	76,2%	9,8%	2,9%	3,9%	7,3%	100,0%
TOTAL	80,6%	9,9%	1,9%	4,5%	3,1%	100,0%

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4   Unfortunately, data did not allow for a deeper analysis of professional status. We were not able to detect cases of 'over-qualification'; i.e. full-time employment in menial work following graduation from a university was still considered a case of upward status-mobility in our model. We can only presume, based on the subjective self-assessments, that these cases are not very common.

Table 5. Employment status before and after migrating, total

Did you work in the six months before you left Hungary?	What has been your employment situation in the UK for the past month?					TOTAL
	worked full-time	worked part-time	worked occasionally	was a student	didn't work, wasn't a student	
yes, full-time	55,5%	5,5%	0,8%	1,1%	1,7%	64,6%
yes, part-time	4,0%	1,0%	0,2%	0,2%	0,2%	5,6%
yes, but only occasionally	3,9%	0,5%	0,3%	0,2%	0,2%	5,0%
no, I was a student	10,5%	2,1%	0,4%	2,6%	0,4%	16,1%
I didn't work, wasn't a student	6,6%	0,9%	0,3%	0,3%	0,6%	8,7%
TOTAL	80,6%	9,9%	1,9%	4,5%	3,1%	100,0%

Analysis of the three groups of status mobility indicates that those who demonstrated upward mobility were significantly younger than participants in the other two groups. Women were overrepresented amongst individuals who demonstrated downward mobility, whereas men were overrepresented in the group of no status mobility. It is possible that in the case of women perceived success compensated for status loss, whereas men might be content to remain in the same professional status and migrate to the UK in the hope of higher salaries and better quality of life. This claim seems to be supported by the fact that those who had horizontal status mobility appeared to be most satisfied with their lives overall.

In relation to education, we may conclude that there is no significant relationship between having or not having a degree and structural success. However, it is noteworthy that the mean of university educated people in the downward mobility group is higher than in the other two groups. This may indicate that better educated individuals agree to status loss in exchange for a chance to try their luck abroad. It is also important to note that less educated individuals are more likely to demonstrate upward mobility, and that individuals with a post-graduate degree are more likely to experience status loss than less educated individuals.

The location of respondents' former residence in Hungary (in the capital or other areas) is significantly related to structural success. Individuals who migrate from Budapest experienced upward mobility significantly less often than those arriving to the UK from different areas of Hungary. In the latter group the direction of mobility was reversed: those moving to the UK from different areas in Hungary other than the capital experienced status gain in the UK significantly more often than status loss or no status change. This might suggest that those who migrate to the UK from Budapest are motived by factors other than status gain, while those who move from other parts of the country might experience upward mobility in addition to geographical mobility. With regard to the chosen locations in the UK, those experiencing downward mobility are more likely to live in smaller cities and towns in the UK, while those whose status improved are more likely to have chosen London as a destination.

There seems to be no significant relationship between status mobility in the job market and time spent in the UK. Networking, however, shows a significant relationship with structural success: those who demonstrate upward or no mobility are more likely to socialize with non-Hungarian immigrants and with the British. Interestingly, socializing with other Hungarians seems to have no effect on success on the job market. This contradicts the theory that the employment of immigrants is governed by ethnic factors and echoes Granovetter's notion that weak bonds (i.e. formal relationships) have a more pronounced effect on successful employment than strong bonds (informal, friendly relationships) (Granovetter 1973: 1371-1373).

Furthermore, there is a relationship between success and frequency of visits to Hungary. Those who experienced upward status mobility were significantly more likely to visit Hungary on a regular basis than their unsuccessful counterparts. This fact might be related to the difference in financial resources, (i.e. successful migrants may have the means to visit Hungary frequently, whereas less successful migrants might struggle to afford such visits). On the other hand, psychological factors (the perception of shame) in the case of less successful migrants might also prevent them from paying frequent visits to Hungary. This might be referred to as *latent diasporization;* i.e., the fact that successful migrants are more visible to their compatriots at home, while unsuccessful migrants may slowly lose touch with their networks in their country of origin, visiting ever more infrequently. Furthermore, it appears that successful migrants find it important to display their successes at home (perhaps through exaggerated spending?), while those who are less successful find less salient ways to maintain their connections in their home country. This phenomenon can also be observed in terms of perceived success. Those who are successful on the subjective dimension of success, and those who experience professional success are also more likely to visit home on a regular basis, while unsuccessful migrants and those who experience private life success find it less important to keep visiting Hungary.

Consideration of the relationship between the dimensions of subjective and structural success

Respondents in the above-mentioned groups of structural success might not evaluate their own success along the lines of the structural components. Although objective and subjective success are not independent (Chi-square: 63.1, df: 6, p=0.000), there is no perfect overlap between them. For instance, those who are considered unsuccessful along both the objective and the subjective dimensions only account for 1.7% of the sample at large. (See *Table 6*). As a result, it would appear that migration almost invariably brings success either in a subjective or in an objective sense.

Table 6. Correspondence between subjective and objective (structural) success

Structural success groups	Subjective success groups				TOTAL
	Unsuccessful	Successful	Success in private life	Professional success	
status-stability (immobility)	8,1%	28,7%	12,7%	10,7%	60,2%
status-success (upward mobility)	5,2%	11,7%	7,3%	5,1%	29,4%
status-loss (downward mobility)	1,7%	4,1%	3,4%	1,3%	10,4%
TOTAL	15,0%	44,5%	23,4%	17,1%	100,0%

Last, we explored how subjective success is related to socio-economic factors, as well as to other subjective components in a unified model. So far we have based our observations on the statistical relationships between two components, while in the following by using logit regression we investigate how individual factors independently affect the probability of belonging to the group of migrants who perceive success (i.e. self-report satisfaction).

The dependent variable of the model is a new, merged variable that comprises the individual groups of subjective success, with 0 for those belonging to the unsuccessful group and 1 for those in successful groups (based on one or both dimensions). The last column in *Table 7* indicates the likelihood (in terms of the odds) of individual success with regard to the different components. This model of success explains 10% of the variation of the dependent variable and indicates that, according to the socio-demographic data, women and individuals who demonstrate horizontal status mobility are 1.5 times more likely to be successful, with level of education also impacting this probability. Individuals who have a post-graduate degree have the most chance of being successful: this group is nearly three times more likely to be satisfied with their situation following migration than the group of individuals who have the equivalent of an NVQ/SVQ qualification or less. Although the time period directly following migration is largely responsible for later success, the impact of this in itself is much less pronounced (odds ratio: 1.045).[5] The decision to not return to Hungary also has a marked impact on success, nearly doubling the chances that the individual will be successful. The well-known economic or professional migration-related incentives for migration, however, have a weak significant effect on success. It is important to note, however, that several other factors that were hypothesized to be linked to success appear to have little or no obvious effect. These factors include age group, location of prior residence in Hungary (capital or other), and residence in the UK (London or other). These factors would likely have a significant effect on success if they were analysed separately in relation to the dimensions of career and private life.

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5   More detailed analysis shows that among the unsuccessful persons and successful persons in terms of the private dimension, the proportion of "newcomers" (a maximum of five years' migration history) is slightly higher than in the other two 'success' groups.

Table 7. Factors that influence the likelihood of belonging to a successful group

	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)
Gender (0-male; 1-female)	,404	,098	,000	1,498
Status immobility_(0-no; 1-yes)	,381	,096	,000	1,464
For how long in the UK?	,044	,017	,009	1,045
Level of education (ref. cat.: max. vocational)			,000	
high school	,021	,155	,893	1,021
undergrad. or grad.	,519	,161	,001	1,681
postgraduate	1,050	,283	,000	2,858
Plans (0- would return to HU; 1 - would stay)	,680	,099	,000	1,974
Motivation: better work	,069	,019	,000	1,072
Motivation: bad economy in HU	-,041	,019	,029	,960
Motivation: personal life	-,039	,014	,006	,962
Motivation: career development	,085	,014	,000	1,089
Constant	-,181	,247	,464	,834

Note: Significant effects are marked in bold. Nagelkerke R-square: 0,097

Conclusion

we investigated the characteristics of Hungarian migration into the UK, the distinctive features of individual migrant groups and the chances of perceived individual success based on a study conducted in 2014 using a large sample, albeit one which used a non-representative method of data collection. By presenting the findings related to migration to the UK, we provide a broader picture about present-day migration from Hungary. We hope that our findings may contribute to future social scientific research in this field, as well as further elaborate on the research questions raised by scientific and policy considerations, and provide background information for future policy decisions which are taken in this area.

It is important in terms of the national interest – irrespective of the currently politicized debates – to better understand the phenomenon of present-day migration in order to take advantage of its benefits, and to minimize its disadvantages. Our study demonstrates that migration from Hungary is neither a straightforward, nor a mono-dimensional process: migrants abroad form a diaspora in a transnational environment that maintains numerous links to the country of origin. Professional development, fulfilling individual potential, and career-mobility all play a very important role in migration. A significant number of migrants consider their migration to be a success and have experienced upward mobility as a result of changing their places of residence. Venturing out from the ethnic 'niche' seems to create better networking resources and more openness which further contributes to the success of migrants. There appears to be strong correlation between success in the new country and the frequency of visits to the country of origin: this might be exploited by a dynamic diaspora politics that regards migrants abroad as an important national resource.

Due to the methodology of our data collection and the scarcity and fragmented nature of data derived from other research projects, our findings could only highlight some aspects of the otherwise extremely complex social phenomenon of recent emigration from Hungary. Nonetheless, we believe that this type of large-sample online data collection process can effectively help us understand the patterns and dynamics of migration if it is supplemented with survey data based on a smaller but random sample that can be considered representative along the main socio-demographic variables and which can be used for weighting.

As far as we are aware, from the body of research on recent Hungarian emigration our work is the only survey-based research that has attempted to describe the situation of Hungarians living in the UK, or even abroad in general. Besides contributing to the knowledge and understanding of present-day emigration from Hungary, the research findings are also suitable for drawing more general conclusions regarding different migration strategies and the factors which determine the self-assessment of the situation of migrants. Analysis of the relationship between qualifications, level of education and the actual labour market situation in the context of the factors determining migration decisions is a further task on which we have started work in the hope that this will give us useful material for better understanding the circumstances that lead to over-qualification.

The Microcensus data will hopefully help us to obtain more accurate background data for weighting and interpreting this and similar other datasets, as well as serving as a basis for designing forthcoming data collections. In the near future we plan to repeat the survey, targeting not only those who work and live in the United Kingdom, but in other countries as well. By doing so we hope to be able to more accurately analyse the factors that influence migration-related decisions, as well as the success or failure of cases of emigration.

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Appendix 1: Comparison of SEEMIG and Go/Stay samples by distribution along variables (%)

	SEEMIG (N=160)	Go/Stay (N=2700)
GENDER		
male	53	50
female	47	50
AGE		
20-29	51	50
30-39	35	37
40-49	10	10
50-59	4	3
EDUCATION		
maximum 8 classes	9	1
vocational school	13	8
high school	47	38
college, university	32	52
n.a.	1	1
YEAR OF MOVING TO UK		
N-3 (2010/2011)	16	24
N-2 (2011/2012)	27	36
N-1 (2012/2013)	50	35
N (2013/2014)	7	5

A sub-sample was selected from the Go/Stay sample along two variables in order to match the more narrow definition of the population included in the SEEMIG sample.
Only those aged 20-59 years and those who had moved to the UK within the past four years were included in the sub-sample.
There were 2700 cases left; distributions were calculated for this population.