The Hungarian migration potential with a special emphasis on the migration motivation of the current highly skilled young generation

 $\mathbf{+}$

Since Hungary's political and economic transition, its joining of the EU and the subsequent employment agreements among European countries the westwards, migration has speeded up. The high unemployment rate in the reform countries and the marketable professions and knowledge of languages has enabled qualified individuals to emigrate in the search for better jobs, salaries or prestige to the western European countries. On researching the Hungarian migrant potential it is verifiable; Hungarian employers do not put pressure on the labour market of the EU. However, in fields of some special professions there are crisis phenomena. This study examines the causes; in its particular focus are the migrant motivations of the highly skilled post crisis young generation.

WHICH IS MORE DANGEROUS: THE BRAIN DRAIN OR THE BRAIN WASTE?

Migration to work has the advantage of allowing the individual to gain international experience. Periodic migration might help to increase R+D potential and will have a positive effect on the individual and local (domestic) potential of HR. In my opinion, and this is my statement, scheduled periodically mobility to work is a cumulative fact. This cumulative fact has a reason for the future and also an aim of migration in order to get a long-term job. It is not a problem but considers the fact that those Hungarians finding work opportunities abroad are not in the position as befits their graduation. Their motivation is more material-, i.e. money and salary, driven than professional. Their motivation is to achieve and make the highest possible income. The years of study and knowledge gained in Hungary are virtually lost, as employees that migrate do not look for a job that reflects their ability and knowledge, or if they do so, it is more often than not without success. Despite this lack of success they do not return home but continue working in positions for which they are over qualified. The brain waste tendency can

^[1] Széchenyi István University, Kautz Gyula Economics Faculty, assistant lecturer, PhD candidate (bandy@sze.hu).

be better demonstrated than the brain drain in the case of Hungarian employees obtaining a job abroad.

Every skilled immigrant is a gift for the host country. Brain drain has been a known term since the 1950s; it was first formulated by the British Royal Academy when its scientists were attracted by the American and Canadian labour market. We talk about the phenomenon when the useful knowledge (brain) leaves the country in a channelled way (drain) on a large scale and to a certain country. The host country benefits in any case, since it receives a by now 'ready' specialist for the training of whom it doesn't have to effect expenditures, thus the country is the beneficiary of brain gain. The process is absolutely a threefold loss if the given specialist on leaving his or her own labour market doesn't get a position corresponding to his or her qualification in the target country and is therefore forced to settle for a lower position: brain waste. According to my research conducted recently, more and more Hungarian higher education qualifications are increasingly difficult to enforce specifically in the Hungarian labour market, but migrants with these qualifications can be integrated with a lack of success to positions corresponding to their qualifications in host countries. Having defined the problem a further serious question is formulated: whether certain segments of the Hungarian state-funded college and university education produce an overqualified workforce to the Western European 'servant industry' (e.g. a Hungarian economist as a household employee; a Hungarian teacher as a waiter).

Nowadays it is rather brain drain and the flow of talents and not brain waste, which ignites, heated debates. The international mobility of the skilled workforce generates global advantages by helping the flow of knowledge satisfying the demand for skills. The skilled foreign workforce contributes to the economic growth of the host country and to the achievement of aims, especially in the fields of research and development, innovation and enterprises. Although the countries form programs in the attempt to lure back talent, the sad reality is that they have little success. The number of those valuable specialists who agree to return and accept the domestic offer is insignificant. In most cases not only financial recognition motivates outstanding talent but also those material work benefits of a higher standard that they receive in host countries than in their home country.

Yet governments can do much to prevent brain drain. Policies for the scientific and technological fields are of key importance. The centres established for the frames of scientific researches, the innovation institutions, the launch of world-class projects and the operation of high-tech enterprises can be so attractive that they not only lure the migrated home talent back but can also attract highly skilled specialists from other countries as well. Of course this is no easy task but rather a time- and investment-consuming attempt. Education also has a big role but in my opinion the ensuring of the highest level of education opportunities is not enough if there is no sufficient number of opportunities mainly of good quality in the specialised fields of research and scientific employment. The risk of brain drain is a real phenomenon. However, innovation, research and entrepreneurial spirit and the appropriate capital at home can also give stimulus to comeback. Relations established with international innovation networks, the combination of appropriate policies and the long-term international cooperation among more countries can create such processes by which the brain drain is convertible: the conversion is more advantageous for everybody; the new 'institution' is – the brain bank. Thus the environment supporting migration raises the level of global innovation and withal is an opportunity for the poorer countries to reach the technologies and products of innovation productivity in a cheaper way. A research group led by Endre Sik did the measuring of the Hungarian migration potential after the political transformation between 1993 and 2001 in a series of research. The then surveys showed two important findings: "On the one hand the migration potential of the population over 15 was approximately constant and low in the 1990s; on the other hand by 2001 the migration potential had more than doubled."^[2]

CAN WE TALK ABOUT HUNGARY'S NEW EXODUS?

On analysing the research and surveys examining the Hungarian migration processes in the past ten years in relation to the questionnaire findings of sociological models it can be said that despite the expectations of the EU accession the Hungarian migration potential remained low compared to neighbouring countries as well; it has showed a sharp upward trend since the years after the crisis of 2008; a major recovery is observed in the field of health care. When analysing the social base of migration potential it can be remarked that in the case of Hungarians (as well) education doesn't significantly affect the propensity to work abroad. The migration ability of Hungarians doesn't explicitly depend on so called repulsive factors like e.g. dissatisfaction with living standards but rather the grasping of opportunities, the better living standards, the professional fulfilment and the desire for a career all force the employee to work abroad. Among the specific elements of migration language knowledge is the most powerful factor. The migration potential of those having language knowledge is 2 or 3 times higher than that of those not speaking foreign languages. With regard to age characteristics it can be said that people under 30 are the most active; their migration propensity is 9-10%, which is twice the average. As regards the labour market situation the most pronounced migration propensity can be observed among the unemployed; their propensity is three times the average. In most cases they can be classified as endangered with regard to that their hopelessness often prompts them to make quick decisions, laying themselves open to unscru-

^[2] Sik Endre – Simonovits Borbála (2002): Migrációs potenciál Magyarországon, 1993–2001. In: Társadalmi riport. Kolosi Tamás, Tóth István György, Vukovich György (szerk.). Budapest: TÁRKI. 207.

pulous job promoters and involving themselves in illegal processes exploiting people. Active workers have a migration propensity slightly higher than the average, whereas inactive ones have one lower than the average. The propensity to work abroad doesn't increase linearly with the level of education, but it can be remarked that the migration potential of those having completed only eight primary school years of education or even less is 2,2% and 0,5%.^[3]

Examining the composition of Hungary's population of working age it can be said that the migration potential is lower than the propensity measured in other Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries. Among Central and Eastern European Union citizens there are over a million Poles in other EU member states, especially in the United Kingdom, together with approximately one million Romanian citizens recorded in the immigration statistics of other EU countries.^[4] Although there are such groups, like the health care workers who have a very high migration propensity in Hungarian respects. 1111^[5] doctors, among who 550^[6] were experienced specialists, left the country in 2010 alone, which means a serious human resources crisis. If we add in the total number, 1777^[7] health care workers went to work abroad in 2010. Unfortunately the tendency doesn't look set to improve or at least stagnate, since the data of 2011/2012 shows further migration.

The European Commission has already proved in numerous studies that in the past 5-6 years 200 000 workers from the new member states left yearly for a country of the "EU15". The weaker-than-expected initial Hungarian interest surprised the specialists according to whom the restrictions of old member states ab ovo reduced the Hungarians' low propensity to work. The lack of language knowledge is a deterrent factor for many as it is an obstacle right in the first steps when dealing with the official issues regarding foreign work. The weak migration network also impedes the Hungarians' migration propensity: Hungarians who left the country earlier don't maintain a broad system of relations either with each other or with newcomers. With the comparison of the multi-year surveys of TÁRKI it can be said that since the Hungarian joining of the EU (2004) more and more people decide to and prefer to work abroad; however fewer people would be willing to leave the country forever. According to the most common life cycle model, the aim of the person taking on a job abroad is to strengthen the domestic existence by the income obtained abroad and planned to be set aside. Among higher education students the propensity to work abroad is extremely high; every second student would take on a job abroad, if it were for a relatively short period and their return home was guaranteed.

^[3] Source: own collection based on the databases of www.tarki.hu and www.ksh.hu

^[4] Source: Statisztikai Tükör 2010/63. 3.

^[5] Source: www.rezidens.hu, downloaded: 26. 03. 2012.

^[6] Source: www.eekh.hu, downloaded: 14. 12. 2011.

^[7] Source: www.rezidens.hu, downloaded: 26. 03. 2012.

The most popular target countries are Germany, Austria and the United Kingdom, but there is no reliable data regarding the size of the workforce leaving Hungary. Hungarian government agencies don't deal in an organised way with preparation for foreign employment and foreign legal protection and the number of surveys regarding the effects on the domestic economy is still insufficient. Although there isn't an extremely high migration, it would be rewarding to examine the migration's effect on the Hungarian labour market with regard to more and more segments. It is important since, although the overall migration doesn't indicate a significant labour market crisis, by now the disorder caused in some sectors, like in the above mentioned health care, has been experienced. The phenomenon of mass emigration cannot be observed in areas with labour surplus; the main reason for which is perhaps the above-mentioned low Hungarian propensity towards mobility. The equilibrium of the job market isn't endangered by the number of migrants, but rather their composition. The phenomenon of migration can cause disorder in various professional fields as well as training courses with low numbers of participants. The foreign employment of skilled workers is encouraged by the substantially better income opportunities and the lack of language knowledge is not always a deterrent factor either. It is characteristic of Hungarian workers that they prefer to take a job in Germany and in Austria despite the strict restrictions and the bureaucratic difficulties. In the past 3-4 years the number of those taking a job in the United Kingdom rose; however this number is hard to estimate since the condition of employment is not subject to registration. They only have to indicate their employment by paying a onetime processing fee that is registered by the competent authority of the British Home Office. This notification requirement expires after 12 months of legal labour relations. Taking into consideration the unreliability of the Hungarian data and the estimation of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office, the total number of Hungarian employees in 2013, can be determined as far over 335 000 people.^[8]

The inflow of an east European workforce had positive rather than negative connotations in the host countries until the occasional protests manifested with the occurrence of the crisis, which were directed against migrant workers. New EU workers mostly play a niche role in various occupational fields and overwork is not in the least alien to them, being it performance- or working hours-based. The highest demand and host willingness for the Hungarian workforce is, for example, currently in the United Kingdom. Labour market segments contesting specialist shortages are fully liberalised; in most cases recruitment agencies complicating the organisation of employment help the employee. Another opportunity for job seekers is the cross-border EURES network that helps the employment of those employees in the EU whose profession doesn't belong to

^[8] Source: www.ksh.hu (Hungarian Central Statistical Office), downloaded: 13. 07. 2013.

KATALIN BÁNDY

professions in short supply in Hungary. They are reluctant to contribute, for example, to the migration of doctors and other health care workers, due to the domestic shortage, but the organisation provides counselling and information in these cases as well. It is typical that a graduate with language and Internet skills can obtain foreign jobs without the help of any kind of state or employment service. In most cases it is also typical that employees leave jobs considered high standard in Hungary, such as positions in the fields of education or the banking sector, and they do all this for a less prestigious but financially more attractive job abroad. This tendency seems to far exhaust the category of brain waste.

It is significant that Hungarian job seekers with good language knowledge but with a lack of experience can reach their expectations by taking on jobs in less qualified positions. Taking into consideration the requirement that may arise in Hungarian employment, affecting the applicants, and cannot be fulfilled, that is to have professional experience, the opportunity to work abroad can be attractive as it does away for the need for this. The openness of the EU-15 is proved by the fact that the doors of companies very quickly open in front of such a qualified workforce, such as employees, with a degree in engineering, information technology and health care. It is typical on the one hand that Hungarians are looked for positions requiring no or fewer qualifications and experience, and on the other hand, opportunities are offered to decidedly skilled people with a degree and practice. The reason for this is the prominently high standard of some fields of Hungarian vocational training. In most cases companies are more than satisfied with Hungarian workers, thus during their further recruitment, they define nationality expectations, besides professional competencies, to recruitment agencies. The matter is of course not one-sided, as international big companies, banks and reputable companies and institutions are attractive for talented foreigners. In more cases a short-term period of employment can also be very important to maintain and develop professional competence and to maintain a competitive labour market.

To illustrate migration potential it is worth having a look at the prognosis of Klára Fóti (2006), which elaborates the emigration data of eight Central and Eastern European countries. Based on the data, in the first five years, approximately 160 000 Hungarians looked for a job in the countries of the EU and according to the prognosis their number will have reached 360 000 by 2018. If we include the aging population and the declining birth rates, then together with emigration the population of Hungary will have decreased to 9.1 million by the end of the analysed period. (The population of Hungary in January 2013: 9,906/thousand people^[9])

^[9] www.ksh.hu, downloaded: 17. 11. 2013.

| Years | Poland | Hungary | Slovakia | Czech Republic |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|----------|-----------------------|
| ∑ 2006-2010 | 827 852 | 160 309 | 103 893 | 148 519 |
| ∑ 2011- 2018 | 1 153 772 | 199 486 | 139 490 | 177 090 |
| Σ 2006- 2018 | 1 981 624 | 359 794 | 243 383 | 325 609 |

Figure 1: Emigration to EU15. Author's collection and compilation based on the prognosis of Klára Fóti (2009)

TÁRKI's 2012 survey called Omnibusz^[10] confronts us with more troublesome data. "The country was shocked in the fields of social policy, economy and culture. If the domestic labour market does not improve, a dramatic situation may take place... the so called migration potential reached its twenty year peak: during the last two years the number of those planning to emigrate has risen to its sesquialter, which is undeniably the sign of bad social condition."^[11]

Surveys show that every fifth Hungarian and every second among the youth plans to work abroad. Since 2005 the number of registered Hungarians living abroad has doubled (in 2012 200 000 people). According to the data^[12] of the German Statistical Office (DESTATIS) 10.7 million migrants live in Germany from 194 countries based on their origins. Hungary takes the forth place in this list thus Germany is one of the most attractive migration target countries. According to the data of DESTATIS 82 760 Hungarians lived in the country in 2011, with an average age of 38.8 years, and an average of 9.7 years have elapsed since they arrived there. These data's sign referring to the intensification of migration can be clarified by the fact that the number of emigrants has tendentially raised: in 2009 3 000 people, in 2010 8 000 people, in 2011 17 000 people, while in 2012 more than 19 000 Hungarians announced its domiciliation wish to the authorities.

The attractiveness of Austria is still strong among Hungarian labourers. In the examined period, according to the data^[13] of the Austrian Statistical Office (STATISTIK AUSTRIA) more than 49 000 Hungarians work in the country. This means that from 2011 to 2012 the Austrian migration rose by 30%. This number does not contain those commuting from the north-western-Transdanubian region and whose number can be 8000 each day from Sopron alone, according to estimations.

^[10] Source: TÁRKI Omnibusz Felmérés 2012. március http://www.tarki.hu/hu/news/2012/ kitekint/20120523_migracio.html, downloaded: 11. 11. 2012.

^[11] Hárs Ágnes: TÁRKI Omnibusz Felmérés 2012. március http://www.tarki.hu/hu/news/2012/ kitekint/20120523_migracio.html, downloaded: 11. 11. 2012.

^[12] Source: DESTATIS https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Bevoelkerung/ MigrationIntegration/BevoelkerungMigrationsstatus.html, downloaded: 09. 01. 2013.

^[13] Source: STATISTIK AUSTRIA http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/arbeitsmarkt/ index.html, downloaded: 09. 01. 2013.

KATALIN BÁNDY

The third most popular area for Hungarians is England, but in connection with this we only have estimations. The available data from 2011 report 39 000^[14] Hungarians. However, according to estimations, the number of Hungarians living in England could be as many as 120 000 together with their family members since the abolishment of the compulsory registration in 2011.

Taking into consideration that a significant proportion of migrants derive from younger generations, whose domestic bonds are looser as they were easier to 'tear', it can be said that the chances of a returning migration declines. They are the ones who are 'only' bound to Hungary by their parents and siblings; neither a child nor an existence forces them to stay. In some cases the loss of their friends does not have a negative effect either since friends often decide to leave together, sharing both the initial financial and spiritual strains of integration. Having spent their most active years in the target country and having created their own existence and private lives, these youngsters are very unlikely to move back to Hungary. Both in Hungary and in the receptive countries the measurement of migration has statistical obstacles, which results in that neither the data nor the mirror statistics provide reliable data. We can only conclude that the number of those who live and work abroad for longer or shorter periods is far higher than what is shown by the domestic statistical data and by the often incomplete mirror statistics. Shifts cannot be judged either, as their time periods cannot be tied. How long are these migrations or possibly are they determinate? In which cases is returning migration actually a returning and in which cases is it a stopover destination before a newer migration? It is not absurd that the migrant appears in other target countries as well. Guidelines are uncertain, thus migration is among the most difficult social phenomena to 'predict'.

Between 2007 and 2010 Gallup^[15] conducted a representative survey in 148 countries about the potential net migration index (PNMI), and the international survey also shows that Hungary's population would fall by 1.5 million people if the respondents put their plans into action. According to the survey Hungary is among the countries of concern due to its -15 value in a scale between -100 and +100. This value means that the number of those who would leave Hungary is 15% higher than that of those who would choose Hungary as a target country. The main migration target countries of the Hungarians like the United Kingdom, Austria and Germany have the indexes of +62, +33 and +14 in their order of mentioning. Furthermore, the surveys strengthen that people under 30, especially with higher education qualifications, are the most open to migration. If we compare this to the fact that in 2011 Hungary's HDI (Human Development

^[14] Source: HVG hivatkozása Guardian 2011. májusban közölt adatai alapján. HVG 2012. december. 51-52.szám. 9.

^[15] http://www.gallup.com/poll/142364/Migration-Triple-Populations-Wealthy-Nations.aspx#1 downloaded: 11. 12. 2012.

Index) indicator was 0,816 - where HDI1 is very high^[16], but according to other sources^[17] it is HDI2, which means a high category - we can say that researchers are forced to ask diverse questions. (HDI is an index that examines the three basic human dimensions of long-term development: expectancy for a long and healthy life, the availability of knowledge and education, and a fair standard of living.) If according to HDI indicators Hungary is among the best countries, what is behind the prominent migrant data? 'Migration is not a kind of aptness or destiny'^[18], it is rather the result of determining economic factors (also in case of Hungarians). Before the change in political regime, human resources were less honoured; the upgrading of human resources took place later due to market economy. Knowledge can be obtained without limitations and individual ambitions can be widely consummated by the free flow of individuals.

According to TÁRKI's representative survey^[19] in 2012 16% of Hungarians planned a permanent and 7% of them a determinate stay and employment abroad. (The cumulative ration of migration plans is 19%). This is the highest ratio ever, according to which every fifth Hungarian plans to move permanently abroad. Since 2010 the number of those planning to move permanently abroad has been one and a half times more and the range of social groups showing a higher than average migration willingness can be determined as well. From these social groups, the group of people under 30 is the most willing to migrate since every second person from this group plans to migrate.

^[16] Human Development report 2011. Hungary: HDI values and rank changes in the 2011 Human Development report. 2. "Hungary's HDI value for 2011 is 0.816—in the very high human development category—positioning the country at 38 out of 187 countries and territories."

^[17] Esipova-Ray-Srinivasan (2011): *The World's Potential Migrants*. Gallup. 23. "HDI2: High Human Development (HDI Scores Between .80 and .89)" http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/the-worlds-potential-migrants, downloaded: 11. 12. 2012.

^[18] The phrasing of Ágnes Hárs, TÁRKI's leading researcher.

^[19] TÁRKI (2012): Csúcson a migrációt tervezők aránya. Results of the survey: 2012. március. http://www.tarki.hu/hu/news/2012/kitekint/20120523_migracio.html, downloaded: 09. 11. 2012.

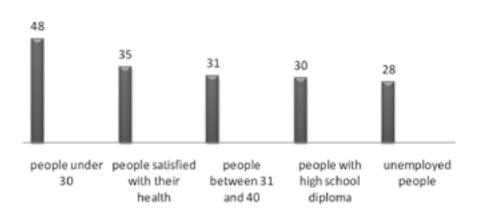


Figure 2: Groups with a higher than average migrant potential (%)

According to the survey of the Graduate Career Tracking System^[20] in 2011 those young graduates who received their degree between 2008 and 2010 earned an average of net 148.000 HUF per month. Among the fields with the highest salaries we can find the field of economic science. Economic qualifications provide a general knowledge that enables the graduate to work in more specialities, widening in this way the opportunities of the job applicants. In order to achieve a better standard of living, changing career is also not a problem; several professionals accept jobs with a lower status for a better income.

If we take into consideration that according to estimations in 2011 100.000^[21] Hungarians left the country and that the most open social group to migration is the young and qualified age group, and if we compare these to the salaries available in Western-Europe, we can accept the hypothesis that our young graduates leave even if they have to change career.

Elaborating the above data I still state that it would be early to speak about a general social crisis; there is no new Hungarian exodus. Nevertheless, these growing tendencies have to be treated with care and challenges have to be treated with strategies in a prepared way.

Source: author's compilation based on the data of Tárki, Omnibusz survey March 2012.

^[20] http://www.felvi.hu/diploman_tul/tervezz_karriert/hirek/jo_helyzetben_a_muszaki_gazdasagi_informatikus_diplomasok, downloaded: 11. 12. 2012.

^[21] Of course the estimations are very difficult to confirm by official and precise data since in Hungary there is no announcement obligation for those who emigrate and work abroad. Foreign employment data are incomplete. The bases for the esmitations are the often incomplete mirror statistics.

The troublesome signs of the transmigration of qualified workers and the the brain waste.

"The balance of emigration and immigration was positive in the most part of the decade in Hungary: at the beginning of the period – mostly from the neighbouring countries – more people immigrated than emigrated. As a result of the opening of the labour market of the European Union and the economic crisis of 2008 emigration became more intensive, but at the same time the immigration of people with mostly Hungarian nationality began to moderate."

"According to the data of census on 1st October 2011 143.000 Hungarian citizens had lived for more than one year abroad. People permanently living abroad – according to the population definition of census – are counted in the population of that country where they settled down, that's why they should not have been counted in the Hungarian census. In spite of this – for the expansion of international migration data – during the census households were asked how many people live permanently abroad from those living at the given address. The result, the 143.000 people can be considered as the minimum number of Hungarians living abroad in 1st October 2011, because the census could not always get information about those cases when the whole household had lived abroad and their Hungarian flat was empty or lived in by tenants."

I found important data for this topic in a Gallup research^[23] published in 2012; in this research among EU-15 the characteristics of under-employment were examined. These data are of special importance for me, because they verify my hypothesis according to which qualified Hungarian migrants are strongly affected by the problem of brain waste. The representativeness of the Gallup research with 25.000 respondents can confirm my assumption respecting the under-employment of young qualified migrants, or in other words respecting the status of brain waste.

Figure 3: Differences between unemployment and under-employment among domestic and migrant adult population (15 years of age or older) in EU15 2009-2010 (%)

| | locals % | migrants arrived more than 5 years ago % | newly-arrived migrants % |
|-------------------------|-------------|--|--------------------------------|
| Unemployment | 8 | 13 | 20 |
| Under-employment | 19 | 28 | 42 |

Source: author's collection and compilation based on the data of Gallup research

[22] 2011. évi népszámlálás. 3. Országos adatok. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal. Budapest 2013. 9–10.
[23] Source: http://www.gallup.com/poll/154721/Europe-Migrants-Rate-Lives-Worse-Native-Born. aspx?ref=more, downloaded: 08. 02. 2013.

The problem of under-employment also seems to be verified in the light of other data. The OECD Factbook 2007^[24] made a report on the school qualification of those born in the given country and that of the migrants. From the point of view of my research, I found important data, which are summarised in the following table.

Figure 4: The distribution of domestic and migrant population based on school qualification (over 15 years of age) in the most popular immigration target countries of Hungarians (%, 2007)

| Country | Domestic population | | | Migrant population | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | Primary school or lower | Secondary school | Higher education | Primary school or lower | Secondary school | Higher education |
| Austria | 33 | 56 | 11 | 49 | 39 | 11 |
| United Kingdom | 51 | 29 | 20 | 45 | 25 | 35 |
| Germany | 24 | 57 | 19 | 44 | 41 | 15 |

Source: author's collection and compilation based on OECD Factbook 2007. Economic- Environmental and Social Statistics

It stands out that the size of the domestic graduate labour force is either almost the same or far smaller than the number of emigrants in the three most popular target countries admitting Hungarian graduates. Taking into consideration that in legal employment a Hungarian worker are not overmatched by a domestic one as regards either waging or working hours, it can be assumed that the domestic labour force occupies qualification-specific graduate jobs. Prominent data can be seen in the United Kingdom, where 20% of domestic workers are graduates; conversely the number of graduate immigrants exceeds this by a long way. Comparing all of these with the general migrant under-employment data, my hypothesis, according to which a significant part of the Hungarian graduates are under-employed abroad, is strengthened.

^[24] Source: OECD Factbook 2007. Economic- Environmental and Social Statistics. http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/oecd-factbook, downloaded: 18. 02. 2013.

SUMMARY

As the under-employment of migrant workers can be confirmed by international research, I found my statements about brain drain tendencies valid. In my own research I state the strong exposedness of my respondents in under-employed categories, since they cannot utilize their higher education degrees in the positions occupied abroad. That is why development and consummation of the basic qualifications does not take place. The respondents do not meet innovation at a professional level and their professional improvement stagnates; they do not take their knowledge away and use it in other national economies but they lose it intermittently or totally. The unutilized knowledge becomes stale and decays, and a possible return to the specialised fields left behind is made very difficult. I view the brain waste tendency to be more dangerous than the often-mentioned brain drain because the latter does not go to waste; it is just utilized in another country. In this case at least the chance remains that the individual might return with a real professional improvement. If returning is qualification-specific, it also means labour market integration since the obtained knowledge is utilized at a level of national economy. Brain waste is unequivocally dangerous; no one uses the obtained knowledge as it is wasted.

REFERENCES

2011. évi népszámlálás. 3. Országos adatok. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal. Budapest
 2013. pp. 9–10

• Akerlof, George Arthur (1997): *Social Distance and Social Decisions*. Econometrica, Econometric Society, 65. pp. 1005–1028.

• Cervantes, Mario- Guellec, Dominique (2002): *The brain drain: old myths, new realities.* OECDObserver. No. 230. http://www.oecdobserver.org/news/fullstory.php/aid/673/The_brain_drain:_Old_myths,_new_realities.html, downloaded: 2011. 08. 02.

• Csanády Márton Tamás- Személyi László (2006): Brain Drain. Közelkép a diplomás magyarokról. In.: Századvég. 41, Vol. 3. pp. 79–122.

• Esipova, Neli- Ray, Julie- Rajesh, Srinivasan PhD. (2011): *The World's Potential Migrants. Who They Are, Where They Want to Go, and Why It Matters.* Gallup. pp. 1-26. http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/the-worlds-potential-migrants (downloaded: 2012. 12. 11.)

• Fóti Klára (2006): *Potential migration from Hungary to Austria after EU accession and possible impacts of this.* MTA, Budapest. Institute for World Economics, Working Papers Series No. 140.

• Haas, Hein de (2007): *Migration and Development. A Theoretical Perspective*. COMCAD Working Papers. p. 3.

 Hárs Ágnes (2008): Migrációs tervek és megvalósulások. Okok, ösztönzők és visszatartó erők. Követéses vizsgálat LFS adatok alapján. Nem publikált kézirat, hivatkozza Hárs (2011): Magyarok külföldi munkavállalása. Kopint-Tárki Zrt. Budapest. 16.

• Hárs Ágnes (2011): Magyarok külföldi munkavállalása. Kopint-Tárki Zrt. Budapest.

KATALIN BÁNDY

• Hárs Ágnes (2012): *Labour Market and Migration-Hungary in a comparative perspektive.* In: Seemig Project, www.seemig.eu 1–22.

• Human Development report 2011. Hungary: HDI values and rank changes in the 2011 Human Development report. 2. "Hungary's HDI value for 2011 is 0.816—in the very high human development category—positioning the country at 38 out of 187 countries and territories."

• Kuhn, Peter – McAusland, Carol (2006): *The International Migration of Knowledge Workers: When is Brain Drain Beneficial.* NBER Working Paper 12761.

• Martin, Rainer – Radu, Dragos (2009): *The experience of Eastern Europe*. http://www. aiel.it/bacheca/SASSARI/papers/martin_radu.pdf (downloaded: 2013. 01. 27.)

• OECD Factbook 2007. Economic- Environmental and Social Statistics. http://www. oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/oecd-factbook (downloaded: 18. 02. 2013.)

• Polónyi István (2010a): Foglalkoztathatóság, túlképzés, Bologna. Avagy baj-e, ha elemző közgazdász vezeti a hatos villamost? Kézirat. Debreceni Egyetem Közgazdaság-tudományi Kar. 1–18.

• Sik Endre – Simonovits Borbála (2002): *Migrációs potenciál Magyarországon, 1993–2001.* In: Kolosi Tamás, Tóth István György, Vukovich György (szerk.): *Társadalmi riport.* Budapest: TÁRKI, 207–219.

- www.destatis.de
- www.eekh.hu
- www.felvi.hu
- www.gallup.com
- www.rezidens.hu
- www.statistik.at
- www.tarki.hu

HUNGARIAN SUMMARY

A magyarországi rendszerváltással, majd az uniós csatlakozással, továbbá az országok közötti különböző foglalkoztatási szerződések létrejöttével a keletnyugati irányú vándorlás megélénkült. A reform országok magas munkanélküliségi rátája, valamint a konvertálható szakmák és nyelvtudás mentén a jobb fizetés és magasabb presztízs ígéretével a jól képzett szakemberek elvándorlása figyelhető meg. A magyar migrációs hajlandóság vizsgálatakor megállapítható, hogy Magyarország nem gyakorol kifejezett nyomást az Unió munkaerőpiacára, azonban bizonyos szakmák tekintetében hazai strukturális válságjelenségek tapasztalhatóak. Jelen tanulmány ennek a jelenségnek ok-okozati összefüggéseit kívánja vizsgálni, fókuszba állítva a magasan képzett fiatal generációk migrációs hajlandóságát a válság utáni években.



Ferenc Lebó: Blessed Bishop Vilmos Apor