

Irén Gödri. 2006. "Men and Women at Various Stages of the Migration Process."
in: Ildikó Nagy, Marietta Pongrácz, István György Tóth (eds.) *Changing Roles:
Report on the Situation of Women and Men in Hungary 2005*. Budapest: TÁRKI
Social Research Institute. pp. 146-162.

© TÁRKI Social Research Institute, 2006

© Ildikó Nagy, 2006

© Marietta Pongrácz, 2006

© István György Tóth, 2006

Men and Women at Various Stages of the Migration Process

Immigration to Hungary from a Gender Perspective

Irén Gödri

Introduction

The focus on gender-specific¹ approaches to the characterization of international migration has, in recent years, become popular in migration literature outside Hungary. This is primarily a consequence of the feminization process that has taken place in migration over the past two decades. The presence of women in migration processes has become increasingly prominent not only due to its magnitude, but also because of the changes that have occurred regarding the causes, circumstances and patterns of female migration. In the 1960s and 70s migration across borders predominantly involved movements by men in connection with employment, a substantial proportion of which led to permanent settling as a result of the introduction of stricter regulations on employment in some of the host countries. This, in turn, brought about the migration of women, following the men with the intention of uniting or starting a family. By the 1990s the overrepresentation of men in migration flows had gradually diminished, and the migration of women acting on their own initiative and with the purpose of independent employment had become increasingly frequent. In a worldwide context, female migration is common in Asian countries first and foremost,² but the proportion of women within European migration flows is steadily growing. Although women are still more likely to move as passive participants in migration chains, there is a growing number of cases where women are the initiators of the chains.

The increasing presence of female migration failed to be noted for a long time. The background theories of migration research paid little attention to the connections between migration and gender. The few studies that considered this issue did no more than incorporate gender as another variable into a pre-existing theoretical framework. It is only in the past few years that the recognition has been voiced that the migration experiences of women

¹ The notion of 'gender' as a social construction, in contrast to biological sex, refers to the patterns of behaviour, roles, power hierarchies, etc. characteristic of men and women in a given society or culture.

² The International Labour Organisation (ILO) estimates the number of Asian women entering employment abroad at 800 thousand per annum.

may be entirely different from those of men and that women do not simply have a supporting (often 'invisible') role beside men, but are active participants in migration processes (Grieco and Boyd, 1998; Oishi, 2002).

Major step toward capturing the role gender—as a social construct variable over time and space—plays in the migration process was taken by the so-called integrative approach (see Gos and Lindquist, 1995; Oishi, 2002). This approach, which attempts to connect various levels of analysis, attributes greater significance to the social context in explaining the initiation and maintenance of migration processes. According to this, the norms and cultural values of the community of origin, which encourage, tolerate or prohibit migration, or regulate its ways and circumstances, play an important role. As argued by Oishi (2002), besides a gender-sensitive migration policy and the independence and decision-making ability of women, a social environment accepting of female migration is also decisive among the factors influencing female migration.

Women's propensity to migrate is greatly dependent on the roles and statuses that characterize them at a given age and life cycle, and in a given socio-cultural context. The roles of women are, in many cases, designated by the family, which may support migration or object to it. Grieco and Boyd (1998) point out that the position women occupy within the family and in society circumscribes both their decision-making capability and their access to the resources necessary for migration. In their study on incorporating the notion of gender into theories of migration, the cited authors show that seemingly gender-neutral factors—such as the macro-structural characteristics of the country of origin or economic circumstances—may have different effects on men and women. Economic progress, for instance, influences the economic roles of men and women in different ways, and the labour force demands of the receiving country are often gender selective.

The experiences of men and women in the host country following migration may also be divergent. The residency and employment rights of migrants—and thus, indirectly, their chances of integration—are determined by the immigration policy of the receiving country. This, however, does not always offer equal conditions to male and female migrants. In some countries, the rights of female migrants are dependent on the rights of other family members. Grieco and Boyd (1998) show that gender stereotypes in the receiving country often lead to a situation where the options for migrant women are restricted to traditional female occupations, which typically come with poor wages, low occupational status and bad working conditions. The post-migration experiences of men and women are also shaped by gender roles and hierarchies, as well as by the relations between the sexes. As a result—as was also pointed out by studies on women's international migration, as well as by the reports of the ILO (see, *inter alia*, ILO (1998, 2002))—women often end up in a multiply disadvantaged position following migration: due to their status as migrants, because they are women, and

because of their position as job seekers in a gender-discriminating labour market.

The aim of this brief introduction has been to present the issues that are to be considered in investigating the gender-related aspects of migration and in interpreting the phenomenon of female migration. The facts discussed above lead to the conclusion that the changes in the gender composition of migrants and the shift in the nature of motivation for female migration over the past few decades are primary related to changes in women's roles, in nature of the relationship between the sexes, in norms and value systems governing the place of women within the family and in the labour market and, finally, in social expectations.

In the next section of this paper we shall look at some basic facts concerning the gender composition of migrants moving to Hungary and follow the development of the migratory process over time—based partly on statistical data and partly on survey results. Then we shall explore some specific characteristics of Hungarian immigration along the dimension of gender: in what ways the motivating factors and aims of female immigrants differ from those of male immigrants; what the migration strategies are that lie behind the decision of men and women to leave their home countries (who helps them in making the decision and who accompanies them to the target country); and whether there are differences between men and women as regards the social networks of migration. Finally, the integration of immigrants into the labour market will be investigated, focusing on differences in the positions of men and women and on their subjective satisfaction.

The gender composition and demographic characteristics of immigrants

The data on the gender composition of immigrants shown in *Figure 1* reveal that, toward the end of the 1980s, in the early stages of the present-day migration process, men clearly outnumbered women (with a share of over 60%). From the early nineties onwards, however, the proportion of men decreased, and by the end of the millennium the two sexes had reached equal proportions.³ There is, however, some variation in the gender composition of immigrants across countries of origin: among people arriving from neighbouring countries (who constitute around two-thirds of immigrants), the initial male majority has now vanished,⁴ while 60% of those arriving

³ Although since 2002 there is an increasing trend in the proportion of men again.

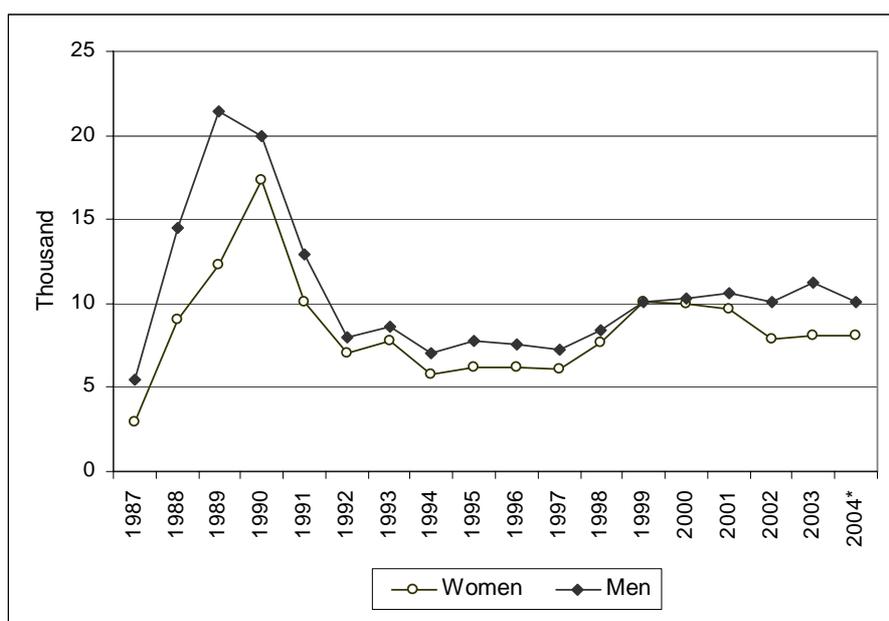
⁴ At the initial phase of the migration process (in 1988–89), more men than women (60–63%) arrived from Romania, the country sending the highest number of immigrants to Hungary, but

from the European Union are male, and men are represented in greater numbers among people coming from outside Europe as well.

Among emigrating foreign nationals, in contrast, men were in the majority throughout the 1990s: their proportion varied between 64 and 70% in this period and fell to below 60% only after the year 2000.⁵ Due in part to male immigrants moving on from Hungary and in part to the growing proportion of female immigrants, the initially significant male majority (of around 60%) among foreign nationals living in Hungary gradually diminished over the nineties, and in 2001 the proportions were reversed, with female immigrants being in a slight majority (51%). This ratio corresponded to the European trend, where in most countries the proportion of women within foreign populations had effectively reached or, in some cases, slightly surpassed the proportion of men (see *Table 1*).

Figure 1

The gender composition of Hungarian immigrants, 1987–2004 (thousand persons)



Source: Relevant issues of the Demographic Yearbook of Hungary (by HCSO).

*preliminary data for 2004

male and female immigrants have been represented in equal proportions since the border was opened in 1990.

⁵ The incidence of emigration among foreign nationals, however, has been far lower than the incidence of immigration.

Changing Roles

Among foreign workers, however, the proportions of women are considerably lower in all of the countries (where relevant data are available). That is, immigrant women are underrepresented in the labour force of the receiving countries. This could partly be the result of labour market discrimination, but could also be an indication that—in spite of the growth of female migration—women are still less likely than men to embark on labour-motivated migration.

Table 1

The proportion of men and women among all foreign nationals and among foreign workers in various European countries, 2001 (%)

Country	Foreign population		Foreign workers	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Austria	51.9	48.1	36.3	63.7
Hungary	51.2	48.8	<i>n.d.</i>	<i>n.d.</i>
United Kingdom	51.1	48.9	44.0	56.0
Sweden	50.8	49.2	47.1	52.9
Denmark	50.8	49.2	44.0	56.0
Norway	50.3	49.7	<i>n.d.</i>	<i>n.d.</i>
Finland	50.0	50.0	33.6	66.4
The Netherlands	48.4	51.6	33.6	66.4
Switzerland	46.8	53.2	26.3	73.7
Germany	46.5	53.5	<i>n.d.</i>	<i>n.d.</i>
Portugal	43.7	56.3	<i>n.d.</i>	<i>n.d.</i>

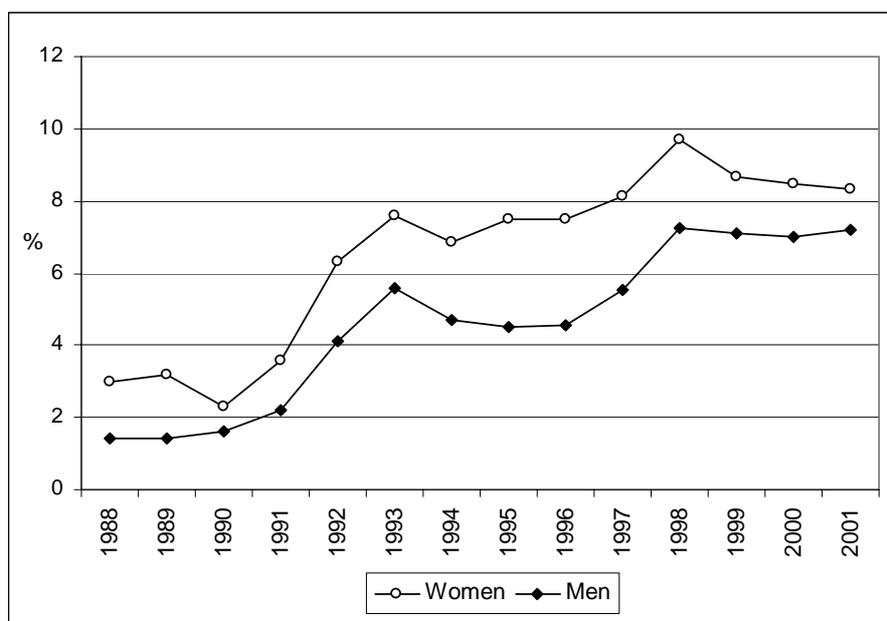
Source: OECD (2004)

n.d.: no data.

Returning to the gender characteristics of migration to Hungary, we can state that the *mean age* of immigrants increased over the nineties for both sexes: in 1990 the average age of immigrants was 27 years for women and 28 years for men, which rose to 33 years in 1994 for both sexes and remained at this level until the end of the millennium. The shift can be attributed to the increasingly emphatic presence of elderly immigrants, those aged 60 or over (see *Figure 2*). The figure also reveals that, while the proportion of over-60s increased among immigrants of both sexes, the elderly were represented in higher proportions among women than among men throughout the period in question. Nevertheless, the dominant age group was 20–30 year-olds—and within that, young people aged 20–24—among both men and women in each year.

Figure 2

The proportion of male and female immigrants aged 60 or over, 1988–2001 (%)



Source: Relevant issues of the Demographic Yearbook of Hungary (by HCSO).

The shift in the age composition of immigrants is also reflected in their distribution by *economic activity*: in the first half of the nineties 2–3% of female and 3–4% of male immigrants were retired, while by the end of the millennium the corresponding proportion reached 11–12% for women and 7–8% for men. This suggests that changes must have taken place in the driving forces and motivation system of migration. Such factors, however, can only be revealed with the help of questionnaire-based survey analyses. Similarly, due to the limitations and shortcomings of simple statistical data, investigation into the socio-demographic characteristics of immigrant men and women also requires the analysis of questionnaire surveys. For this reason, the following discussion will rely on the results of two questionnaire-based surveys: the *Polgár* Survey (hereafter Citizen Survey) from 1995 and the *Bevándorlók* Survey (hereafter Immigrants Survey) from 2002.⁶ Some

⁶ The Immigrants Survey was carried out as part of a research project by the Demographic Research Institute at the Hungarian Central Statistical Office supported by the NKFP (National Research and Development Programme) tender No. 5/0084/2002. The survey involved a representative sample of 1,015 immigrants aged 18 or over coming from neighbouring countries who were granted immigrant status in 2001 (see Gödri and Tóth, 2005). The Citizen Survey was carried out among individuals with immigrant status who

Changing Roles

92% of respondents in both surveys were of Hungarian ethnicity (who lived in minority in their country of origin), which must be also kept in mind in interpreting the gender characteristics of immigration.

The data on *level of education* are summarized in *Table 2*. The proportion of those with at most primary education, as well as the proportion of those with certificate of secondary education ('érettségi', henceforth CSE), was higher among women than among men in both of the above samples. The difference was especially marked in the 2002 survey. Immigrants with vocational training school, on the other hand, were represented in higher proportions among men in both samples, as were university graduates in 2002. The increase in the proportion of people with low level of education (especially among women) is related to the rising average age of immigrants. The proportions of skilled workers and male college or university graduates were, at the same time, higher in the 2002 sample than in 1995. In the more recent sample, two-thirds of male and female immigrants aged 18 or over had completed secondary education. In the over-25 age group 37.5% of men and 27% of women had also completed higher education of some kind (the proportions of university graduates were 25.6% and 17.5% among men and women, respectively). These ratios surpass the corresponding values of the 2001 Hungarian census, which puts the proportion of men with higher education at 13.8% and that of women at 11.6% in the over-25 age group in the Hungarian population.

Table 2

Level of education of immigrants by gender in 1995 and 2002 (%)

Level of education	1995		2002	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Up to primary school	8.9	4.2	16.7	7.9
Vocational training school	11.5	20.7	17.2	25.5
Secondary school with CSE	48.7	45.0	41.1	31.3
College or polytechnic			9.3	11.1
University	30.9*	30.1*	14.1	21.5
Postgraduate degree			1.7	2.8
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Source: Citizen Survey (1995), Immigrants Survey (2002)

Note: * College and university education were conflated under the rubric of higher education in the 1995 survey.

The education 'advantage' of men in the 2002 survey is most significant in the over-60 age group: only 8% of women had higher education degrees in

applied for Hungarian citizenship in 1993 (see Tóth, 1997). People coming from neighbouring countries have been included here.

this group, while the figure for men was 36%. The difference between the sexes is less marked among middle-aged people, and the frequency of higher education is balanced between men and women among immigrants aged under 35 (37% and 38%).

The pattern of *marital status* prior to migration⁷ also shows a characteristic variation across the sexes, which is not independent of migratory motivation factors. As is shown in *Table 3*, men were considerably more likely to be married before moving to Hungary than were women, and there was also a higher proportion of single, unattached people among them. Among female immigrants, by contrast, we find higher proportions of divorced and widowed people.

The proportion of those living in marriage is especially high among men aged 55 or over and among men aged between 35 and 54 (87% and 76%, respectively, compared to 47% and 56% for women of the same ages). In the under-35 age group, only 24% of men and 27% of women were married prior to migration, and three-quarters of men and two-thirds of women were single. The proportion of divorced people was highest among women aged 35 to 54 (26%), while the figure for widowed immigrants was most prominent among women aged 55 or over (42%).

Table 3

The distribution of men and women obtaining immigrant status in 2001 according to pre-migration marital status, 2002 (%)

Marital status	2002	
	Women	Men
Single with no partner	33.6	40.7
Single, living with partner	3.8	2.1
Married, living with spouse	35.3	50.9
Married, living with partner	1.5	0.5
Married, but separated	1.9	0.5
Divorced with no partner	10.8	2.8
Divorced, living with partner	0.5	0.7
Widowed with no partner	12.5	1.9
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Source: Immigrants Survey (2002)

Similarly to age and level of education, marital status—alongside macro-level circumstances and the effects of micro-environment—limits the scope for an individual to conceive of migrating and to carry the intention through.

⁷ Data are only available from 2002 on this subject.

The question is what role gender plays in this process and what factors determine the decision of men and women to migrate.

The migratory aims and motivations of men and women

It has been frequently observed in relation to gender differences in migratory motivation that women are primarily driven by family considerations in taking the decision to migrate, while men are mainly propelled by economic motivations (Zlotnik, 1995; He and Gober, 2003). This observation reflects traditional gender roles. There are cases, however, where the family reasons given by the women cover economic considerations.

Looking at the initial migratory aims of immigrants coming to Hungary from neighbouring countries shown in *Table 4*, no major differences can be detected between the sexes, although men are somewhat more likely than women to migrate just for working (finding a job), not for settlement, and the proportion of those wanting to settle permanently is slightly higher among women than among men. (Men and women are equally likely to come to Hungary for the purpose of education.)

Table 4

The migratory aims of male and female immigrants moving to Hungary, 2002 (%)

Gender	The initial aim of moving to Hungary			
	Permanent settlement	Work	Education	Other
Women	76.1	11.5	8.1	4.3
Men	71.0	17.4	8.1	3.5

Source: Immigrants Survey (2002)

Gender differentiation is more pronounced with regard to migratory motivation: although there was no significant difference between the sexes in the proportion of giving economic reasons as responses to the open-ended question in the 1995 survey, family unification was mentioned considerably more often by women as a motivating factor, and men were substantially more likely to mention political reasons or experiences of violence in the country of origin.⁸ The pattern of motivations based on the open-ended question in the 2002 survey is slightly different: economic considerations—while becoming more salient for both sexes than in the previous survey—were now given considerably more emphasis by men than by women. Men

⁸ This is explained by the fact that one third of the subjects of the survey moved to Hungary before 1990 and another third of the subjects moved in 1990.

were also more likely to mention political and general security and, to a lesser extent, career reasons as motivating factors. Family unification and marriage continued to be mentioned more frequently by women as migratory reasons.

The above trends correspond to the more detailed pattern emerging from the results of closed questions in the survey, as shown in *Table 5*.⁹ The results of the 1995 survey indicate that the strongest motivating factors for men were a feeling of insecurity as an ethnic Hungarian in the country of origin and, related to this, worries about the future of their children. These were followed in importance by pessimism about the political situation and by career considerations. The latter two factors were far less prominent in 2002, and economic considerations came to the fore instead: pessimism about economic prospects and the desire to improve living conditions. While the former was selected more frequently by men, the latter was, in effect, equally likely to be chosen by either sex.

Table 5

Changes in migratory motivation among men and women between 1995 and 2002 (%)

Migratory motivation	1995		2002	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Desperate political situation	33.3	47.2	8.6	13.4
Desperate economic situation	30.4	33.3	32.2	40.0
Influence of relatives and friends	8.1	5.8	28.5	27.3
Better utilization of personal knowledge and skills	25.2	40.1	24.7	27.1
Fear (e.g. fear of ethnic problems)	17.0	18.4	5.8	5.6
Attraction of Hungary	22.8	23.0	26.8	30.8
<i>Securing their future as Hungarians</i>	53.7	65.4	54.0	56.0
Lack of Hungarian language educational establishments	23.0	22.0	17.7	10.0
<i>Improving their own or their families' living conditions</i>	33.0	32.7	49.6	51.6
<i>Worries about the future of the children</i>	55.6	51.8	48.0	48.1
Specific individual/communal human rights abuse	20.7	26.2	5.7	6.7
Family unification	25.6	12.3	38.4	31.0
Marriage	23.0	9.7	18.0	8.3
Studies	7.8	11.3	12.2	9.5
N	270	309	583	432

Source: Citizen Survey (1995), Immigrants Survey (2002)

⁹ Respondents were asked to choose those five of the answers listed in the questionnaire that they considered to have been the most important in their decision to migrate.

Although the most common migratory reasons (displayed in italics in *Table 5*) are the same for both sexes, and mention of fear of ethnic problems and human rights violations (prominent in the previous survey) is negligibly infrequent for both, we also find some gender-specific motivating factors.¹⁰

The proportions of those mentioning pessimism about the political situation and those selecting reasons related to career continued to be higher among men than among women. Also, more men than women cited an attraction to Hungary as motivation for the decision to migrate. Family unification and marriage, on the other hand, were more likely motivating factors among women, as they also had been in 1995. Lack of Hungarian language education in the country of origin and a desire to be educated in Hungary also received greater emphasis among women.

The circumstances of decision-making and moving among men and women

It is demonstrated by several examples discussed in the literature that individual decisions to migrate are embedded in the interpersonal environment and in personal social networks. The micro-environment is often an important transmitter of the social environment in which an individual considering migration finally makes his or her decision. A micro-environment that is supportive, or at least permissive, of migration facilitates decision-making and encourages migration. A rejective or condemnatory micro-environment, on the other hand, impedes it or can even prevent it.

A gender-discriminatory social evaluation of migration, where the move tends to be considered acceptable for men only, can give rise to gender-differential migration patterns in a given community. The well-balanced gender proportion in the migration flow from neighbouring countries to Hungary may also be attributable to the fact that in these societies and micro-environments female migration is nowadays considered just as acceptable as male migration, in line with changes in the roles of women in other areas of life. The results of the 2002 survey reveal that migrant men and women had surprisingly similar experiences of the attitudes of their micro-environments: two-thirds of the people with whom the respondents shared their plans for migration supported their intentions, and a further 28–29% showed an understanding attitude in the case of both sexes.

The circumstances surrounding the decision to migrate are also surprisingly similar for men and women: 30% of men and 31% of women state that they made the decision entirely by themselves, and a further 21% and 20%, respectively, made the final decision by themselves but had someone whose opinion influenced them. Some 48% of both male and

¹⁰ See the cells highlighted in grey in *Table 5*.

female respondents reached the decision together with someone, and 2% of men and 1% of women reported that someone else had decided for them. *Table 6* shows that entirely autonomous decisions were most frequent among single people and divorced people who lived on their own. We also find a smaller group of both married men and women, however, who claim to have made the decision by themselves, independently of their spouses. It is also worth noting that single women were more likely to involve another person in the decision-making (29%) than were single men (18%).

Table 6

The method of migration decision-making by marital status and gender, 2002 (%)

The method of decision	Women				Men	
	Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed	Single	Married
Alone	43.8	13.6	51.4	26.0	48.7	13.6
Alone but under someone's influence	26.3	11.2	18.9	24.7	29.7	12.3
With someone	28.6	75.2	28.4	46.6	18.4	73.6
Someone else decided	1.4	0.0	1.4	2.7	3.2	0.5
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>
N	195	206	74	73	176	220

Source: Immigrants Survey (2002)

Note: The table only shows categories with over 50 cases.

Table 7

The method of migration decision-making and persons involved in the decision by gender (%)

Persons involved	Gender of respondent	
	Woman	Man
<i>Alone</i>	<i>51.1</i>	<i>50.7</i>
Spouse	27.1	37.0
Partner	1.9	1.6
Children	8.6	1.6
Parents	7.2	5.8
Sibling	0.2	0.0
Other relative	0.6	0.2
Fiancé(e)	1.7	1.2
Friend	1.7	1.6
N	583	432

Source: Immigrants Survey (2002)

As is shown in *Table 7*, it was primarily close family members who were involved in the process of decision-making both for male and female

Changing Roles

migrants. Decisions made together with the spouse were more frequent among men, which is due to the fact that a higher proportion of men (51%) than women (35%) were married (and living together with their spouses) prior to migration.

In addition to spouses, people involved in the decision included the parents of young respondents and the children of older respondents. The involvement of children in the decision-making process was especially frequent among older (mostly widowed) migrant women.

The involvement of the family in the decision to migrate seems self-evident, considering the fact that close to half of the respondents did not move to Hungary on their own. As can be seen in *Table 8*, most accompanying people were also close family members, especially spouses (partners) and one or more children, while other relatives or friends were only mentioned infrequently. The proportion of those migrating with their spouses is considerably higher among men than among women. Also, the number of men accompanied by their wives is somewhat greater than the number taking the decision with their wives, indicating that men may take the decision (by themselves) even if the family migrates together. Among women, the proportions of those moving on their own are equally high in the under-35 age group and the over-55 age group (57% and 58%), while lone migrants are only frequent in the under-35 age group among men (63%).

Table 8

Distribution of individuals migrating with the respondents
by types of relationship and gender of respondent (%)

Individuals migrating with the respondent	Gender of respondent	
	Woman	Man
Spouse	27.8	42.6
Partner	1.7	2.3
One child	14.9	9.5
Two or more children	7.9	11.3
Parent	2.9	2.1
Sibling	3.2	2.1
Friend	4.0	6.3
Other relative	2.6	2.1
<i>Migrated alone</i>	52.5	46.8
N	583	432

Source: Immigrants Survey (2002)

The role of social networks in maintaining migration flows has long been recognized in migration research. Their effects can also be felt in the selection of migrants. The most recent studies have come to the conclusion

that, as a result of the dissimilar migration experiences of men and women, the role of migrant networks in encouraging migration is also gender-specific and, as Curran *et al.* (2003) argue, social capital exerts its influence on the migration propensity of men and women in distinct ways. Heering *et al.* (2004) further demonstrate that there are migration flows where the willingness of women to migrate is related less to the cultural norms of the sending society than to the existence of a family network abroad.

Unfortunately, we have no data concerning the migrant networks (personal connections with people living abroad) available to those living in the migrant-sending communities of neighbouring countries and cannot investigate the nature of the influences of this network on the propensity of men and women to migrate. It is known, however, that among immigrants moving to Hungary women were somewhat more likely than men to mention relatives who had previously moved to Hungary (50% and 45%). In contrast, a migration model provided by friends was more prominent for men (40%) than it was for women (31%). Altogether, almost a quarter (24%) of women and 26% of men had no family-members, relatives or friends at all that could have acted for them as models of migration. This group, therefore, did not migrate as part of a migration chain. As regards the role of social networks as a resource, it is worth noting that only 16% each of men and women had no family member, relative or friend living in Hungary—either resettled or from birth—when they made the decision to migrate.

Gender differences in labour market integration

Differences in the post-migration experiences of men and women are especially noticeable in situations where the migrant's country of origin has a cultural environment that is dissimilar to that of the receiving society, with more traditional attitudes toward gender roles (in this cases is more likely to experience discrimination in the host country's labour market), or where the migration policy of the receiving country is gender distinctive.

Neither situation is typical of migration to Hungary. Nevertheless, there exist notable gender differences in labour market integration that go beyond differences in previous labour market positions and in the human capital characteristics of men and women. At the time of the 2002 survey, while the proportion of unemployed did not differ for the two sexes, female immigrants had a higher rate of unemployment (6.1%) than male immigrants (4.4%), and the combined proportion of unemployed, homemaker and other (non-earning) inactive people was also considerably greater among women (19.4%) than among men (7.5%). Looking at occupation structure, we find fewer professionals and managers and more non-physical workers of other types among women, as well as fewer skilled workers and more unskilled workers. As *Table 9*

Changing Roles

reveals, this pattern is only partially explained by differences in the educational composition of male and female immigrants, since labour market integration is weaker for each educational subgroup of women than it is among men.

Table 9

The success of labour market integration among men and women (%)

Labour market status	Qualification		
	Vocational training school	Certificate of secondary education	Higher education
<i>Women</i>			
Job matches qualifications	38.8	45.9	56.5
Job does not match qualifications	49.0	39.0	26.1
Unemployed, homemaker, other inactive	12.2	15.1	17.4
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>
<i>Men</i>			
Job matches qualifications	53.6	48.6	69.7
Job does not match qualifications	36.9	44.8	25.2
Unemployed, homemaker, other inactive	9.5	6.6	5.1
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Source: Immigrants Survey (2002)

The proportion of those excluded from the labour market is substantial even among highly qualified women. Also, women with vocational training school are considerably less likely than men to find jobs appropriate to their qualifications. Significant gender differences are also observed among unqualified respondents (not included in *Table 9*), where 23% of men, as opposed to 59% of women, were left with no work.¹¹ A further finding is that the chances of labour market integration are far worse for people aged over 40 than for younger immigrants among both men and women.

After controlling for age, level of education and the type of destination settlement, men were three times as likely as women to find jobs within a short period of time (at most one month) after migration. Experiences of negative discrimination in job seeking were reported with equal frequency (13%) by men and women.

The differences discussed above, however, are not reflected in the reports of job satisfaction among those who found work: men and women felt

¹¹ Unsuccessful integration includes homemakers and the other (non-earning) inactive category in addition to the unemployed group, but excludes retired people and immigrants on short or long-term (3-year) maternity leave.

dissatisfied with their jobs in similar proportions (18.5% and 21%, respectively). The dissatisfaction with professional advancement was more pronounced, and we did find greater differences between men and women in this respect: 30.5% of men and 39% of women reported being dissatisfied.¹²

Summary

The ratio of men and women in the migration flow to Hungary—especially among migrants arriving from neighbouring countries—equalized over the 1990s, in line with observed international trends. Considerable differences remain between the sexes, however, in terms of the age, qualifications and marital status composition of male and female immigrants. These differences are rooted in the distinct migratory motivation patterns of men and women and in the resulting selectivity. Although the nature of motivation has undergone changes over time, the decision of men is, on the whole, more likely to be determined by the economic or political conditions of the sending country, individual prospects and career opportunities, while women place greater emphasis on motivations related to the family or private life. The most important causes of migration—insecurity about the future, worries about the children's future and the desire to improve living conditions—are, however, shared by both sexes. Gender differences are also found in the nature of migration strategies, i.e. in the circumstances of decision-making and migrating. These, however, mostly follow from differences in the distribution by marital status of male and female immigrants. The social networks of migration do not differ substantially for the sexes. Men are more successful than women in integrating into the labour market, which may possibly be attributed to characteristically stronger 'motivation' resulting from men's migratory motivation systems and their gender role, as well as to their qualification advantages.

References

- Curran, S. R., F. Garip, C. Y. Chung and K. Tangchonlatip, 2003: *Gendered Migrant Social Capital: evidence from Thailand*. The Center for Migration and Development. Working Paper, no. 03–12, September 2003.
- Gödri, I. and P. P. Tóth, 2005: *Bevándorlás és beilleszkedés*. Kutatási Jelentés 80. sz. [*Immigration and Integration*. Research report no. 80]. Budapest: KSH Népszégtudományi Kutatóintézet [Demographic Research Institute at the HCSO].
- Gos, J. and B. Lindquist, 1995: 'Conceptualizing international labor migration: a structuration perspective.' *International Migration Review*, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 317–51.

¹² Respondents were asked to indicate their level of satisfaction on a scale of 0 (totally dissatisfied) to 10 (totally satisfied). Answers of 6 or less were classified as dissatisfied.

Changing Roles

- Grieco, E. M. and M. Boyd, 1998: *Women and Migration: Incorporating Gender into International Migration Theory*. Center for the Study of Population, Florida State University, Working Paper.
- He, C. and P. Gober, 2003: 'Gendering inter-provincial migration in China.' *International Migration Review*, vol. 37, no. 4, pp. 1220–51.
- Heering, L., R. van der Erf and L. van Wissen, 2004: 'The role of family networks and migration culture in the continuation of Moroccan emigration: a gender perspective.' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 323–37.
- ILO, 1998: <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/region/asro/mdtmanila/training/unit2/asiamign.htm>.
- ILO, 2002: <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/protection/migrant/projects/gender>.
- OECD, 2004: *Trends in International Migration: SOPEMI 2003 Edition*. Annual report. Luxembourg: OECD.
- Oishi, N., 2002: *Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach*. University of California – San Diego, Working Paper no. 49.
- Tóth, P. P., 1997: *Haza csak egy van? Menekülők, bevándorlók, új állampolgárok Magyarországon (1988–1994) [Is There Only One Home? Refugees, immigrants, new citizens in Hungary (1988–1994)]*. Budapest: Püski.
- Zlotnik, H., 1995: 'The South-to-North migration of women.' *International Migration Review*, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 229–54.
-