

How migration experience affects the acceptance and active support of refugees? Philanthropy and paid work of Hungarian migrants in the German immigrant service

I. Introduction

Conflicting political perspectives about migration and unequal access to resources and rights produce categories of migrants marked by different degrees of precarity, vulnerability and freedom (Genova, Mezzadra and Pickles 2015, p. 25; Boswell & Geddes 2011, p. 3). While recent changes in these forms of differentiation and categorizations (due to the liberalization of within-EU labour markets, as well as the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers from outside of the EU) imply that the "host environment" of migrants/refugees is increasingly diverse – thus perceiving the former as made up of "natives" is less and less tenable – very few pieces of research have addressed the relationship between these various migrant groups and categories. The focus of our analysis is the relation between EU nationals residing in other EU countries and third-country nationals perceived as refugees or asylum seekers. The appearance of refugees in big numbers caused resentment in East European migrants, similar to the dislike of the majority population in their sending countries. Nevertheless, we also assumed that many East European migrants living in Western Europe had become active in the support of more vulnerable categories of migrants, just like a good part of the population in the receiving as well as the sending society. In the present paper we focus on the later: we examine the extent intra-EU migrants have become supportive of refugees and involved in refugee support, and how the representation of the refugee support relates to their own experience of migration.

More concretely, our subjects of study are Hungarians residing in Germany. We investigated their migration experience as well as their engagement in practices of support vis-à-vis non-European refugees. More precisely, our primary questions were: To what extent are the personal migration experiences of Hungarians residing in Germany and their struggles, successes and failures related to reactions to newly arrived refugees? How is responsiveness to the major discourses on migration and the reception of migrants related to the social status of Hungarian migrants in Germany and their personal migration experience? How is the dual positionality of Hungarians residing in Germany, and their being exposed to publics of multiple societies (Hungarian and German) reflected in their relations to refugees?

These issues were analysed based on a quantitative online survey that was conducted through the biggest Facebook groups of Hungarians living in Germany using a final sample of 639 respondents, and a further 15 interviews conducted in Berlin and Munich among Hungarians involved in refugee protection and integration. Both subjectivity (agency) and the objective (structural) forces of migratory movements were taken into consideration; moreover, by applying a mixed methodology approach we sought to demonstrate how the two dimensions – objective position, and agency reflected in personal understandings of migrant positions – are intertwined, the latter influencing and changing the objective position of migrants.

The paper starts by outlining the analytical framework, referring to recent qualitative and quantitative works on perceptions of solidarity, as well as on unpaid and paid forms of practical engagement in refugee support. This content is briefly

summarized, with a specific focus on actions of persons and collectivities with a migration background. The analytical framework is also connected to the literature on the agency and solidarity of migrants and on social aspects of philanthropy (as volunteering and donating), as well as to the narrower topic of the solidarity of migrant citizens of the EU with non-EU citizens. After presenting the research aims, methods and data in more concrete terms, we start our analysis by providing a description of the social characteristics of the subsample (refugee-solidarian Hungarians living in Germany). This is followed by a section that describes unpaid and paid forms of refugee support. Finally, narrative framings and the motivation for solidarity action are described based on our interviews.

II. Earlier research and current research questions

II.1. Migrants in refugee services and the transnational forms of solidarity

Recent studies of migration and civil society (Authors 2019; della Porta 2018) are dedicated to examining unpaid activities, mainly in terms of civil society, philanthropy¹, volunteering, and social movements in support of refugees and immigrants. Critical theories emphasize the agency of migrants (Cantat 2016; Kumar Rajaram 2016; Dines, Montagna and Vacchelli 2018), capturing at least two meanings: organized struggles in which migrants openly challenge the dominant politics of mobility (including border control, detention and deportation) or the regime of labour; and the daily strategies of migrant struggles through which migrants enact their (contested) presence (Isin & Nyers 2014; Ataç, Rygiel and Stierl 2017; Genova, Mezzadra & Pickles 2015, p. 27). Empirical studies have confirmed that social and cultural connectedness as well as shared migration experiences often explain the collective actions of migrants (Weng 2015, p. 4). It has also been proven that helping newer generations of migrants or refugees arriving from the same country increases the sense of belonging and enlarges the networks of members of migrant communities (Hoffman et al. 2007; Weng 2015). Moreover, immigrants “giving back” through volunteering can enhance social and human capital, contributing to their integration into the host society (Handy & Greenspan 2009).

For our current study, one major source of inspiration was the research that directly addressed the relationship of intra-EU migrants with refugees and asylum seekers. Nowicka and her co-authors inquired into philanthropic activities and volunteering for refugees by Polish people living in Germany. They sought to understand how Polish migrants define the boundaries of the collectivity with regard to those who are eligible to receive their help (Nowicka, Krzyzowski and Ohm 2017, p. 8).

While the formation, practices and consequences of civic activism, philanthropy and volunteering are self-evident terrains for the study of solidarity with refugees and migrants, much less attention has been dedicated to examining paid work in state-funded welfare institutions, NGOs, or market-based organizations. (e.g. in the US context: Aptekar 2018; in European contexts: Brown 2016; Heinemann 2017; and Vrabiescu 2018). Due to the paid character of the work carried out within their framework, the potential of these institutions to channel solidarity and helping intentions on the part of their personnel are usually neglected. With our present paper, based on our quantitative

¹ We use the term philanthropy by referring to voluntary action – donations or volunteer work – carried out for the advancement of the public good. (Payton and Moody 2008)

and qualitative data we aim to analyse further this relationship, and the solidarity component in helping provided by paid work.

Bauder and Jayaraman (2014) have already confirmed that particular skills, mobility experiences and cultural competences of people with migrant background are useful and much needed in immigrant services, which makes the state to draw on immigrant organizations and volunteers with immigrant background. Thus, voluntary support and waged labour in refugee services are not completely different, but parts of the same care system. The second major inspiration of the current study was the invitation of Bauder and Jayaraman to assess how common career mobility between the secondary and primary labour market segment in the immigrant service sector is, what positions former volunteers actually fill, and what their career trajectories are. (p. 187) The current paper answers this call. We aim to grasp both unpaid forms of help - philanthropy understood as donating and volunteering - and paid forms of help provided to refugees in a common conceptual framework, thereby construing them as potentially alternative ways of expressing support towards refugees and asylum seekers among specific configurations of public discourses and individual structural constraints.

II.2. Public perceptions and actions related to refugees and migration in Germany and Hungary

Germany is one of the countries which received the greatest number of refugees in 2015 and, to a lesser degree, has continued to receive until now. This has affected German society in various ways. One of these is the mobilization of civil society. Over the summer of 2015, social movements and grassroots civic organizations previously active in other issues (homelessness, gender equality, and anti-racism, among others) as well as numerous non-profit and welfare associations affiliated with churches, political parties and even national welfare institutions stepped forward to help people on the move (Pries 2019; Authors 2019). Helping refugees was partly interpreted as an act of political resistance that might not even have been aimed at specifically addressing the cause of refugees, but rather the general political atmosphere, or may have been justified by similar experiences of flight in the collective memory of the German host society (Karakayali 2018).

Another reaction was the reinforcement of social welfare and integration facilities, which in many cases led to supporting operations being shared between the state and NGOs, as well as between the state and the market sector. As Mayer wrote (Mayer 2017), in Germany since 2015 most municipalities have created new positions for the purpose of coordinating and training volunteers, and the federal government also expanded its volunteer service programme (*Bundesfreiwilligendienst*). The German government has committed to recruiting employees, teachers, social workers with a “migration background”/ *Migrationshintergrund*) (Scherr 2013, Bauder and Jayaraman 2014, 180) much before, but became even more accentuated following the arrival of large number of refugees and asylum seekers in 2015 (Grote 2018).

In the meantime, the Hungarian government became one of the promoters of the securitization of the refugee issue within the EU. The criminalization of refugees proactively bolstered in the Hungarian public(s) by the ruling parties allowed very limited space for oppositional political formations to express their dissent and critique in terms of issues related to immigration. (Bernáth-Messing 2015; Nagy 2016, Melegh 2017) Nevertheless, philanthropic aid was also provided to refugees crossing Hungary in the spring and autumn of 2015. A significant number of individuals and formal and informal institutions offered donations and volunteer work to provide for the basic physical needs of refugees; moreover, large segments of the population were supportive of these actions

and regarded the efforts of volunteers and philanthropic actors with sympathy (Authors 2018; Authors 2016).

The securitizing anti-refugee and anti-immigration propaganda took place in Hungary heavily affected itself by processes of out-migration. Current investigations have shown that the immigration flow of Hungarians into Germany doubled between 2010 (19,072) and 2016 (42,302). German statistics² reveal that the number of Hungarian employees in Germany was six times more in 2017 (108,000) than it was in 2010 (17,104). In 2010, 68,892 Hungarians citizens could be identified in the German foreigner population statistics, while in 2018 more than 200,000 Hungarian citizens were registered as having been resident in Germany for more than three months (Ausländische Bevölkerung, 2018, p. 15).³

II.3. Research questions and hypotheses

Focusing on the Hungarians residing in Germany, we were interested in the relationship between the structural, socioeconomic position of Hungarian migrants in Germany and their actions (both paid work and philanthropy) vis-à-vis refugees residing in Germany. Besides individual socioeconomic position, we were also interested in how diverging discourses regarding refugees in Germany and in Hungary had reached and affected the practices of Hungarian migrants depending on their relationship to the host and sending society. Therefore we hypothesized that specific features of the social relations with host and sending societies – namely, with social capital in Hungary and Germany, consumption of the media of both publics, as well as position regarding party politics in Hungary – would be related to the level of solidarity among our respondents.

While investigating these associations as possible effects of socioeconomic and transnational positions that influence participation in refugee support, we also kept an eye on possible reverse causation between these domains: we examined how engagement in refugee-supporting activities had possibly contributed to the acquisition of a better socioeconomic position for Hungarian migrants in Germany. What are the consequences of refugee-helping action (voluntary or paid work) on the structural position of Hungarian migrants residing in Germany? Also, what are the possible consequences of engaging in paid or unpaid support for social connections, media consumption, and political positionalities?

III. Data and methodology

III.1. Mixed methods approach

When examining our research questions we combined the objectivist/structuralist and subjective/phenomenological perspectives by applying a mixed methods approach for empirical data gathering and analysis. Regarding the quantitative analysis, we reveal how

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https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/Broschueren/freizueigkeits-monitoring-halbjahresbericht-2017.pdf?__blob=publicationFile

³ Long durée scholarly work about the transnational connections between Hungary and Germany has identified continuous and intensive migratory relations between the two countries. As social historians have proven, Germany always belonged to the five most important target countries of emigration from Hungary (Melegh-Sárosi 2017).

socioeconomic and transnational social embeddedness variables are associated with paid work and philanthropy using multivariate binary logistic regression models. In this regard quantitative analysis included both those supporting refugees in some active form, as well as those not participating, in order to point out structural characteristics associated with elevated odds of involvement.

The qualitative inquiry was initiated to obtain deeper understanding of refugee support using a qualitative sample of 16 Hungarians engaged in the form of unpaid or paid work in two cities (Berlin and Munich) in Germany with high numbers of refugees and Hungarian migrants as well. Related to quantitative associations between structural position and involvement in support activities, we attempt to illustrate how such connections may appear in a reflected form in personal biographies of persons involved in these practices. In line with these goals, the methodology of our qualitative inquiry was semi-structured interviews in which we asked our interviewees about their pre-migration life and motivation for migration, as well as about their experiences in Germany, including those obtained through refugee-supporting activities. Interviews were transcribed, coded and analysed with the help of a software (Atlas.ti)

Our quantitative data is derived from an online survey. The target population was persons aged 18 or older who had lived for at least five years in Hungary and who at the time of research were living in Germany or spending at least half of their time in Germany, and who speak Hungarian (the language of the questionnaire). One hundred and twenty groups were ultimately identified with the number of members ranging from 100-100,000. The questionnaire was posted in 70 groups three times between June-August 2017. The final sample contained 639 respondents. Our sample of 639 individuals shows a considerable difference in gender distribution from the Central Registry of Foreigners in Germany statistics for December 2017 (Ausländische Bevölkerung, 2018), since women are heavily over-represented (62.8%), while concerning age structure and length of stay our sample has a very similar structure.

III. 2. Constructing variables using the survey data

Concerning the practices of helping in Germany, a binary variable was created using responses to a question about various forms of philanthropic helping carried out in Germany. Respondents who confirmed their engagement in at least one form of help were deemed individuals who had offered philanthropic help to refugees in Germany. Respondents who had never helped refugees or stated that they had not helped refugees in Germany were classified as persons not participating in philanthropic helping. Regarding the other form of helping practices – that of engagement in paid work in refugee support in Germany – a binary variable was created based on a direct question asking respondents if they had engaged in any paid work in relation to providing refugee support in Germany.

To identify the socioeconomic position of our respondents, data about education level (primary, secondary, tertiary and postgraduate) were collected. Also, a three-category employment variable was created: full-time employment, part-time or occasional employment, and no employment. Third, a variable indicating subjective socioeconomic position was constructed based on an evaluation of satisfaction with work, life circumstances and living standard. Besides the socioeconomic position at the time of answering the questionnaire, we were also interested in the socioeconomic perspectives and expectations involved in migration from Hungary. Various questions were asked about the motive for leaving, of which three items referred to structural-economic issues

(job seeking; saving money to repay a debt or cover an investment; general economic prospects in Hungary). Based on ratings along these dimensions a principal component was constructed.

Respondents were also asked to evaluate their social capital in Germany and the help they could expect in the case of difficulty (from four potential resources – German friends and acquaintances, German authorities, German civic organizations, and immigrant friends in Germany from another country), all combined into one principal component. Regarding social capital in Hungary, an evaluation of expected help from four potential resources (family, friends and acquaintances, authorities, and civic organizations) were also aggregated into a single measure. Media consumption related to the public media of the host and origin society was measured by a categorical variable that inquired into the language of media consumption.

Regarding the attitudinal acceptance and refusal variable a principal component was constructed out of eight items. Firstly, five items measured the presence or absence of refusal: namely, agreement or disagreement with statements about two positive and three negative consequences of accepting refugees for the host society. Secondly, three other items measured acceptance, that is willingness to help refugees based on three potential reasons for such help. We had initially aimed to analyse refusal and acceptance in parallel, but these factors proved to be strongly correlated, suggesting that individuals perceive refusal and helping intentions as two positions within a single dimension. Accordingly, we created a single attitudinal variable out of the eight items. For the exact questionnaire items included in the above listed independent variables, related descriptive statistics, and principal component measures, see the Appendix.

IV. Results. Structural position and transnational connections in the quantitative and qualitative samples

IV.1. Characteristics of the quantitative sample

Our research results showed that 30.2% of respondents have taken part in helping refugees or migrants through voluntary work or donation at some point in their lives (4% did not respond). The majority of these (27.2%) took part in such activities during or after the so-called “migration crisis.” One hundred and sixty-eight persons (26.3% of respondents) carried out these activities in Germany, while 15.2% declared that they engaged in refugee support in Hungary. Among those involved in philanthropic activity, 115 individuals (18%) were involved in volunteer work, defined as helping in some other way than donating money or goods. Fifty-five individuals persons (8.6%) had been involved in paid work related to refugee support in Germany, while a much smaller number of people had done the same in Hungary. (See Table 1.)⁴

Table 1. about here

Regarding socioeconomic position, our sample consisted of highly educated persons: 44% with at least a higher education diploma, and only 2.5% with only a primary

⁴ At this point it is important to note, that these results are not generalisable to the Hungarian population in Germany. Not only women were heavily overrepresented in our sample, but also – due to the online filling of the questionnaire - we might expect that the sample is strongly biased towards those strongly preoccupied by the topics of migration and asylum.

education. (See Table 2.) Regarding labour market position, our respondents were successfully integrated: the great majority (90%) were working in Germany at the time of the survey, unemployed persons comprising only 2% of the sample. Regarding subjective socioeconomic satisfaction (see also the Appendix), we found that our respondents were extremely satisfied with this aspect of their lives: 77% were rather or totally satisfied (graded as 4 or 5 on a 5-item scale) with their living circumstances; 71% were rather or totally satisfied with their current job, and 81% were rather or totally satisfied with living standards in Germany. Concerning the socioeconomic causes of migration, 83% of respondents were seeking better job opportunities, 77% referred to the hopeless economic situation of Hungary, and 36% saw the need to save (to repay a debt or the cost of an investment) as rather important or a very important cause of migration (answers provided on a 4-item scale).

Related to transnational connections to the sending and receiving environment, the sample shows that 44% of respondents is consuming both Hungarian and German language media, 24% in various languages, 8% only German language media. 16 % of the sample is characterised by Hungarian-language consumption, while 7% refrains from all types. Regarding social capital in Hungary and Germany, and specifically available support in case of emergency, family in Hungary and German authorities were marked as highest (with an average of 3 on a 4 point scale), friends in Hungary, friends in Germany and civic organisations in Germany were similarly rated (with an average of 2.6), while Hungarian authorities and civic organisation in Hungary were rated as lowest (average around 1.7)

Table 2. about here

IV.2. Narrated histories of migration in the interviews

The interviews revealed that the biographical narratives of Hungarian migrants were constructed around four constitutive themes: migration experiences and motivation; relation to German society; personal and political ties to Hungary; and intercultural and transnational experiences. Concerning migration motives, personal and political reasons were predominant in the case of the oldest generation who had arrived to Germany in the 1980s and 1990s. Better job opportunities and opportunities for career advancement were reported to be the main reason for migration by those who had arrived later, mainly within the last ten years. Economic motivations did not disappear entirely but were overwritten by political reasons in the case of the young intellectuals over-represented among the new arrivals, who mainly live in Berlin.

Concerning relations to German society, successful integration trajectories and social mobility were primarily apparent in the narratives of members of the older generation. Our interviewees in their fifties and sixties are now well-connected to the German society through professional or personal ties. Some of them live with a German spouse and have ethnically mixed families. The speaker whom we quote below is a successful businesswoman who moved from Budapest to West Berlin in the 1970s. With her university degree in economics and good language skills she reached a leading position in the international trade business, and currently leads her own small company. She speaks about the hard work and the long time it took for her to get along as an immigrant in Germany, which nevertheless involved a much easier experience than what new arrivals from war or conflicts zones face:

There were also phases...I always feel that those who come fresh [newly arriving migrants] do not yet know that this is not a situation, but a process. And I see a lot of things today that I saw in September 1975 when I came here. I didn't get to work like I thought I would. Today I know that nothing will work by itself, everything needs to be done, and this takes time, it's a process. Then my child was born and I was fired from my job suddenly, and then I just stood there for three-quarters of a year. (...) I stood there with three disadvantages: that I was a woman, that I was a foreigner and that I had a small child. So there were fluctuations [in my feeling of success] here too, but overall, if I compare my life with that of Mohammad's,⁵ it [the difficulties] is [were] nothing.

Despite having insecure jobs and experiencing rigidity in their everyday interactions, young Hungarians – members of the next generation of immigrants – spoke about the attractiveness of the big cities and the freedom which they enjoy in them. They tend to identify themselves with a multicultural urban milieu, which also means that their ties outside the former are weak. Others report to having relations with colleagues, but no other social relations beyond these professional ones.

Most of our interviewees also reported to having strong emotional attachments to family and friends back in Hungary which in many cases includes a sense of civic commitment to Hungary (rather critical than accepting of the current political establishment). The person whom we quote below is a media worker who arrived in Germany in 2012 and who for a long time thought that she would soon return to Hungary. However, at a certain moment she realized that there was no way back because political circumstances had worsened in such a way that she could no longer work in Hungarian media:

I always read the news, and thought that it was more and more terrible what was going on at home. Nevertheless, I always felt a rather nice sense of nostalgia, which made me still think about returning home at some point. And then there we were, on October 8, 2016, when I suddenly could not access...my mailbox⁶ and it turned out that it [my email account] had been closed, and then I became so angry, and what happened after that, of course I was sorry that it could happen, and then I was really just so disappointed that people are still missing [leaving Hungary], but the country itself is not simply... because I simply cannot understand how this could be possible.

V. Results. Actions of support: philanthropy and paid work for refugees

V.1. Narratives of philanthropic help and paid work

Taking a closer look at what voluntary and paid work means for the Hungarians residing in Germany, we learned about the various types of action they were engaging in, most of

5 A person from Syria that the speaker supports.

6 The interviewee was a journalist at a Hungarian leftist daily which was closed down on the aforementioned day. At the time of interview, she was still working as a reporter.

it very similar to the practices of German citizens generally (Hamann-Karakayali 2016; Karakayali 2019). One activity was helping with the humanitarian aid required in the extraordinary situation of the summer of 2015, explained by witnessing the suffering of refugees. The operation of volunteers was targeted primarily at easing this suffering, meeting their needs, and organizing provisions. These interventions were considered unique activities that largely occurred in the absence of long-term relations between volunteers and those who were helped.

Nevertheless, in Germany, long-term commitment and support for specific individuals or families later came to include language tutoring, support with bureaucracy, and the regular visits reported by our Hungarian interviewees. A lady from Berlin used the German word *Patenschaft* to describe her relations with a young man and his family from Syria whom she helped with everyday difficulties. “There is nothing exceptional in doing this” – she said. Twenty-five years ago, she did the same with a man who had left Poland, and later for various families from Transylvania. Another lady from Munich reported that she had started by helping refugees with small children and later organized community programs for young, newly arrived refugee boys: playing soccer, table-tennis, training in boxing, and visits to the cinema. She put together a two-week web design course on which people were taught to photograph, draw and create web pages. Two of our interviewees work for NGOs in the field of refugee and migrant support. One of them is the founder and leader of an intercultural association that does social and legal counselling and organizes various courses for refugees and migrants. Another person started partnering with a Dutch-German and a Turkish-German individual to create an organization aimed at helping refugees in Turkey (through organizing facilities such as drinking water and electricity supplies, health, and education). In addition, he also teaches German to refugees in Munich and helps them – especially the disadvantaged ones – to access work and education.

More than half of our interviewees were young or middle-aged, with a university degree and good language competences; some of them had studied German language and literature at a university level. They had arrived in Germany in the last ten years in search of better working opportunities, but political reasons were also a factor in their migration. We identified two typical patterns of support among them. One type is a German teacher who was employed by a language school that served new immigrants and refugees. The other type, characteristically, was educated in the social sciences or humanities and started his career in Germany in a part-time, precarious position, but in late 2015 became involved in one of the volunteers’ programs for refugees. When at a later point new job opportunities arose in the field of refugee support, or related to the integration system supported by the state or by the local government, he chose one of these positions not necessarily because of the better salary but because of the greater moral satisfaction justified against the dominant discourse in Hungary and social recognition in Germany.

V.2. Statistical associations between socioeconomic position and transnational embeddedness, and paid and voluntary forms of helping

To map the correlations between socioeconomic position and transnational embeddedness, and volunteer and paid work, based on our quantitative data we constructed three models for both outcomes. First, we included only basic socio-demographic background variables together with socioeconomic variables such as gender, age, and year of arrival to Germany, along with education, employment status and subjective socioeconomic satisfaction. In a second model the socioeconomic perspectives of migration, as well as social embeddedness variables (social capital in

Hungary and Germany, language of media consumption, and voting preferences in Hungary) were included. In the third model the attitudinal variable concerning refusal and acceptance of refugees was included.

Regarding unpaid support that is philanthropy, we can see that in the first model (M1) the higher the subjective socioeconomic satisfaction, the greater the odds of involvement in support for refugees (while younger age and later arrival decreases involvement). However, this association vanishes in the second, enlarged model (M2), giving way to an economic motivation for migration (that decreases involvement); to higher levels of social capital in Germany (increases involvement); to German-language media consumption (increases involvement compared to only Hungarian-language media consumption); and finally, to a preference for left-wing opposition Hungarian parties compared to a preference for Fidesz (again, increases involvement). This suggests that subjective socioeconomic position is only indirectly associated with philanthropic involvement, the relation being mediated by social embeddedness variables. Education is positively associated with philanthropy: college or university degree respondents having more odds of involvement compared to persons with lower education levels. Employment status are not obviously associated with philanthropic experience. The other socioeconomic variable directly related to engagement is the importance of economic causes in the decision to migrate to Germany. As this is strongly associated with unpaid engagement, even after adding in the attitudinal acceptance variable (M3), this might suggest that socioeconomic causes of migration are an indicator of scarcer socioeconomic resources for a longer period of time (not only preceding migration), which might have an important effect in terms of impeding philanthropic action.

Moreover, the social embeddedness variables of social capital in Germany and the language of media consumption prove to be strongly related to philanthropy, even after adding in the attitudinal acceptance variable, revealing the importance of social resources in Germany in terms of taking supportive action. On the other hand, reverse causality could also account for this finding – that is, unpaid engagement might become a means of acquiring social relations that extend beyond the spheres of actual refugee-helping practices. Controlling for acceptance attitudes, we find that consumption of German-language media is strongly associated with more involvement in support compared to consuming only Hungarian-language media. Beyond access to information and knowledge acquired through such media consumption about philanthropic activities, the finding may also point to the role of German-language competences in participation in helping activities. These results about the direct and indirect effects of media consumption are in line with a Polish-German case study which revealed that media (in this case, nation-state-influenced discourses) have a significant effect on who helps refugees and who does not. Those who primarily consume German-language media are more willing to accept and help refugees⁷ (Nowicka, Krzyzowski and Ohm 2017).

Table 3 about here

Regarding paid employment in refugee support, we found that subjective socioeconomic satisfaction is strongly and positively related to participation in paid employment helping refugees, which relation still exists in the model enlarged with social embeddedness

⁷ Interestingly (and in contrast to Nowicka et al. 2017), in our sample gender was not found to be related either to attitudes or philanthropic practices.

variables (M5). However, the association vanishes after the introduction of the attitudinal acceptance variable (M6), suggesting the possibility that subjective socioeconomic satisfaction and participation in paid work might be connected through rejection or acceptance attitudes towards refugees. Media consumption in German (compared to only Hungarian) is also strongly correlated to paid employment, even when controlling for the attitudinal solidarity variable (M6), which indicates the importance of language competences in acquiring a paid job involving refugee support, or as strengthened by such practices.

Most importantly, the analysis reveals that employment position at the time of responding to the questionnaire is strongly associated with experience of paid (refugee-assistance-related) employment: Part-time or occasional employment is much more strongly associated with experiences of refugee support than full-time position or no work at all. This association suggests that experiences of employment in refugee support imply a specific way of integrating into the German labour market – namely, into part-time and occasional positions. This association holds even after controlling for major socio-demographic, social embeddedness, as well as political variables and attitudes of solidarity (or resentment) towards refugees – all this implying a direct relationship between former employment in refugee support and current part-time or occasional employment in Germany.

Our analyses also lead to an important finding regarding the relationship of attitudinal acceptance variables to paid forms of refugee support. What we found is that, after controlling for socio-demographic, socio-economic and social embeddedness variables (in M6), the magnitude of the association between attitudes of acceptance to paid work is similar to that in the respective model of philanthropic involvement (M3). This suggests that philanthropy (donating and volunteering) and waged labour in the refugee support are not completely different but – as our research has proven – they are both expressions of the same values, and attitudes: acceptance and helping commitment.

VI. Results. Reasons and consequences of unpaid and paid forms of refugee support among migrants

Humanitarianism was the most eloquent reason of support mentioned by Hungarian migrants. (This finding is similar to what was found in relation to the solidarity action of 2015 (as detailed in: authors, Vandervoort & Verschraegen 2019). By employing a moral frame, respondents could claim that serving others who are in need is a universal human responsibility. Moreover, as the following exemplary quote shows, this argumentation is strongly driven by positive emotions and is linked with pro-welfare argumentation and a desire to fulfil other primordial duties such as playing a parental role. Furthermore, personal profit can be obtained, as the interviewee argues: doing good to others and doing good to yourself are not contradictory activities but strengthen each other.

If you see a situation where you can do something, do it. If you turn to someone who needs help and you can help, do it. If you do not have more, give advice. And whatever you do, you will come out with a minimum of life experience (...) I think that this [helping] enriches me basically somehow, this [activity] is what someone does for himself. Because it's good for me.

Refugees' support (or lack of support) justified by migration experience was the main interest of our research. What we found is that support of refugees was justified by the

personal migration experiences of the Hungarians living in Germany, as emphasized most strongly by the earliest arrivals, who are also those best integrated into Germany society. Besides this group, ethnic Hungarians who had emigrated from Yugoslavia because of the war were reflective of their own experience of migration or flight.

And I have experienced the whole refugee process in my own life because my husband and me, we came from Serbia, from Vojvodina. We were asylum seekers, so I had this experience, the whole legal process, in my own life. And I went to Oase⁸ in 1998, first I was a translator, later I was consultant, and I also worked with the administration, everything. And then five years ago I was chosen to lead which has been specifically involved in refugee protection and intercultural projects for 25 years.

The personal migration history of more current arrivals was also mentioned in some cases, although the practice of *Willkommenskultur* and political motivations described in relation to the Hungarian governments' criminalizing discourse dominated the talk of the former, who also played down any personal reasons for migration (for further analysis, see authors).

A further source of motivation for our interviewees was their own progress at work, or careers. Accordingly and in line with former investigations (see Bauder and Jayaraman 2014), engagement in paid and unpaid forms of support, was not seen as contradictory but rather supplementary, and sometimes even resulting from each another.

Teachers of the German language trained in Hungary and residing in Germany spoke about their motivation for working with refugees in terms of material acknowledgement and strengthening their career prospects, and for personal reasons (curiosity and moral satisfaction). An economic niche had become open to them which offered them better opportunities than in the Hungarian public school system, and also in the private language schools in Hungary.

The following interviewee reported on the special values that professionals (first of all, graduates of social sciences and social work) with a migration background have in the eyes of German employers. In addition to those who are hired for these positions, the hope of increasing the concordance between employment and education was considered to be of special value, beyond any political and moral motivation that was present in many, if not all cases.

I started in 2015, I was already in Berlin before 2015, I was a social worker, I worked – I would say in Hungary – at such a child welfare service. There were some refugees, but I deliberately shifted to a refugee-related profession in 2015 because there was great demand for this (...) My boss was a refugee himself who did not have a diploma, but only came from this world, and got a job and took me with him.

Because of the institutional developments, both top down and bottom up, new professional opportunities were created which affected Hungarian migrants looking for better positions on the German job market. Nevertheless Hungarians coming from

⁸ This is a non-governmental organization which support the integration of migrants to the German society, see: <https://www.oase-berlin.org/>

a country - where any support of refugees is stigmatized by the government and by the large part of the society - taking a job in the refugee service system was a sign of acceptance if not a political act of solidarity.⁹ Many of those labourers who were earlier less committed, became later engaged morally or politically, after perceiving personal needs, efforts, struggles of their refugee pupils and clients on a daily basis.

Teri, a former journalist left Hungary because she lost her job and her hope to find a journalist position in a country, where most of the media is under state control. With a background of volunteer work for refugees, she became a paid employee of a language school led by a former refugee, himself specialized for German and integration courses. She talks about her job and her relation to refugee pupils in personal and emotional terms. Her engagement became so strong that she did not leave the refugee program even after a public school offered her a much better paid job. As the following citation shows, the commitment to refugees and the recovery of her own dignity happened simultaneously and in close relationship to each other.

At that time they were still very few and most of them highly educated. They knew so much what they wanted; they wanted to start a new life here. Whoever was traumatized was not much so. It was the beginning of the war, nobody had died. Ok, there was someone who was just released from prison, later she became a very good friend of mine. She is a filmmaker. She was very strong and she could handle it very well. She knew she was not looking back, but looking ahead. They were Syrians. I had also a couple of Afghans, but they were already living in Iran, they were born there, a merchant, so they came from a relatively wealthy class. And there were about four or five Chechens and a couple of Africans. So this was my community and a Palestinian boy, a Muslim, who is now selling falafel. So then we started studying and I fell in love with these people after 10 minutes... and I have been together with them for two years, so we really came together as a family. (...) I don't have a child yet, so I'm such a hen, and I wouldn't know otherwise, I guess I can't just be a teacher in such an environment, instead there is a nice personal relationship that develops. And since then, I love being here.

VI. Summary and discussion

According to the sample, relatively young and well-educated respondents, more women than men, were attracted to fill in our survey questionnaire and answer our questions. Regarding the causes of migration, we saw that better job opportunities and generally poor economic prospects in Hungary all play a role. Concerning their current situation in Germany, a large majority of respondents are satisfied both in objective and subjective terms. Our qualitative sample, focusing only on those participating in refugee support,

⁹ Studies on solidarity actions in Hungary have shown that besides the moral incentives taking an oppositional position against the government's hate propaganda motivated the Hungarians in aid activism, Authors...

has shown that the devaluation of labour capacities of our interviewees started back in Hungary and continued for a while in Germany. Members of oldest generation have currently presented their life trajectories in Germany as successful. At the same time members of the younger are still struggling and the shift from unpaid to paid work in refugee service sector means an important step in their life courses.

In our analysis we aimed to broaden scholarly attention to include, beyond volunteering and donating, paid work as a form of support of refugees. Our quantitative results underscore the relevance of this approach, showing that attitudes of acceptance are associated with practical involvement of the same magnitude in both forms of helping; in paid and unpaid refugee-related help. This tendency suggests that – apart from widely studied civic forms of engagement in supporting refugees in recent years in Germany (and more widely in refugee-hosting countries in Europe) – social welfare institutions and NGOs prioritizing migrant employees should also be incorporated into conceptualizing active support of refugees.

The structure of the correlations of the two types of helping are similar to some extent, both found to be positively associated with education, subjective socioeconomic satisfaction, German language media consumption, and acceptance attitudes towards refugees. There were also differences found among the structure of background factors: (lesser) economic reasons for migration, social capital in Germany and left-opposition party preferences in Hungary have a significant association only with philanthropy; while employment at the time of questioning (full or part time/occasional) shows a consistent association only with paid work experience.

Last, and closely related to the above statements, our investigations of the relationship between the structural position of intra-European migrants and their involvement in practices of helping shed light not only on the background factors of helping attitudes and practices, but also on the possible consequences of the latter. Part-time and occasionally employed respondents were more widely involved in paid refugee work than full-time workers, or those who were not working at the time of the interviews. This might suggest that refugee-helping employment in Germany may represent a channel for Hungarian migrants (and more specifically, for those in favour of helping refugees) to become incorporated into a specific segment of the German labour market: holders of part-time or occasional jobs. Their lower wage demands compared to typical German wages, the lower socioeconomic status of refugee-related jobs, and the high demand for workforce have created a situation in which intra-EU Hungarian migrants perceived refugees and the related jobs as a resource rather than a threat.

Structural factors affect the professional positions and social status of a considerable proportion of the respondents of our survey and small qualitative sample. Young, well-educated Hungarian professionals who had become employees in the apparatus of refugee support and integration had experienced upward mobility: an increase in status and social recognition strengthening also their political self-esteem in which solidarity and the refusal of xenophobia plays a major role. The related jobs not only provided employment and remuneration in the short-term for Hungarian migrants, but in the longer term may provide a means of integrating through the secondary (part-time or occasional) labour market into the German society.

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Tables

Table 1. Voluntary work and paid work related to refugee support – sub-sample of refugee-supporters

	No. of respondents	% of total sample (N=639)
Philanthropy (donating or volunteering) for refugees in Hungary or Germany (ever in their lives)	193	30.2
Philanthropy (donating or volunteering) during or after the migration crisis	174	27.2
Philanthropy in Germany	168	26.3
Volunteering in Germany	115	18.0
Philanthropy in Hungary	95	14.9
Paid work in refugee support, Germany	55	8.6
Paid work in refugee support, Hungary	12	1.9

Table 2 Respondents according to gender, age category, education level, arrival period and employment

	%	N
gender		635
male	37.2	
female	62.8	
age category		557
18-24	4.8	
25-34	35.5	
35-44	30.3	
45-54	19.9	
55-64	6.5	
65+	2.9	
education		546
primary	2.0	
secondary	46.9	
tertiary	41.2	
post-graduate	9.9	
arrival period		426
arrived 1962-2010	19.2	
arrived 2011-2014	45.1	
arrived 2015-2017	35.7	
employment		639
full-time work	52.0	
part-time or occasional work	18.2	
working, terms unknown	15.0	
not working	14.9	

Table 3: Binary logistic regression coefficients for models with outcome variables philanthropic involvement in Germany (M1, M2, M3) and paid employment in refugee help in Germany (M4, M5, M6). *: p<0.05; **: p<0.01; t: p<0.1.

	philanthropic action for refugees, Germany									paid employment in refugee support, Germany								
	M1			M2			M3			M4			M5			M6		
	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Exp(B)
Gender (ref: male)	0.37	0.23	1.44	-0.07	0.29	0.94	-0.31	0.36	0.73	0.82	0.38	2.27 *	0.34	0.45	1.41	0.19	0.52	1.21
age (ref: aged 55+)																		
Age missing	-0.35	0.41	0.7	-0.73	0.53	0.48	0.06	0.63	1.06	0.6	0.71	1.82	0.4	0.86	1.5	2.33	1.31	10.26 t
Age: 18-34	-1.34	0.4	0.26 **	-2.05	0.5	0.13 **	-1.47	0.64	0.23 *	0.24	0.66	1.28	-0.07	0.78	0.93	2.46	1.27	11.67 t
Age: 35-44	-0.15	0.37	0.86	-0.65	0.47	0.52	-0.18	0.6	0.83	0.79	0.63	2.21	0.69	0.75	1.99	2.83	1.23	16.9 *
Age: 45-54	0.06	0.38	1.06	-0.03	0.51	0.97	0.6	0.64	1.82	0.41	0.65	1.5	-0.06	0.82	0.94	1.64	1.27	5.15
education (ref: college/univ.)																		
missing	-1.18	0.50	0.31 *	-1.30	0.60	0.27 *	-1.10	0.70	0.33	-0.31	0.96	0.73	0.59	1.42	1.81	0.80	1.61	2.22
primary and secondary	-1.12	0.24	0.33 **	-0.82	0.32	0.44 *	-0.57	0.40	0.57	-1.13	0.41	0.32 **	-0.97	0.51	0.38 t	-0.75	0.61	0.47
postgradual	-0.42	0.36	0.66	-0.54	0.44	0.58	-0.80	0.57	0.45	-0.10	0.50	0.90	0.14	0.59	1.15	-0.05	0.73	0.96
arrival (ref: before 2011)																		
Between 2011 and 2014	-0.62	0.32	0.54 t	-0.14	0.41	0.87	-0.07	0.5	0.94	-0.39	0.46	0.68	-0.02	0.59	0.98	-0.3	0.69	0.74
Between 2015 and 2017	-1.03	0.36	0.36 **	-0.71	0.45	0.49	-1.05	0.56	0.35 t	-1.03	0.55	0.36 t	-0.8	0.69	0.45	-1.36	0.8	0.26 t
Arrival missing	-0.16	0.31	0.85	0.04	0.41	1.04	0.03	0.49	1.03	-0.34	0.45	0.71	-0.39	0.61	0.67	-0.84	0.73	0.43
employment (ref: occasional or part time)																		
Employment: Full time	-0.35	0.28	0.71	0.01	0.35	1.01	-0.3	0.42	0.74	-0.77	0.36	0.46 *	-1.13	0.45	0.32 *	-1.47	0.53	0.23 **
Employment: type unknown	0.8	0.51	2.23	1.19	0.61	3.3 *	0.94	0.75	2.56	-0.57	0.92	0.56	-2.05	1.42	0.13	-2.89	1.65	0.06 t
Not working	-0.04	0.36	0.96	0.53	0.46	1.69	0.16	0.57	1.18	-2.72	1.07	0.07 *	-3.1	1.13	0.05 **	-3.35	1.19	0.04 **
Structural satisfaction	0.28	0.11	1.33 **	0.11	0.14	1.12	0.15	0.19	1.16	0.58	0.19	1.78 **	0.5	0.25	1.65 *	0.32	0.3	1.38
economic reasons for migration				-0.32	0.16	0.73 *	-0.49	0.21	0.61 *				-0.06	0.25	0.94	-0.34	0.3	0.71
social capital in Hungary				-0.04	0.13	0.96	-0.05	0.16	0.95				0.3	0.19	1.35	0.35	0.22	1.41
social capital in Germany				0.6	0.15	1.82 **	0.47	0.2	1.59 *				0.38	0.21	1.46 t	-0.08	0.27	0.92
Media (ref: only in Hungarian)																		
Only in German				2.09	0.6	8.08 **	2.43	0.76	11.33 **				3.36	1.23	28.73 **	2.69	1.4	14.79 t
In Hungarian and in German				0.6	0.44	1.83	0.7	0.55	2.02				2.25	1.12	9.46 *	2.78	1.2	16.17 *
In various languages				0.78	0.47	2.19 t	0.82	0.59	2.26				1.78	1.14	5.91	2	1.21	7.41 t
Not consuming media				0.2	0.72	1.22	0.72	0.94	2.06				1.29	1.55	3.62	1.5	1.69	4.49
voting pref., Hungary																		
left opposition				1.35	0.54	3.88 *	1.55	0.91	4.71 t				-0.63	0.64	0.53	-1.35	0.95	0.26
right opposition				-0.39	0.69	0.68	0.49	1.01	1.62				-2.55	1.2	0.08 *	-1.87	1.3	0.15

other				0.81	0.72	2.25		0.97	1.07	2.64				-0.42	0.91	0.65		-1.54	1.25	0.22	
does not know				1.04	0.56	2.82	t	1.5	0.93	4.5				-1.17	0.71	0.31	t	-1.71	1.03	0.18	t
Would not vote				0.91	0.56	2.49		1.38	0.91	3.97				-0.37	0.67	0.69		-0.93	0.95	0.39	
acceptance - refusal attitude								0.82	0.22	2.26	**							0.98	0.36	2.65	**
Constant	-0.45	0.68	0.64	-0.77	1.09	0.47		-1.19	1.46	0.3		-2.91	1.05	0.05	-2.91	1.83	0.05	-3.41	2.19	0.03	

DRAFT

Appendix

Table 4: Categorical independent variables: respondents according to language of media consumption and voting preferences regarding Hungarian national elections

	%	N
language of media		638
Mostly Hungarian-language media	16.0	
Mostly German-language media	8.2	
Hungarian and German-language media	44.2	
I follow the media in different languages	24.6	
I do not follow any media.	7.1	
Voting preferences regarding Hungarian national elections		635
left opposition_other	31.7	
right opposition	13.5	
FIDESZ	10.2	
Dont know	21.9	
Would not vote	22.7	

Table 5: Questionnaire items (valid responses, means and standard deviations) and the derived continuous independent variables

	N	Mean	St.D.	% of variance (principal component)
Structural satisfaction (To what extent are you satisfied with...; 5 - totally satisfied; 1 - totally unsatisfied)				68.7
current job	620	3.89	1.10	
current standard of life	635	4.13	0.91	
current housing conditions	635	4.14	1.01	
Reasons for migrating, economic: (4 - very important; 1 - not important)				
In hope of better job opportunities.	587	3.33	0.95	
I need to save money to pay back my debts at home, or to invest or develop enterprise in Hungary.	564	2.09	1.23	
Because of the hopeless situation of Hungarian economy (quality of life, wages).	594	3.19	1.03	
Social capital in Hungary (If difficulties, support available from... 4 - entirely; 1 - not at all)				51.4
your family living in Hungary?	629	3.09	1.06	
your friends and acquaintances living in Hungary?	627	2.62	0.97	
Hungarian authorities, offices?	622	1.68	0.79	
Hungarian civic organizations?	618	1.64	0.78	
Social capital in Germany (If difficulties, support available from... 4 - entirely; 1 - not at all)				57.7
friends and acquaintances living in Germany who are emigrants of a different country	617	2.29	0.97	
German friends and acquaintances	627	2.68	0.98	
German authorities, offices	632	2.95	0.89	
German civic organizations	618	2.50	1.04	
Acceptance and refusal (To what extent do you agree... 1: strongly disagree, 4: strongly agree)				59.4
The presence of refugees enriches the culture of the receiving country.	585	2.15	1.06	
The presence of refugees enriches the receiving country because there are qualified individuals among them.	577	1.96	0.96	
Presence of the refugees results in higher crime rates.	597	2.76	1.11	
Presence of the refugees results in higher unemployment rates.	589	2.63	1.14	
To help refugees is a basic duty of mankind	608	3.18	0.94	
There are international agreements and laws to help refugees, and they should be observed.	603	3.15	0.97	
Immigrants with different backgrounds should help each other.	571	2.82	0.99	
Refugees can have a negative impact on the public opinion about other immigrants.	596	2.69	1.18	