2.2 THE SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION OF EMIGRANTS FROM HUNGARY

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The demographic and social composition of emigrants has important implications for the countries affected. For sending countries the impact on the labour market is crucial, which is largely shaped by the age, education and previous labour market status and experience of those moving away. The emigration of the educated and of those with professional qualifications can have negative implications for the economic growth of the country. Furthermore, the demographic implications (that also have an impact on the labour market in the long run) following from the age, family status as well as the number of existing and future children of the emigrants must also be considered. Although losses in the human capital might be compensated by return migration in the long run (see *Chapter 2.7* of *In Focus* on this), in the short term the effects are predominantly negative.

The analysis of the social and demographic composition of emigrants of a country poses a number of methodological difficulties. Available data sources typically do not cover the total population to be studied only different – partly overlapping – groups; the data is not sufficiently detailed, often not reliable enough and not up-to-date. In what follows we provide a brief overview of available data sources on the number of Hungarians living/working abroad, the main advantages as well as limitations of these. Then, based on these data emigrant profiles are presented using descriptive statistics. Finally a more nuanced picture of the composition of emigrants is drawn up using multivariable analysis of data from a sample survey.

Data sources

The 2011 Population Census distinguished two groups of the population residing abroad: those temporarily (up to 12 months) and those permanently (more than 12 months) residing abroad. For the former group, the same information was recorded as for the population residing in Hungary (using the same personal questionnaire); while for those living abroad permanently, only their number was recorded on the dwellings questionnaire (therefore their regional distribution is known). However, individuals who moved abroad with their whole household and have their real estate in Hungary either unoccupied or rented out, were not necessarily recorded in the Census.[1]

The so-called mirror statistics – namely the immigration or labour statistics of receiving countries – are also an important source of data for the analysis of emigrants. The main advantage of these is that registration of those liv-

1 Obviously, the Population Census does not provide information on those emigrants who have left the country on a permanent basis (i.e. they no longer have a registered address in Hungary).

ing or working in a destination country for an extended period of time tends to be more accurate than the registration of emigrants in a sending country. Furthermore – unlike the Census – mirror statistics also include those residing abroad with their entire household. Eurostat collates and publishes the immigration statistics of EU Member States on an annual basis. These include as immigrants individuals who are planning to stay in the destination country for at least 12 months and are officially registered. Immigrants from a country of origin can be listed by citizenship as well as by country of birth. However, the scope of recorded attributes is rather limited: it only allows for an analysis by sex and age group.

A specific group of those living abroad, namely labour migrants – those working abroad for at most 12 months and are aged 15–74 years – are recorded by the Labour Force Survey (LFS) of the Central Statistical Office on a regular, quarterly basis.[2]

Two – recent – sample surveys also provide information on emigration. The *Turning Points of the Life Course* study between November 2012 and February 2013 used a sample of 8,917 individuals aged 18–49 years and with a registered address in Hungary (the sample was selected from the National Register of Addresses). The study was conducted by the Hungarian Demographic Research Institute. In those cases, when the individual in the sample could not be found at the given address, the interviewers attempted to find out the reason for their absence. In a large number of cases the reason identified was residence abroad (they were either not visiting home during the time period of the survey or if they were, they responded that they lived abroad). In these cases the interview included the reasons for living abroad, as well as the destination country. Furthermore, sex, age and the location of the registered address of these individuals were registered (*Kapitány–Rohr,* 2014).[3]

The other survey – the *Hungarians abroad* study – was also conducted around the same time and it was linked to the Labour Force Survey in the first quarter of 2013 as part of the SEEMIG (*Managing Migration and Its Effects in South-East Europe*) project. This survey was also conducted by the Demographic Research Institute. It collected more detailed data on emigrants than the *Turning Points of Life Course* study and compared to other data collections, it included a wider range of emigrants. In the 27 thousand households included in the sample, the survey identified 1,606 emigrants – individuals living abroad (i.e. residing outside Hungary most of the time) at the time of data collection – who were either members of these households (former or current) or siblings of household members (*Blaskó–Gödri* 2014, *Blaskó,* 2015).

The composition of emigrants based on the 2011 Population Census

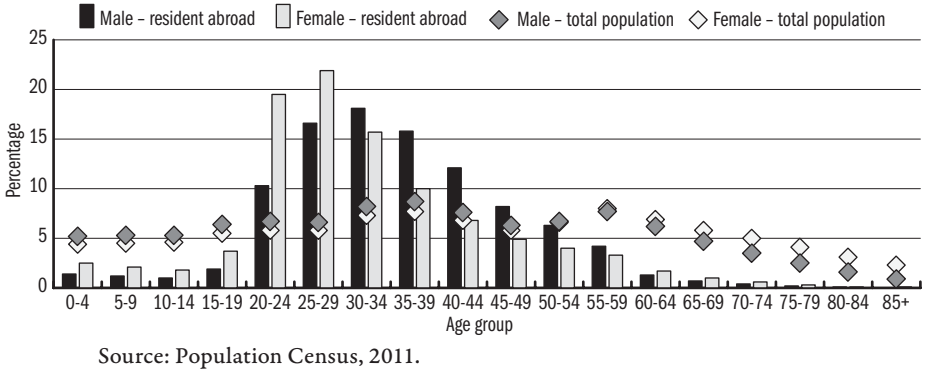
The 2011 Population Census recorded 70,059 individuals resident abroad for less than 12 months – and thus considered part of the permanent population

2 For more information on this data source and key conclusions see Chapter 2.5 of *In Focus* on labour migration by Ágnes Hárs and Dávid Simon.

3 The main findings of the *Turning Points of Life Course* study relating the composition of emigrants coincide with findings from other data sources, therefore, due to limitations of space they are not presented here.

of Hungary.[4] Males are heavily overrepresented (65 per cent) in this population, and even more so (70 per cent) among the 35- to 59-year-olds – the group with the highest level of labour market activity. As regards the composition of the group by age, the usual characteristics of the migrant population can be observed: younger age groups are overrepresented among both sexes compared to their share in the total population; in particular women aged 20 to 34 and men aged 20 to 44 years (see *Figure 2.2.1*). By contrast, the share of under-15s is low and that of over-65s is negligible. Due to the young age profile, the share of singles is higher than in the total population: 62 per cent of women and 50 per cent of men aged 15 years or over were unmarried, while the same figures in the total population were 27 per cent and 39 per cent, respectively. The gender differences in the pattern of short-term (or at least intended short-term) migration are highlighted by the fact that 43 per cent of male temporary migrants aged 15 years or over were husbands or cohabiting partners in a household left behind, while only 20 per cent of females were wives or cohabiting partners.

Figure 2.2.1: Age distribution of the population resident abroad for less than 12 months and the total population



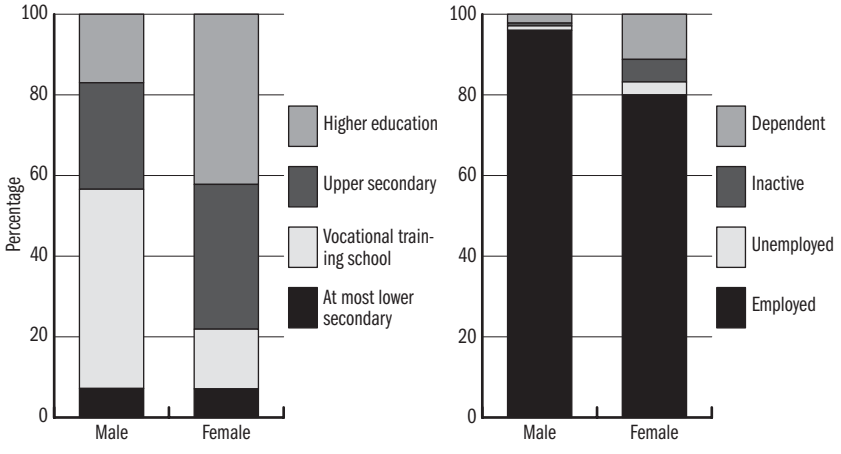
Source: Population Census, 2011.

The selection of migrants by *level of education* is especially important from the perspective of the sending country. Women temporarily living abroad were characterised by a considerably higher-than-average education: among the 18–64 year olds 80 per cent had at least secondary education, while among the 25–64 year old, 42 per cent held a higher education degree (compared to 60 per cent and 24 per cent in the respective age groups of the total population) (*Figure 2.2.2*). Among men, neither indicators of education were particularly high; however, in both age groups the share of those with a vocational qualification was well above average. This indicator was especially high among those aged between 35 and 55 years and those from villages (57–60 per cent, and 56 per cent respectively). Holding a higher education degree was most frequent among younger females aged between 25 and 34 years (47–51 per

4 Nearly two thirds lived in just three destination countries: Germany (33 per cent), the United Kingdom (16 per cent) and Austria (14 per cent); considerably lower but not negligible is the share of those residing in the Netherlands (5 per cent) and Italy (4 per cent).

cent), and it was also frequent among males and females from Budapest (46 per cent, and 56 per cent).

Figure 2.2.2: Distribution of the male and female population aged 25–64 years resident abroad for less than 12 months by level of education and labour market status



Source: Population Census, 2011.

The distribution of temporary migrants by economic activity (*Figure 2.2.2*) shows that emigration from Hungary is predominantly employment-related. Eighty-six per cent of those aged 15–64 years, and 91 per cent of the 25–64-year olds were employed (while the same figures in Hungary were 57 and 64 per cent). The employment rate of 25–64-year-old men was especially high (96 per cent). Women in the same age group were also most likely to be employed (80%), but a significant share (11 per cent) of dependents were also present here.

According to the Population Census the share of those with foreign citizenship (9.6 per cent) as well as those born outside Hungary (8.8 per cent) is higher in the population resident abroad than in the total population (where these are 2.3 per cent and 3.9 per cent respectively). This seems to corroborate the relationship that emerges from other data as well, namely previous experience of migration increases the likelihood of a subsequent migration, and it also indicates the higher migration propensity of the foreign-born population as well as their weaker attachment to Hungary (*Blaskó–Gödri,* 2014).

The composition of emigrants based on mirror statistics

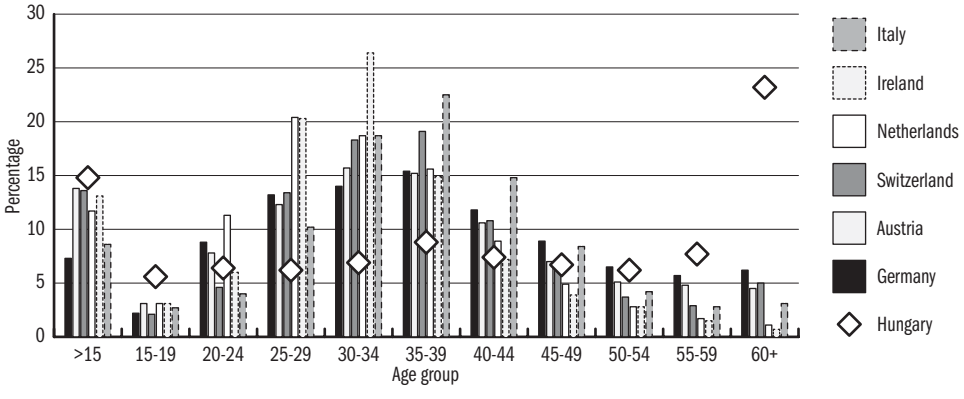
Based on aggregated data from mirror statistics, there were approximately 330 thousand Hungarian nationals living in European destination countries at the beginning of 2014 (*Gödri*, 2015).[5] These sources reveal very little information on the socio-demographic composition of this group, only their distribution by sex and age is known. According to this, the picture of a group

5 Compared to temporary migrants, long-term migrants were even more concentrated in the three main destination countries: 38 per cent lived in Germany, 23 per cent in the United Kingdom and 14 per cent in Austria; followed by Switzerland and the Netherlands with much smaller shares.

that is younger than the population of Hungary emerges, characterised by a slight male-majority (55 per cent). However, there are major differences in the composition of migrant population by destination country.

Men are considerably over-represented (62 per cent) among *Hungarian citizens* living in Germany and somewhat over-represented (52–56 per cent) in the United Kingdom, Ireland and the Scandinavian countries. By contrast, the large majority (72 per cent) of those in Italy are female, and there are also slightly more women (53–55 per cent) among those who live in Austria, the Netherlands, Spain and Belgium. All destination countries are characterised by a young age-composition; the share of 20–39-year olds was between 51 and 68 per cent in all the main destination countries, while in Hungary this was only 28 per cent. The share of young people was especially high in the new destination countries, such as the Netherlands and Ireland; while in more traditional destinations (Germany, Austria and Switzerland) older age groups were relatively better represented (*Figure 2.2.3*). In the United Kingdom – although the Eurostat database does not include information on age – the picture of a very young migrant population emerges (see *K2.2.1* text box).

Figure 2.2.3: Age distribution of Hungarian nationals in main destination countries and the total population in Hungary (January 1, 2014)



Note: The figure includes main destination countries (where at least 7.5 thousand Hungarian nationals lived); for Austria the only available data is from 2013; the United Kingdom is not included due to missing data.
Source: *Eurostat* database (last updated: January 28, 2016).

The number of *Hungarian-born population* is higher in most receiving countries – particularly in more traditional destination countries – than the number of Hungarian nationals. These groups are characterised by a sex distribution similar to what was described above (the female majority is even more marked in Italy, 75 per cent); however their age distribution is considerably older. Among those living in Austria the share of over-65s (21 per cent) is sim-

ilar to that in Hungary, while in Switzerland it is much higher (31 per cent), and it is also around 13 per cent in Italy and the Netherlands. Out of the main destination countries, only in Ireland is the age composition of Hungarian nationals and Hungarian-born population similar, which indicates the presence of a relatively new (post-2004) migration wave here.

The composition of emigrants based on the *Hungarians abroad* study

In the followings a detailed analysis is provided based on the sample of Hungarian citizens aged 20–59 years from the SEEMIG survey, *Hungarians abroad*.[6] In this age group there were 1,198 individuals in the sample who emigrated after 1989, and out of this 618 people did so after 2009. In line with data from other sources, this population also appears young and economically active. In terms of education, those with no more than lower secondary education are strongly under-represented (6 per cent), while those with higher education – both college and university – are over-represented (college: 20 vs 12 per cent; university: 13 vs 8 per cent in the population of Hungary). The share of males and females is virtually identical among those who emigrated after 1989 and it is also very similar among post-2009 migrants, although this latter group is characterised by a slight male majority.[7]

In order to examine the net effects of inter-related social and demographic characteristics multivariable analysis – logistic regression – was used, whereby those residing abroad were compared to the population resident in Hungary. Models were estimated for the entire after-1989 emigrant population followed by separate analyses of the sub-group that emigrated after 2009. The results of the analyses are presented in *Table 2.2.1.*

The main finding of the analysis from a labour market perspective is that education in itself is a key factor associated with the likelihood of emigration. The higher level of education found among emigrants is not caused by the fact that they come from a younger and more educated population. Even after controlling for age (and other characteristics), it still holds that those with vocational training or secondary education are two and a half times more likely, while graduates are nearly five times more likely to emigrate compared to those with at most lower secondary education. However, the over-representation of graduates is declining somewhat over time: among post-2009 emigrants the odds ratio of graduates drops to below four.

The effect of age among post-1989 emigrants shows a particular reversed U shape: compared to the 20–29-year olds those aged 30–39 years are significantly more likely, while those aged 40–49 years somewhat less likely, and those over 49 years significantly less likely to live abroad. However, the increased likelihood of the 30–39-year olds can be attributed to the time passed since migration (i.e. those who migrated in their twenties have also aged). This is also supported by the fact that no significant difference is found in

6 The detailed description of this analysis can be found in *Blaskó–Gödri* (2014).
7 For detailed findings see Table F1, *Blaskó–Gödri* (2014), p. 303.

the likelihood of those in their 20s and those in their 30s if we look at the group of post-2009 emigrants.

Table 2.2.1: Factors associated with the likelihood of living abroad among 20–59 year olds (odds ratios of logistic regression models)

	Post-1989 emigrants	Post-2009 emigrants	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Explanatory variables		Exp(*B*)	
Sex (reference category: female)			
Male	1.17**	1.23**	1.58
Age (reference category: aged 20–29 years)			
30–39	1.27***	0.72	0.97
40–49	0.77**	0.46***	0.46***
50–59	0.34***	0.23***	0.21***
Education (reference category: at most lower secondary)			
Vocational training school	2.70***	2.70***	1.91***
Upper secondary school	2.69***	2.35***	2.30***
College	4.77***	3.72***	3.48***
University	5.13***	3.59***	3.37***
Marital status (reference category: unmarried)			
Married	0.70***	0.53***	0.51***
Widowed	0.74	0.00	0.00
Divorced	0.76**	0.85	0.89
Place of birth (reference category: Hungary)			
Not Hungary	2.02***	2.66***	2.80***
Sex × age			
Male × 30–39			1.87***
Male × 40–49			1.28
Male × 50–59			1.92
Sex × education (reference category: female × education)			
Male × vocational training			2.95***
Male × secondary education			1.06
Male × college			0.73
Male × university			0.65
Sex × marital status (reference category: female × marital status)			
Male × married			2.27***
Male × widowed			0.58
Male × divorced			2.20***
–2log likelihood	9702.90	6020.17	5936.60
Cox & Snell R^2	0.036	0.022	0.024
Nagelkerke's R^2	0.144	0.131	0.144

Note: Controlled for region and type of settlement of last known address before emigration.
Significant at ***1 per cent, **5 per cent, *10 per cent.
Source: SEEMIG – Hungarians abroad 2013 (*Blaskó–Gödri,* 2014, p. 286).

Unsurprisingly, married people are less likely to move abroad than the unmarried, while being born abroad increases the likelihood of emigration. Concerning gender differences: controlling for other factors SEEMIG data also show the slight over-representation of men for the period as a whole as well as for the most recent years. However, this result is further refined by Model 3 that incorporates interaction effects into the model. These estimations make it possible to establish the likelihood of emigration for smaller, specific sub-groups of the population. The results show that only in some subgroups are men more likely to emigrate than women. These include: people aged 30–39 years, those with a vocational qualification, as well as the married and the divorced.

The multinomial regression analysis (*Blaskó–Gödri,* 2014) also highlights the differences in the composition of migrants by destination country. According to this, compared to other emigrants, those moving to the United Kingdom are more likely to be unmarried and young and less likely to have a vocational qualification. At the same time migrants to Germany are more likely to have a vocational qualification, be older, and married.

Conclusions

Our analyses based on various data sources have shown that Hungarian emigrants from the past decade(s) are on average more educated, younger, more likely to be unmarried than the total population. Also, males are somewhat overrepresented among them. We have also found that these features are still characteristic of emigrants even when other factors are controlled for. However, behind the general picture there are important and marked differences between migrant groups, either by destination country or according to other characteristics. As regards selection by education, which is key from a labour market perspective, the different data sources clearly and unanimously indicate the over-representation of skilled workers and graduates among emigrants. However, while some of the sources (Population Census, Labour Force Survey) suggest the dominance of skilled workers, data from the SEEMIG survey indicate that graduates are the most overrepresented group. These discrepancies are probably due to differences in the migration strategies of different educational groups, and can be explained by the uneven representation of the different emigrant sub-populations in the various statistics. The SEEMIG data (which indicates the strong migration activity of graduates) does not include cross-border commuters (or only those who do not travel very often between the two countries and spend most of their time abroad), but it includes those who moved abroad with their whole household. (The large majority of respondents in the sample had been living abroad for well over a year at the time of the survey.) By contrast, data sources that suggest a stronger presence of skilled workers and a smaller share of graduates tend to

include (more) temporary migrants with strong links to households in Hungary. The Population Census includes people who were away temporarily – for less than 12 months – but their household members lived in Hungary at the time of the census. The sample of the Labour Force Survey includes individuals – among them many cross-border commuters – who have been working abroad (for up to 12 months) and whose household members live in Hungary.

This suggests that the two groups who have the most-sought after labour market knowledge and skills – skilled workers and graduates – pursue different migration strategies: graduates are more characterised by longer-term migration, together with their family, while skilled workers are overrepresented among short-term temporary migrants who retain their link to Hungarian households as well as among cross-border commuters.[8]

8 This is also supported by various indirect information. SEEMIG data show that skilled workers are more likely to financially support a household in Hungary on a regular basis than graduates (*Blaskó,* 2015). The findings presented in Chapter 2.5 of *In Focus* also resonate with this: Blaskó and Szabó show that two thirds of migrants leaving children behind have a vocational qualification.

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