

# The Well-Being of Highly Skilled Migrants and their Intention to Stay in Hungary

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#### Abstract

Retention of highly skilled migrants (HSMs) became the focus of several countries recently as an answer to the shortage of labour and skills, ageing population and to gain competitive advantage (Spadavecchia, 2017). As many countries compete for these migrants' retention, understanding the factors behind their decisions have key importance for researchers and policy makers. This research focuses on the relationship between the well-being of HSMs and their intention to stay in Hungary, and aims to answer the following research question: Which elements of well-being of highly skilled migrants in Hungary influence the most their intention to stay in the country? The research will explore the importance of the five wellbeing elements established by Gallup (2010) and completed by other factors of well-being on the intention to stay. The research will be carried out considering the Life-Course Approach (Spadavecchia, 2017), operationalized by the migration grid (Spadavecchia & Yu, 2019; Vink, 2019). During this qualitative study, data was collected through 24 semi-structured interviews conducted with HSMs living in Hungary. It was found that career and financial well-being have the biggest influence on the intention to stay. Social well-being was mainly a reason to stay while community and physical well-being were mentioned in relation to leaving the country. Language, culture, visa status, linked lives and the Hungarian political atmosphere were other important influencing factors. Young, female, and non-EU candidates perceived the lowest well-being, especially when these elements intersected.

#### Keywords

Highly Skilled Migrants, Well-Being, Intention to Stay, Hungary, Life-Course Approach

### Preface

I would like to take the opportunity to say thank you to the people who contributed to this thesis. First, the respondents, who took their time and thoroughly answered my questions and shared a piece of their lives with me. Your experience helped to shed light on the well-being of highly skilled migrants in Hungary. Second, to my supervisor, dr. Camilla Spadavecchia, for sharing her expertise on the topic and providing support and feedback throughout the research. And third, to dr. Hans Siebers for his insightful feedback on my work.

I wish you a pleasant reading.

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#### 1. Introduction

The present research is about the relationship between highly skilled migrants' (HSMs) wellbeing and their intention to stay in the destination country, in this case, Hungary. Recent research is moving away from looking at migrants as human capital only that knowledgebased economies compete for to attain brain gain (Mahroum, 2000; Docquier et al., 2009). This research was carried out by looking at migrants as individuals with their own motivations, goals, and aspirations in life (Kou et al., 2010; Gonzalez Ramos & Verges Bosch, 2013; Spadavecchia, 2017). This sociological approach becomes especially important when aiming for the retention of HSMs (Kou et al., 2010), which in addition to their attraction, became the focus of several countries recently (Spadavecchia, 2017). Migration 'impacts the individual and its community and does not end with the migrant's arrival in the destination country' (Spadavecchia, 2017 p.1.). Therefore, the overall well-being in the destination country and its factors have key importance for policymakers to understand what influences HSMs' intentions and choices (IOM, 2013; Shamsuddin & Katsaiti, 2019).

Factors influencing migrants' intention to stay in their destination country has been examined by several researchers. Sapeha (2016) found that HSMs are more likely to stay if they have satisfactory employment. Barbiano di Belgiojoso (2016) emphasized the importance of attachment to the host country in staying longer, while Shamsuddin and Katsaiti (2019) claim happiness is the main factor but also highlight work and dwelling and the attitude of locals towards foreigners. Snel et al. (2015) found that socio-cultural factors have more influence on migrants' return intentions than socio-economic ones, while Mara and Landesmann (2013) mention the economic drivers, civic participation and housing as factors that influence the intention to stay.

Also, migrants' well-being has been examined by several researchers using different frameworks and well-being models. These will be discussed in chapter 2.2.1. For this research, the factors of well-being were operationalized through the well-being model of Gallup (developed by Rath & Harter, 2010). This model combines subjective and objective factors and consists of five interdependent elements: career, social, financial, physical and community well-being (Rath & Harter, 2010). The Gallup model was completed by other factors of well-being mentioned by the respondents, the change in well-being and combined with the life-course approach which was operationalized through the migration grid (Spadavecchia & Yu, 2019; Vink, 2019). The life-course approach is a key approach in migration that considers the life course of migrants and consists of four elements: location in time and place, linked lives, the timing of lives and human agency (Elder and Giele, 1985; Kou et al., 2010; Barbiano di Belgiojoso, 2016; Kou et al., 2017; Spadavecchia, 2017).

The current research is relevant from a societal point of view as the population in Hungary is ageing (EUGO, 2012), which indicates an increasing dependency ratio (Shamsuddin & Katsaiti, 2019). Additionally, there is a shortage of labour in certain sectors (Hansen, 2011). Besides, the number of foreign-born people has increased by 43% since 2009 (OECD, 2020a), however, the fluidity of migration status and the lack of data on HSMs makes it

difficult to determine the number of HSMs in Hungary (Spadavecchia, 2017). All these phenomena are combined with a lack of policies on HSMs and an anti-immigration political discourse (Naumann et al., 2018).

This research would also like to contribute to the literature of HSMs in Hungary as this area is still relatively unexplored. Several previous migration studies concerning Hungary researched Hungarians emigrating, mostly to Western Europe and this migration's impact on the destination and the origin country (Dull et al., 2006; Kaczmarczyk, 2006; Bradatan & Kulcsar, 2014; Bandy, 2018). However, the well-being of HSMs in Hungary and its influence on their willingness to stay in the country is not well investigated yet. Studying the change in the well-being of HSMs in Hungary also shows a novelty. Accordingly, this research aims to explore the importance of the different well-being elements of HSMs in Hungary and their intention to stay in the country and it involved HSMs currently living in Hungary. Respondents were approached through the researcher's personal network and groups on social media. The working definition of HSMs and the selection criteria for the sample are elaborated in the theoretical background (2.1.1) and methodology chapters (4.2), respectively.

The central research question of this research proposal is: *Which elements of well-being of highly skilled migrants in Hungary influence the most their intention to stay in the country?* 

The sub-questions below reflect the dimensions of each well-being element mentioned above, including the other elements of well-being and the change experienced in the well-being after moving to Hungary.

*SQ1.* How does the career well-being of highly skilled migrants influence their intention to stay in Hungary?

*SQ2.* How does the change in the career well-being after moving to Hungary influence their intention to stay?

*SQ3.* How does the financial well-being of highly skilled migrants influence their intention to stay in Hungary?

*SQ4.* How does the change in the financial well-being after moving to Hungary influence their intention to stay?

*SQ5.* How does the social well-being of highly skilled migrants influence their intention to stay in Hungary?

*SQ6.* How does the change in the social well-being after moving to Hungary influence their intention to stay?

*SQ7.* How does the community well-being of highly skilled migrants influence their intention to stay in Hungary?

*SQ8.* How does the change in the community well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary influence their intention to stay?

*SQ9.* How does the physical well-being of highly skilled migrants influence their intention to stay in Hungary?

*SQ10.* How does the change in the physical well-being after moving to Hungary influence their intention to stay?

*SQ11.* How do other elements of the well-being of highly skilled migrants influence their intention to stay in Hungary?

*SQ12.* How does change in other elements of the well-being after moving to Hungary influence their intention to stay?

The sub-sub questions that guide through the influencing elements of well-being found in the literature are in Appendix I.

This study consists of six chapters. In chapter 2, the theoretical background of the research is presented, followed by the Hungarian context in which the study was carried out in chapter 3. Chapter 4 discusses the methodology used for the study and then chapter 5 presents the results. Next, in chapter 6 the conclusion, the discussion, the recommendations, the limitations of the study and suggestions for further research are described.

### 2. Theoretical background

In this chapter, the theoretical background of the study is discussed by presenting the main definitions, models, and findings in previous literature. The chapter starts with literature on highly skilled migrants (2.1.) by presenting several definitions of HSMs in 2.1.1. and the importance of their attraction in 2.1.2. Afterwards, the theoretical framework of migrants' well-being (2.2.1.) is presented followed by several well-being models (2.2.2.) and the detailed presentation of the Gallup model and its elements (2.2.2.1.). In chapter 2.3. findings on migrants' well-being and their influence on their intention to stay are presented. To conclude the theoretical background chapter, the life-course approach is discussed in chapter 2.4.

### 2.1. Highly skilled migrants

# 2.1.1 Definition

Several scholars have defined HSMs before, however, there is not one universally accepted definition due to the influence it would have on policy making (Spadavecchia, 2017). Chaloff and Lemaitre (2009) define post-secondary education as a minimum criterion for being an HSM. Another researcher, Lowell (2006), still defines HSMs based on education only, however she claims that tertiary education is needed to qualify (Spadavecchia, 2017). Salt (1997) and Iredale (2001) besides the educational level, include professional experience in their HSM definition similar to the European Blue Card (2009/50/EC: art.2; Spadavecchia, 2017). Docquier et al. (2009) added age to their definition, defining HSMs as people over 25 years old (Spadavecchia, 2017). Some definitions such as The Canberra Manual (OECD, 1995) even define the sector the migrants must have education or work experience in (Spadavecchia, 2017), and some countries' migration policies include the salary threshold in their definition on top of the previous criteria (EU Blue Card, 2019; Immigration and Naturalisation Service, 2020; Australian Government, 2020; New Zealand Immigration, 2020; Immigration Bureau of Japan, n.d.).

In the present research proposal, I define HSMs as foreign-born people who have completed at least three years of tertiary education before moving to Hungary (Lowell, 2006; Spadavecchia, 2017). I am excluding the previously mentioned other criteria of the definitions for the following reasons. Firstly, some HSMs arrive at their destination country via different non-work-related channels such as the tourist, student, or spouse visa, which do not necessarily include a salary level or occupation at the time of migration (Lavenex, 2006; Aure, 2013). Secondly, I am excluding the occupational status at the time of migration as Barbiano di Belgiojoso (2016) found that it does not influence the intention to stay. Furthermore, including 25 as a minimum age (Docquier et al., 2009) would exclude younger people who have already obtained their qualification. Finally, I am excluding work experience both as a substitute and addition to tertiary education as it would be difficult to objectively evaluate and justify respondents' relevant work experience within the scope of this research.

### 2.2.2 Importance of attraction and retention of HSMs

As there is no clear definition of HSMs and in addition their ways of entering a certain country can be varied, to define or estimate their numbers can be challenging (Spadavecchia, 2017). Although according to the World Bank (2016) 27,6% of migrants are highly skilled (they meet the minimum tertiary education criterion) in the OECD countries.

The attraction of highly skilled migrants is getting more important for developed countries in the competition for talent. To keep up with the economic growth and to replace the workforce in their ageing societies, knowledge-based economies started looking for talent outside of their boundaries (Cerna & Czaika, 2016; Tarique & Schuler, 2020, Spadavecchia & Yu,

forthcoming). The attraction of imported talent becomes specifically important when the required knowledge and experience is not available locally. The attraction of HSMs is shaped by two interrelated phenomena, the development of the labour market and the improvement of government policies (Salt, 1997). This is in line with the two main systems that countries apply for the attraction of HSMs, the employee or demand-driven system and the points-based or supply-driven system. Many countries use both systems simultaneously creating a hybrid immigration system for HSMs where both employers' needs are considered and the recruitment of a group of highly skilled people for the labour market is important (Papademetriou & Hooper, 2019).

### 2.2 Well-being

#### 2.2.1 Migrants' well-being

However, migrants do not only wish to maximize their economic gains by moving to another country, but they would also like to have an overall improvement of their lives (Kou et al., 2010; IOM, 2013; Mara & Landesmann, 2013; Spadavecchia, 2017; Shamsuddin & Katsaiti, 2019). Therefore, to research the overall well-being of migrants has key importance in understanding their intentions and goals (IOM, 2013; Spadavecchia, 2017; Shamsuddin & Katsaiti, 2019). There are different aspects of well-being in relation to migration. The migrant's well-being and its improvement are mostly in the focus, and it includes the change of the migrant's well-being before and after migration. Additionally, there can be a comparison made between the well-being of people of the destination country and the migrant's well-being and also between people of the origin country and the migrant's well-being of highly skilled migrants in their destination country and the change in their well-being after migrating. To capture the change in their well-being is considered especially important as it shows not only the current status of each well-being element but whether the migrant achieved a better overall quality of life after migrating (Gallup, 2010).

Several studies have been conducted on migrant well-being, which is sometimes called happiness. While some proved that migrants' well-being is increasing with time (Graham, 2005; Kenny, 2005, UNDP, 2009; IOM, 2013), some studies show that their well-being will remain lower than the population of their destination country throughout their stay (Safi, 2010, IOM, 2013). These studies prove that not only the economic gains (if any) determine but other factors are shaping their well-being as well, such as social status, recognition of their achievements, discrimination, language difficulties, separation from family, adjustment to a new culture, linked lives and other challenges of migration (Handlin, 1973; Aycan & Berry, 1996; Wiseman & Brasher, 2008; Riano, 2011; IOM, 2013; Mara & Landesmann, 2013; Shamsuddin & Katsaiti, 2019).

A global study on migrants' well-being has been conducted by IOM (2013) which confirmed that although people migrate to improve their overall life conditions, many of them still struggle to achieve a decent level of well-being after migration. The report emphasises the

key importance of well-being in the 'long-term sustainability of both economic development and migration itself' (page 31.). A couple of studies such as Webb (2015) and the IOM report (2013) compares the self-reported well-being of migrants (both objective and subjective) with the self-reported well-being of locals of their destination country (Spadavecchia & Yu, forthcoming). The IOM report (2013) which was conducted with 25,000 first-generation migrants over 2 years, also examines what migrants have lost and gained by migrating by comparing their life situation to those in their origin country. The IOM report (2013) was based on the five well-being elements (financial, career, social, community and physical) by Rath and Harter (2010) and taken from the Gallup model (please see chapter 2.2.2.1). The report has found mixed results and concludes that the improvement of the well-being of migrants heavily depends on the circumstances of migration, on the destination and origin country.

### 2.2.2 Well-being models

Objective well-being has been measured by the individuals' income and life expectancy and the country's GDP, employment rate, literacy, and poverty rate (Rath & Harter, 2010). On top of these objective elements, subjective definitions and models have emerged. Seligman's (2011) PERMA model of psychological well-being and happiness consists of positive emotion, engagement, relationship, meaning and accomplishments, however, this model captures subjective well-being only. The OECD well-being framework (OECD, 2020b) includes both subjective and objective well-being and consists of three main elements as 'material conditions', 'quality-of-life factors' and 'how connected and engaged people are' (Spadavecchia & Yu, forthcoming).

A model combining both objective and subjective elements has been developed by Gallup (2010). Rath & Harter (2010) defined well-being as 'the combination of our love for what we do each day, the quality of our relationships, the security of our finances, the vibrancy of our physical health, and the pride we take in what we have contributed to our communities' (Rath & Harter, 2010, p. 4). They define five interdependent elements: career, financial, social, community and physical well-being, which are all linked to subjective well-being. In the present research proposal, I will use Rath & Harter's (2010) definition and model as the base of my research as it includes both objective and subjective aspects of well-being and has already been used in global studies on migrants. Although, it is important to mention that this model only focuses on factors that are within the control of individuals and only considers the perceived aspects of well-being., hence it's capability of measuring objective well-being is questionable. Spadavecchia & Yu (2019) highlighted further limitations of the model and combined the previously mentioned three well-being models by adding other dimensions, such as cultural and family well-being and perceived discrimination. The authors also highlighted the importance of an intersectional analysis of well-being. To extend the scope of the research and compensate for the limitations found, questions about the respondents' other factors of well-being will be added together with the change in all elements of well-being and their importance to the respondents' decision making.

### 2.2.2.1 The five well-being elements of Gallup (2010)

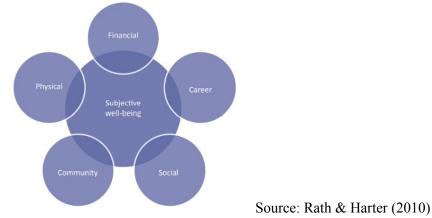
Rath & Harter (2010) define the five elements of well-being as per the following. Career well-being is 'how people occupy their time during the day and whether it is fulfilling' (p. 142). They do not define career well-being strictly related to paid work, but as any activity that keeps people busy throughout their days including childcare or volunteering. It is important that people look forward to this activity and that this activity is in line with their bigger goals they would like to achieve in life. People also should be able to use their strengths during this activity and have other people in their lives who motivate them. In line with Gallup's definition this research includes people who do not currently have full-time paid work. This will allow to shed light on the complex situation of HSMs especially of those who moved for a relationship. Furthermore, due to the current Covid-19 situation, more people are expected to be out of paid work who would work under normal circumstances. Financial well-being is 'the degree of financial security people have' (p. 143). It is not the amount of money people have but whether they can live their lives without worrying about money while being satisfied with their overall standard of living. Managing finances, buying experiences instead of goods and giving away money to others are also included in this factor.

Social well-being is 'the quality of relationships in people's lives', which has the second biggest impact on individuals' overall well-being (p. 143). This element is about close relationships in people's lives. These relationships should be motivating, have a positive impact on people's happiness and health, accept people for who they are and be there in hardships.

Community well-being is 'the extent to which people feel safe and are involved in giving to their community', including access to safe water and air, trails, playgrounds, or parks, having a home that fits people's needs and the engagement with the local community in terms of donating or volunteering (p. 143).

Finally, physical well-being is 'the extent to which people can do what they want to do free of pain', and also includes quality food, sleep and exercise (p. 143).

On average out of the five elements, career well-being is the most important for most individuals, followed by social, financial, physical and community well-being. The model has been developed based on several previous pieces of research and has identified 340 well-being items which are now classified in the previously mentioned five elements (Rath & Harter, 2010).



#### 2.3 The intention to stay

The intention to stay of migrants cannot fully foreshadow their future decisions, however, it is crucial to study intention to stay as it defines migrants' present behaviour and decision in their destination country besides the most likely outcome of their migration (Waldorf 1995; Waldinger, 2008; Carling & Erdal, 2014; Barbiano di Belgiojoso, 2016). Several scholars have researched (elements of) well-being and its relationship to the intention to stay in the host country, often combining it with the intention to leave or to return to the origin country. It has been found that 20-50% of immigrants intend to leave their destination country after 5 years of stay (SEO, 2015; Dustmann & Görlach, 2015; Batista and Cestari, 2016; ICP, 2016).

Batista and Cestari (2016) examined the influence of migrants' social network both in the origin and the destination country (in this case in Ireland) on the intended stay. They found that the social ties in the home country had more importance regarding the intention to return within five and ten years and ties in the destination country had no influence. Sapeha (2016) has found that different group of migrants have a different level of willingness to stay in Australia and that highly skilled migrants had more intention to leave the country although 'satisfactory employment' increases their probability of staving. According to Barbiano di Belgiojoso (2016), attachment to the host country or also called 'location-specific capital' (Da Vanzo, 1983) is associated with a longer stay in the case of immigrants in Italy. This attachment comes in various forms such 'political (legal and residential status), economic (home ownership, professional stability), family (the presence of other family members in emigration in the host country), socio-cultural (to have friendships with natives as well as emigrants and easier integration) and psychological (sense of belonging to the host country)' (page 6.). Home ownership, savings, agreement with cultural values and contacts with natives have been found to increase the probability of staying (Da Vanzo, 1983; Constant & Massey, 2002, 2003; Bastia, 2011a; Delpierre & Verhevden, 2014, de Vroome & van Tubergen, 2014). While family, sense of belonging and legal status have not been found to have a certain effect on staying (Constant & Massey, 2002; Schroll, 2009; de Haas & Fokkema, 2011; Borodak & Tichit, 2013; Carling & Pettersen, 2014; Erdal & Ezzati, 2014). It is important to mention that these attachments to the destination country do not exclude strong attachments to the origin country of migrants, hence these two should be examined together (Carling & Pettersen, 2014).

In another study, Snel et al. (2015) claim that socio-cultural factors had more influence on Polish, Romanian and Bulgarian migrants' return intentions in the Netherlands than socioeconomic ones as both economically 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' migrants had return intentions, however, those who were socially more embedded into Dutch society had higher intention to stay than those who had stronger transnational ties. Shamsuddin and Katsaiti's (2019) quantitative study on subjective well-being carried out in Germany shows that happiness of migrants increases the probability of staying in the destination country highlighting factors such as work and dwelling, but also mentioning 'decrease in feelings of hostility towards foreigners and disadvantages due to origins' as an important element (p. 2942). Mara and Landesmann (2013) conducted a study on Romanian immigrants in Italy and they claim that migrants' evaluation of life satisfaction and their intention to stay in the destination country are strongly and positively linked, highlighting elements as 'civic participation' and 'housing' but also emphasising the importance of economic drivers of well-being.

As previously cited literature confirms, many factors shape migrants' decisions which are reevaluated during the life-course of migrants (Spadavecchia, 2017). Within the scope of this research 'intention to stay' means that at the time of the data collection whether respondents claim that they are going to stay in Hungary or whether they are already planning to leave (Geurts & Lubbers, 2017).

### 2.4. The life-course approach (LCA)

The life-course approach is an important social theory in migration which was developed by Elder and Giele (1985) (Spadavecchia, 2017). The life course is 'a sequence of socially defined events and roles that the individual enacts over time' (Giele & Elder, 1998 p.22; Spadavecchia, 2017). In migration studies it examines the different life stages of migrants and personal and external events' impact on their migration decisions (Spadavecchia, 2017). The four key elements of the life-course approach are location in time and place, linked lives, the timing of lives and human agency. These factors highlight that everyone's experiences in life are different and dependant on time and place, these individuals are embedded in social relationships, they have a 'strategic adaptation' for reaching their goals and the ability to make individual choices (Elder & Giele, 1998; Spadavecchia, 2017). Kou et al. (2017) researched linked lives in the case of HSM Indians and found that even extended family had a great impact on the migration trajectories, making these even more complex. Other studies have also found that the intention to stay is defined by the life stage and linked lives of the migrant (Nauck & Settle, 2001; Dustmann, 2003; Erdal &Ezzati, 2014; Barbiano di Belgiojoso, 2016).

Accordingly, migration decisions should be researched considering these four factors of the life-course approach. For this research, the life-course approach will be operationalized through the migration grid (Spadavecchia & Yu, 2019; Vink, 2019). The life grid or migration grid will be beneficial to complete the elements of Gallup's model with the individual's personal circumstances (Rowland et al., 2019) and shed light on the complex migration paths of respondents (Spadavecchia & Yu, 2019). Furthermore Rowland et al. (2019) found that the use of the life grid through the interview process helps to build the relationships between the interviewe and the interviewer, to understand the chronological order of events and a more precise and profound description of events. In this research, the migration grid consists of the age at the time of moving, the places the respondent lived, relationship status at the time of migration, the reason for migration, occupation at the destination country, life events and historical events influencing migration decisions.

# 3. Context

This chapter presents the context in which the study was carried out. First, the main factors influencing the immigration in Hungary are presented in 3.1, then the composition of migrants in Hungary is discussed in 3.2 and finally, some relevant pieces of research on immigrants in Hungary are presented in 3.3.

Hungary is both a sending and receiving country (Juhasz, 2003). Although it is mainly regarded as a sending country, especially after the EU enlargement in 2004 (Snel et al, 2015), this chapter is focusing on Hungary as a destination country of migrants, either temporary or permanent.

### 3.1 Factors influencing immigration in Hungary

One of the main factors influencing the immigration situation in the country is that Hungary is part of the European Union since 2004. Hence, the EU directives are in force in the country and the other way, Hungary's policies on immigration influence other EU countries since migrants can develop a strategy to move to the country with the simplest immigration requirements and then migrate to other EU countries from there, which is called the 'magnet effect' (Brochmann, 1999, Gereoffy, 2006). Furthermore, as Hungary is also a border country, sometimes described and even ascribed as the 'gatekeeper' (Gereoffy, 2006) of the European Union, it has inevitably become a transit country for migrants aiming to move further on to other EU countries (Wallace, 2002). An important EU policy regarding HSMs is the EU Blue Card, which system is in place in Hungary, however, only a handful of people enter the country as an HSM via this pathway every year (Cseh et al., 2018).

As mentioned before, the population in Hungary is ageing (EUGO, 2012) and decreasing (Hablicsek 2003; Kincses 2009) which indicates an increasing dependency ratio (Shamsuddin & Katsaiti, 2019). Additionally, there is a shortage of labour in certain sectors (Hansen, 2011). Despite the need for HSMs migrants from an economic point of view, Hungary remains opposed to migration (IOM, 2020). No surprise the nationalist, right-wing government could build a political campaign on anti-migration, as the population of Central Eastern Europe, especially in Hungary has been rated the most xenophobic together with Slovakia and the Czech Republic, not just compared to Western countries with a higher rate of immigrants in the population but also compared to other neighbouring countries (Wallace, 2002). Even if most of the population does not have such strong feelings towards migrants, the topic itself is interconnected with losing jobs and economic issues (Gereoffy, 2006). People from an older generation, living outside of the capital and having lower educational level have been found more xenophobic than the younger, urban living, higher educated people (Wallace 1999a; Wallace, 1999b; Wallace, 2002). On top of this, Hungary sees itself as a culturally homogenous country (Wallace, 2002).

Besides the anti-immigration policies mainly targeting low-skilled migrants and refugees, there is a lack of an overarching strategy and policies on attraction and retention of HSMs together with data on this group (Naumann et al., 2018). Additionally, there is no discussion on topics such as migration, the legislation around migration is not developed and the arrival

and the settling in of migrants is not facilitated (Wallace, 2002). Despite the efforts of the government to keep foreigners out of the country, currently, 11,000 students are in Hungary from non-EU countries through government-funded scholarships (Stipendicum Hungaricum, 2020). Many of these people are already highly skilled at the time of migration and might stay in Hungary after finishing their studies such as several participants of this research did.

### 3.2 Composition of migrants in Hungary

However, the picture of migration in Hungary is more diversified and there are other groups of people on the move than only Hungarians migrating West and refugees coming into the country (IOM, 2013). The number of foreign-born people has increased by 43% since 2009 (OECD, 2020a). In 2021, there are 194,400 foreign residents in Hungary out of which, 78,800 came to the country for work-related reasons (KSH, 2021a). 59% of HSMs in Hungary were male and 80% were between 20-59 years old (Kincses, 2009). The main sending countries in 2021 are Ukraine, Romania, Germany, China, the USA, Slovakia, Austria, Russia, India, and Serbia (KSH, 2021b; OECD, 2020a), however, the list is diverse, there are migrants from 158 countries in Hungary (Kincses, 2009). Juhasz (2003) earlier found that 30% of migrants are highly qualified and even a larger proportion, 40% of temporary migrants are highly skilled. Kincses (2009) found that 25% of all migrants were highly skilled, however, more than 50% of those coming from the EU15 countries and non-European countries were highly qualified which makes them more qualified than the population of Hungary. However, again, the fluidity of migration status makes it difficult to determine the number of HSMs in Hungary (Spadavecchia, 2017). Wallace (2002) found the jobs immigrants get into are polarized, either low-skilled with salaries lower than the population earns or high-skilled with above-average earnings. The majority of migrants from the East go into the low-skilled sector, and from the West to the highly skilled sector, taking jobs at foreign-owned companies, as language teachers, at NGOs or as business owners. However, this East and West categorization is getting more diversified throughout the years.

As can be seen from the sending countries, most migrants arrive in Hungary from neighbouring countries. Statistics indicate that 70% of migrants are ethnic Hungarians (KEH, n.d.; Wallace, 2002). This special context of migration is created due to the high number of ethnic Hungarians living outside of the country due to historical events of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Ethnic Hungarians are descendants of Hungarians who found themselves outside of the newly created borders of Hungary, especially after the Trianon treaty, in countries such as Romania, Serbia, Ukraine, and Slovakia. This phenomenon makes it important in research to differentiate between foreign-born and foreign citizens group, as ethnic Hungarians are entitled to a simplified naturalisation process which increased Hungarian citizens by 500.000 between the legislation's introduction in 2007 and 2014 (KEH, n.d.; Godri et al, 2014). The majority of migrants being ethnic Hungarian also means that migration policies are very much interconnected with diaspora politics (Gereoffy, 2006). Since the EU accession in 2004, the composition of migrants is changing in Hungary, more people are coming from the EU15 countries and fewer from neighbouring countries, which especially holds for Romania after its EU accession in 2007 (Godri et al, 2014).

The regional distribution of migrants in Hungary concentrates in three areas. First, the capital city of Budapest is attracting 80% of people and has the most diverse population of migrants. Budapest also attracts the most qualified people even from long distance (Redei, 2002) which correlates with the location of the highest foreign direct investment in the country (Goncz et al., 2013) Foreign capital investment or foreign direct investment (FDI) has been the catalyst of highly skilled migration into Hungary, especially in Budapest and Pest County which is the most attractive geographical location for HSMs in Hungary. Additionally, FDI has been identified as an important element of brain circulation between the East and the West (Sass et al., 2018). The area of Lake Balaton is popular for mainly foreign retirees and areas near the border attract mostly low-skilled workers from neighbouring countries (Kincses, 2009).

#### 3.3 Research on migrants in Hungary

Research on migration and Hungary is mostly about brain drain caused by emigration and the current government's political approach to migration (Dull et al., 2006; Kaczmarczyk, 2006; Bradatan & Kulcsar, 2014; Bandy, 2018). However, there are few pieces of research on immigration. The results of three studies are presented in the following which were found relevant for this research.

When researching immigration and integration Goncz et al (2013) found that migrants in Hungary have a better overall well-being than the local population. This study used the Zaragoza indicators such as income, risk of poverty, subjective health, and property ownership. Respondents were the most content with their personal relationships and the least content with their financials. Differences were detected based on how long the migrants were residing in Hungary and under which legal status, but also from which origin country the respondents came from. The main motivation for migration was also found as an influencing element on integration (Goncz et al., 2013).

Cseh et al. (2018) studied circular migrants' motivations to move to Hungary, working conditions and their social integration and although this study was not specifically carried out on highly skilled migrants, 89% of the sample had tertiary education. They found that speaking Hungarian on a native level, previous studies in Hungary and the motivation to reunite their families were key factors in staying in the country. These results indicate that their sample had several ethnic Hungarian migrants. The authors also found that migrants from non-EU origin intend to stay in Hungary for several years. As for career perspectives, 87% claimed to achieve their career goals in Hungary. Also, 81% had a positive opinion about the labour market, especially those from Western Europe as they worked in better conditions and higher positions. The study also included migrants' opinion on Hungarian people. Accordingly, Hungarians do not speak languages and even if they do, they do not wish to speak English. Despite participants have found Hungarians friendly and welcoming, and experience of racism was hardly expressed. Also, 23% of respondents said that they felt at home in Hungary and the same percentage could speak some Hungarian. 10% started the process of getting citizenship and 89% had Hungarian friends. The majority of the people had a positive opinion about Hungarian traditions and found its history interesting. 51% of

respondents planned to stay in Hungary for 1-5 years and 36% for more than 5 years and some people were still hesitant about their length of stay (Cseh et al., 2018).

Another research studied hard and soft factors' influence on the motivation and the intention to stay of foreign creative workers in Budapest. This study also found that HSMs have better living conditions than the residents. However, this group of people was mainly dissatisfied with their low salaries, high tax, and their low buying power, despite the lower cost of living in Hungary. However, the motivation to move to Budapest was found to be a mix of factors, mainly led by hard factors such as work or education. Although soft factors played a bigger role in the intention to stay in the city such as the architecture of the city, the culture, the gastronomy, the geographical setting, and the calm and safe living environment. As negative soft factors, the bureaucracy of public institution and processes, the low level of tolerance and openness in the country, the language, the lack of green areas and the country not being environmentally friendly were mentioned (Egedy & Kovacs, 2011).

Apart from the factors presented in these studies and being a steppingstone for future migration, Hungary and other CEE countries have been a destination for migrants due to their economic and political stability. Additionally, the existence of an informal economy can be attractive to certain groups (Sik 1993; Czako & Sik 1999). This means that the legislation is not up to speed with the economic growth and capitalism which creates opportunities and niche markets for small businesses (Sik & Wallace 1999; Sword 1999; Wallace, 2002).

### 4. Methodology

In this chapter, the research strategy is discussed in detail. First, in section 4.1., the research design will be described, including the nature of the study and the elements of the Gallup well-being model. The research design is followed by the sampling strategy, discussed in section 4.2., including the control variables used and the table of respondents. The data collection is outlined in section 4.3., and the data analysis in section 4.4. To conclude the chapter the research quality indicators are presented in 4.5.

### 4.1. Research design

This research focuses on the well-being of HSMs in Hungary and how their well-being relates to their intention to stay in the county. To explore this relationship a qualitative method was applied. The research is deductive as it is theory-driven; definitions and models used in this study were derived from existing literature, however, the Gallup (2010) well-being model is completed by elements provided by the respondents, which gives it an inductive nature as well. A qualitative method was chosen to answer the research question by conducting semi-structured interviews (Petty et al., 2012). In addition to the interview guide, a migration grid has been developed based on the life-course approach to interpret the data and complete the data collection. The migration grid also helped to shed light on the complexity of migration, respondents' migration paths and individual factors influencing their migration such as personal events in their lives (Spadavecchia & Yu, 2019).

The interview guide was created based on the five elements (career, financial, social, community and physical well-being) developed by Rath and Harter (2010) and used in the IOM report (2013), however, to fit the scope of this research the sub-elements of each element have been narrowed down. As the Gallup model has been found incomplete (Spadavecchia & Yu, forthcoming; Spadavecchia, 2021), further elements of well-being mentioned by the respondents were added. To further complete the static status of well-being, the change in these well-being factors has been included (Rath & Harter, 2010). The five main elements of well-being are detailed as per the following.

### Career well-being

For this study, Gallup's definition of career well-being is used, and the sample included people who do not currently have paid work or do not work full time. Due to the current Covid-19 situation, more people are expected to be out of paid work who would work under normal circumstances and the study would like to shed light on the complexity and many possible combinations of HSMs' daily activities. This study includes the following aspects of career well-being: whether people like what they do, whether they can use their skills during this activity, and whether their career goal is achievable in Hungary. The change in their career well-being after moving to Hungary is also captured.

# Social well-being

As for social well-being, the strength of respondents' relationships, whether they have people around them they can count on in case of hardships, the composition of people they keep in touch with (Hungarians, foreigners, or people from their own country) have been examined. Also, whether they are treated with respect in their daily interactions was asked. The change in their social well-being after moving to Hungary is also captured.

# Financial well-being

The following dimensions of financial well-being were included in the research: the overall standard of living, appropriate pay for the respondent's current activity, financial security, and the ability to save money. The change in their financial well-being after moving to Hungary was also asked.

### Physical well-being

In this research, the physical element of well-being has been divided into two sub-elements. The first one is the quality and price of healthcare and the second is personal health mainly captured by access to international food and ingredients. Healthcare has been found an important element of physical well-being by Spadavecchia and Yu (forthcoming), hence it has been added to this study. The change in their physical well-being after moving to Hungary is also included in the research.

### Community well-being

To fit the scope of this study, community well-being has been narrowed down to the infrastructure and the safety of the area or district, engagement with the community (such as

volunteering or donating) and the openness of residents to foreigners. The change in respondents' community well-being after moving to Hungary is also captured.

As the research design is based on a semi-structured interview, data has been collected in a way that the five elements do not influence or limit respondents. Hence, all interviews started with an open question where respondents were free to list all elements considered important concerning their intention to stay.

### 4.2. Sample strategy

Purposive, homogeneous sampling was used as respondents were chosen based on their relevance to the study. This non-probability sampling method fits the small scale of the research (Patton, 2002). To be in line with the definition of HSMs of the study (Lowell, 2006, Spadavecchia, 2017), one of the selection criteria was a completed three years of tertiary education before moving to Hungary. Participants are also required to have a minimum of twelve months stay in Hungary as people staying for at least one year or more are considered long-term migrants (Czaika & Parsons, 2017; European Commission, n. d.) and due to the current Covid-19 situation since March 2020 the research aimed to include people who have had experience living in the country before the pandemic started. Due to the specific migration context of the country, most immigrants are ethnic Hungarians (KEH, n.d., OECD, 2020a), however, this group of people were excluded from the scope of this research to keep the sample homogenous in terms of non-Hungarian speakers and ties with the country. Candidates were also required to speak a sufficient level of English for an interview to take place.

The control variables of this research are gender, relationship status, origin region and age. However, this research acknowledges other genders (Butler, 1988), gender is defined based on the binary system which leaves the gender control variables as 'male' or 'female'. Gender has been found a key element in migration (decisions) according to many authors, hence it is also a key criterion of the sample of this research (Adler, 1984; Ackers, 2004; Raghuram, 2008; Docquier et al., 2009; Charrad, 2010; Hanson, 2010; Shauman, 2010; Riano, 2011; Kofman, 2012; Aure, 2013; IOM, 2013; Spadavecchia, 2013; Verges Bosch & Gonzalez Ramos, 2013; Kansala et al., 2015; Spadavecchia & Yu, forthcoming).

Relationship status is defined as 'having a partner' or 'not having a partner' with the length of the relationship not specified, however, all respondents were self-proclaimed in serious relationships or were single. This criterion is part of the research as linked lives are a key element of the LCA and have been found important in other pieces of research as well in relation to migration (Bielby & Bielby, 1992; IOM, 2013; Verges Bosch & Gonzalez Ramos, 2013; Bahn, 2015; Kansala et al., 2015; Kou et al., 2017).

The origin region of migrants is defined as an 'EU' or 'non-EU' origin for the current research; since it makes a significant difference in access to visas which influences migration strategies (IOM, 2013; Verges Bosch & Gonzalez Ramos, 2013; Cerna & Czaika, 2016; Spadavecchia & Yu, forthcoming).

Lastly, three age stages are examined according to the following age categories: 21- 32, 33-44 and 45-65 years old. As HSMs are expected to be younger, the first two age stages are shorter than the third one. Age or life stages have been found important in migration studies and they are also a key element of the LCA (Millington, 2010; IOM, 2013; Verges Bosch & Gonzalez Ramos, 2013; Kou et al, 2017; Spadavecchia, 2017). Considering the four control variables the sample size of this research is 24 (2x2x2x3), hence 24 interviews were conducted. The following table shows the respondents' characteristics.

Responden t no.	Gende r	Origi n regio n	Ag e	Age stag e	Relationshi p status	Stay in HU (in years)	Location	Intentio n to	Migratio n time(s)
R1	male	eu	36	2	single	6	countrysid e	stay	3
R2	male	eu	33	2	relationship	3	Budapest	leave	3
R3	male	eu	48	3	relationship	21	Budapest	leave	1
R4	male	eu	44	2	relationship	19	Budapest	stay	2
R5	male	non- eu	24	1	single	4	Budapest	leave	1
<b>R6</b>	male	eu	34	2	single	7	Budapest	stay	1
<b>R7</b>	male	non- eu	34	2	single	3	Budapest	leave	1
<b>R8</b>	male	non- eu	29	1	relationship	3	Budapest	leave	3
R9	male	non- eu	28	1	relationship	5	Budapest	stay	1
R10	male	non- eu	39	2	relationship	5.5	Budapest	stay	2
R11	male	non- eu	37	2	relationship	4.5	countrysid e	stay	1
R12	male	non- eu	45	3	relationship	13	countrysid e	leave	1
R13	female	eu	27	1	relationship	2.5	Budapest	leave	1
R14	female	eu	39	2	relationship	7	Budapest	leave	4
R15	female	eu	45	3	relationship	25	Budapest	stay	1
R16	female	non- eu	24	1	single	3	Budapest	leave	1
R17	female	non- eu	41	2	single	1	Budapest	stay	6
R18	female	non- eu	49	3	single	20	Budapest	stay	3
R19	female	non- eu	28	1	relationship	1.5	Budapest	leave	1
R20	female	non- eu	26	1	single	3.5	countrysid e	leave	1
R21	female	non- eu	30	1	single	6	Budapest	stay	1
R22	female	non- eu	31	1	single	3.5	Budapest	stay	1

Table 1: List of respondents

R23	female	non- eu	28	1	single	4.5	Budapest	leave	1
R24	female	non- eu	34	2	single	1.5	Budapest	stay	2

As it can be seen 12 male and 12 female respondents were interviewed, and 12 respondents were single and 12 are in a relationship. Despite the researcher's efforts, the distribution in case of origin region and age stages deviates from the desired sample outlined by the control variables. Ten respondents fell into the first age stage, ten into the second age stage and only four into the third age stage which is in line with the younger age of respondents in other studies on HSMs such as Spadavecchia and Yu (forthcoming) and Spadavecchia (2021). The average age of respondents was 34,7 and their average length of stay in Hungary was 7,2 years. While the intended sample of the research includes people from 21-65 years old, the actual sample covers 25 years of life span with all respondents being between 24-49 years old. The deviation in the age groups can have several reasons. It can be linked to the fact that HSMs are usually of a younger age, plus respondents came from the researcher's personal network and groups on social media which can also indicate the reason for the respondents' lower age stage (Bailey & Mulder, 2017). However, in the first weeks of data collection, there were more people interested in being interviewed from age stage 3, but their drop-out rate surpassed those in age stage 1 and 2. A possible reason for this can be the online nature of data collection and the closure of kindergartens and schools in early March forcing parents to stay at home with their children which affected people in age stage 2 and 3. As for the country of origin, eight respondents were from EU countries and 16 were from Non-EU origin. The 24 respondents came from 22 different countries and half of them had an intention to stay.

#### 4.3. Data collection

As for data collection, first, secondary sources such as peer-reviewed articles were used to gather data. The primary data sources of this research were semi-structured open-ended interviews, where the sequence of the questions was not pre-fixed and allowed room to pose the consecutive questions based on the answers of the respondents. This type of interviews suited most the exploratory nature of the research (Petty et al., 2012). The interviews were held based on the interview guide (see in Appendix II) and the migration grid (see in Appendix III), they took take place in English and were transcribed and coded afterwards. First, two trial interviews with respondents matching the sampling criteria were conducted to test the script and to adjust it for the rest of the interviews. The interviews started with an introduction containing technical information about the interview and the research. Some background information was also asked about the participant and then some introductory questions were posed about the topic to make the interviewee feel at ease. The completion of the migration grid was also done in case the interviewee had not filled it before the interview. In this research, the migration grid consisted of the age at the time of moving, the places the respondent lived, relationship status at the time of migration, the reason for migration, occupation at the destination country, life events and historical events. These additional

elements shed light on the complexity of migration and the personal circumstances of the respondents' migration paths.

Afterwards, following an open question, the main factors influencing the respondent's intention to stay, or leave were discussed. In case some of the five elements of well-being were not mentioned, the researcher posed questions from the interview guide and discussed the change and the hierarchy of the elements. The atmosphere of the interviews was friendly, respondents did not refuse answering to any of the questions, however they sometimes needed to be reminded of the neutrality of the researcher. Most people gave elaborated answers and insight into personal matters easily. Interviews lasted a maximum of one hour, were conducted online via Zoom and the data collection took around five weeks.

### 4.4. Data analysis

The data collected was in the form of recorded audio which was transcribed to written texts. These written texts were coded afterwards. First, selective coding was executed. This coding method has been chosen since the main codes are pre-defined based on previously developed theories, in this case, Gallup's (2010) five factors of well-being (Saldana, 2013). It was followed by an open coding method. This method helped the researcher to identify codes that did not belong to any of the pre-defined categories (such as any other elements of well-being mentioned by the participants) and to better define the similarities and differences between the codes belonging to each of the well-being factors (Saldana, 2013). Finally, axial coding was applied to determine the dominant codes (Saldana, 2013).

#### 4.5. Research quality indicators

The construct validity of the research was increased as the research was based on definitions and models coming from previous literature (Nowell et al., 2017). The internal validity was provided by the open-ended semi-structured interview guide based on literature which also helped to reduce the researcher's bias as the same guide is followed for all interviews. Additionally, interviews were recorded for better documentation (Nowell et al., 2017). As for external validity, the research cannot be applied to HSMs in other countries, although it can form a base for further research.

The reliability of the research could have been weakened by the socially desirable answers of respondents, their endeavours to paint a better or worse picture because the researcher is Hungarian or maybe because they did not wish to criticise Hungary, as they might have had fragile immigration status. The following aspects enhanced the reliability of this research: the informed consent form, information about the independent nature of the research and a request not to take into consideration the researcher's nationality or gender while answering the questions. There was a possibility to opt out of any question respondents did not feel comfortable with. All interviewees stayed anonymous, and respondents are not identifiable based on their answers. Additionally, interviews were held individually. To further increase

reliability two initial interviews to test the interview guide were conducted (Nowell et al., 2017).

# 5. Results

The results of the study are discussed in this chapter. Starting with the presentation of the results for the five well-being elements defined by Gallup (2010) – career (5.1), financial (5.2), social (5.3), community (5.4) and physical well-being (5.5) – and completed by the additional findings on other well-being elements mentioned by the respondents (5.6) including the change in all these factors after moving to Hungary. Then the hierarchy of these factors in terms of their importance in the intention to stay will be discussed (5.7). Afterwards, results related to the Life Course Approach will follow together with elements from the life grid, specifically how many times the respondents have migrated and how this affected their intention to stay (5.8).

As discussed in the methodology chapter, the results can only be controlled for gender and relationships status, however, if there is any difference detected in the origin region or age stage, it will be noted as well. If one or more control variables are not mentioned, there was no difference detected.

As a general result, it was found that half of the participants expressed an intention to stay in Hungary. Seven of these people belonged to age stage 2 and there were slightly more single respondents than in a relationship. There was no difference detected in terms of gender or origin country in relation to the intention to stay.

# 5.1 Career

The first well-being element presented is career well-being and its influence on the intention to stay. Career well-being is examined through the following sub-elements: how to like what someone does, how using skills in this activity and how the possibility to achieve someone's career goals influence the intention to stay and for which groups. Then an additional element, the economic situation of Hungary mentioned by the participants is discussed. Finally, the change in the career well-being of respondents after moving to Hungary will be presented.

# 5.1.1 Like what one does as their main daily activity

However, this element is about the daily activity of participants, contrary to expectations, all of them had some professional career in Hungary, hence the questions stayed work-related. 19 out of 24 respondents expressed that they like what they currently do. Some respondents found jobs that they would be doing in their home country as well.

It's not like a subsidiary job, because I had to find something here. No, it's something I would have loved to do in [home country] if I found it. (R2)

Other two respondents have found new careers in Hungary.

That's also something that I really kind of surprise in a good way, living here, like having this new type of job that I never did before. And I realized that it's something that I really enjoyed. And I also realized that I have skills for it. So, it's been very nice. (R24)

Seven respondents who liked their jobs were not perfectly content with them, but they evaluated other job-related factors in their answers and the balance was positive.

It's pretty good. I mean, that's not what I imagine, of course, like 'Oh, I'm gonna be a sales manager growing up' or anything like that but I like my job, I enjoy it. Generally, my everyday task, I like my team, I like the freedom I had, I like the responsibilities I have. (R6)

Furthermore, four respondents have already a well-established career path in Hungary which would not be the same elsewhere.

There aren't too many good trainers around, makes it that I kind of made a name in this area here. I am doing it for the last 18 years. (R15)

Those who did not like their jobs evaluated several factors and the balance came out as negative.

Actually, no [I don't like it]. But I'm happy for my benefits I have, I can make savings, I'm working very flexibly. (R21)

However, most of this group accepted the only job offer they could get, mostly in need of visa sponsorship and/or income.

So, this is not really a field I wanted to go into. So here it was just a question of sustaining myself. So, I applied to whatever company I could find. (R19)

This factor resulted to be an important one in the decision making, as double the people expressed an intention to stay in the group who liked their jobs compared to those who did not like their work. In terms of gender, more male and EU respondents liked their jobs than female and non-EU respondents. Non-EU respondents had fewer opportunities in case they needed a visa sponsorship, hence more likely accepted jobs that they did not like. As for the age stage, most people between 21 and 32 did not like their jobs, however, this can be a natural cause of career development. In summary, those who did not like their jobs are more likely to leave the country and this group consisted of younger, female, and non-EU respondents. Those respondents where these three variables intersect had the lowest perceived career well-being.

### 5.1.2 Using one's skills

16 of the respondents are in jobs that allow them to use their skills and are according to their qualifications.

Yes, I'm working with my degree in structural engineering. (R5)

Commonly, respondents who have a mismatch between their education and current work found jobs based on their language skills.

*Well, mostly language skills. But it has nothing to do with what I learned, nothing. (R7)* 

Not using one's skills can have negative effects in other areas of their lives, such as one's self-esteem.

I would say my job currently is a job that makes me feel a little bit less of myself because I do not use my qualifications, my intelligence. (R19)

As there is a big overlap with the previous element, most people who did not use their skills expressed an intention to leave. However, there are more significant gender differences, more than 4/5 of those who do not use their skills are female. It can mean that those males who do not like their jobs could still find work according to their qualifications and skills, while women could not. Also, the ratio of non-EU/EU respondents is higher for not using their skills than not liking their jobs which can mean that more respondents from EU origin could get a job matching their qualifications and skills. Like the previous factor, mostly respondents between 21 and 32 expressed that they are not using their skills. Also, more single people claimed not using their skills, than those in a relationship, although there were more female single respondents than male single respondents in the sample of the research. This factor resulted to be important for people when deciding whether to leave or stay in Hungary and it especially affects people between 21 and 32 years old, women, and non-EU residents with intersectionality detected again.

### 5.1.3 Career goals and aspirations

The third sub-element of career well-being was the achievability of career goals. Eleven respondents said that their career aspirations can be fulfilled in Hungary.

Yeah, definitely like, oh, yeah, there are so many international companies working in there. And I feel yeah, that would be very, very likely. (R9)

Three of them even expressed an unexpected growth in their career since they moved to the country.

The progression that my career had in this amount of time has been really fast upwards. So, I had really good opportunities to grow up within the organization, not only in terms of salary but also in terms of professional development, that in [home country], wouldn't have been possible knowing the culture or would have been way more difficult. It would have take much more time to make those steps. While in Hungary luckily for me, I had these opportunities. (R6)

13 respondents feel that their career goals are not reachable in Hungary for several reasons. The main reason is the lack of knowledge of Hungarian language on their side and the fact that fewer opportunities are available in English or other languages in the country. Due to the interconnectedness with other areas of life and the importance of language as a factor in decision making, it will be further discussed in chapter 5.6

In Hungary, there might be some things not for me in terms of career as I don't speak the local language. (R2)

Another reason for not achieving their career goals was the lack of industries or certain positions available in the country.

My professional background is in the financial services sector, the offshore sector, which is zero here. (R19)

Two respondents expressed the lack of visa or citizenship as a barrier to their career growth, however, both people were positive about getting these legalities done.

The only problem is that they don't provide a work permit. Maybe I just have to wait a little bit longer, like three years I think and then maybe I can have residents permit and then I can have any type of job. (R24)

Achieving one's career goals seems to have a big importance for respondents as only onequarter of those who do not believe to achieve their goals was expressing an intention to stay in the country. More male respondents claimed to be able to reach their career goals than female. This can be related to the previous factors, that more female respondents do not like their jobs and are not using their skills. Respondents between 45 and 65 were the most likely to achieve career goals, followed by those between 33-44.

### 5.1.4 Other elements of career well-being

For every well-being element of Gallup (2010), there were additional elements mentioned which are either part of the model but have not been chosen initially as part of the research or factors that were not part of the Gallup model (2010). These elements are added as they resulted to be important in terms of respondents' well-being and their intention to stay in Hungary. For career well-being, the economic situation of the country will be discussed as additional factor in the following.

### The economic situation of Hungary

The economic situation of Hungary was mentioned by seven respondents both as a motivation for staying and leaving. Two respondents have found that this less developed

market offers them unique opportunities in their work-life, especially for those with their own business or entrepreneurial aspirations.

In Hungary where there is still many things to do because, in many domains, Hungary is retarded compared to [home country], in [home country] everything is locked already unless you have a very incredible idea in the digital domain. (R1)

However, four other respondents thought about the economic situation more as a barrier to their professional development and they linked it to the lack of opportunities.

There's the economic situation which makes that the type of job available or the number of job available is not always corresponding to what I would wish. (R2)

The economic situation was mentioned by more male than female respondents. Also, most of the respondents who mentioned this element expressed an intention to leave.

### 5.1.5 Change in career well-being after moving to Hungary

This study also aims to capture the change in the well-being elements of participants after moving to Hungary to show not only the current status of their well-being. This is important as it shows whether certain elements got better or worse which would not be detectable from studying the present. It needs to be mentioned, however, that this element was not relevant for all respondents, especially for those who lived in Hungary for a long time as their forexample advancement in career is more linked to the time passed working than the migration itself. Furthermore, it needs to be mentioned that respondents gave more importance to the future and what they can achieve with another migration than what happened in the past, hence despite a positive change in career well-being an intention to leave can be present. Also, respondents compared their current status to either their home country or the country they previously lived in; however, these locations do not necessarily coincide with the ones they would like to migrate to, hence the relevance of the change in overall well-being concerning the intention to stay needs to be further examined by taking into consideration these factors.

Seven respondents said that their career well-being got better after moving to Hungary

*My career, for sure it's moving ahead. So, I wouldn't like to compare it in that way to [home country], for sure. I am sure from where I am right now I'm going to move forward. So yeah, it got better. (R23)* 

Only half of the respondents opted for staying which is probably because of the previously mentioned future-oriented perspective of immigrants. Those few respondents who said their career got worse were all female from non-EU countries which coincides with previously discussed elements of career well-being and again, shows intersectionality.

#### 5.1.6 Interim summary of career well-being

Career well-being resulted to be an important factor for respondents when expressing an intention to stay. Those who claimed to love what they did were more likely to stay in Hungary than those who did not. Using one's skills and being able to reach career goals resulted in the same outcome. The biggest differences detected amongst the groups were in gender. Female respondents were more likely not in jobs which were matching their qualifications or skills, hence they were also less positive about reaching their career goals in Hungary. As for age, people between 21 and 32 were less happy about their jobs and using less their skills which also stands for non-EU participants. However, for them, access to a visa came many times before what their job was, which explains why this group was more likely in jobs where they wasted their skills. Career well-being is important for respondents because almost three-quarters of people who do not like their jobs or not using their skills or feel that their career goals are not achievable in the country expressed an intention to leave. Also, the economic situation of Hungary was mentioned, which is mainly a barrier to career growth in terms of the lack of certain industries and positions, however, some entrepreneurs see the non-saturated market as a business opportunity.

### 5.2 Financial well-being

The next dimension of well-being is the financial, which was studied through the respondents' overall standard of living, getting appropriate pay for their jobs, living in financial security and the ability to save money. Then other financial-related elements are going to be presented such as tax, currency, and lifestyle together with the change in the financial well-being of respondents after moving to Hungary. The chapter will finish with an interim summary of how financial well-being influences the intention to stay of respondents.

### 5.2.1 Overall standard of living

12 respondents claimed to have reached an average living standard in Hungary.

I would give it a like an average. I would not say super nice and not super bad too. So, I could manage to live in a cheap room which I'm lucky I found. And then I could manage to do some activity, which I like and I also travelled to other cities. I go and stay in the shared hostels. So, I think it's an average one for me. (R23)

While the other 12 respondents' standard of living was higher than average.

In terms of average salaries, I think I might be sitting the 10% here of the richest. So, I really don't have to complain. I think my global standard is a bit better than what it could be in [home country], to be honest. (R1)

Amongst those who expressed to have an average standard of living only three people out of nine had an intention to stay in Hungary. These respondents were all from non-EU countries, mainly female and again, single, and younger. Eight out of ten people who said to have an above-average standard of living were male and seven were from an EU country. Eight out of ten people were in a relationship. Half of the second group expressed an intention to stay, so

it seems that living above average was not necessarily a decisive factor for the intention to stay.

### **5.2.2. Getting appropriate pay**

18 respondents are content with the compensation for their work in Hungary.

Now yes, I am definitely being paid enough. (R13)

The rest believes they are not getting appropriate pay for their work.

It is very less and people are aware of that chat services are very less paid in this country. Because it's just the use of your language, that's all. (R19)

There was a tendency of comparing their salaries in Hungary with other countries, mainly with Western Europe.

The same amount of work and the same amount of stress I can give in Germany or Austria, I can get like three or four times the salary. (R5)

Four respondents said that they have more than one source of income and these two together provide them with appropriate pay.

I am really well paid for a teacher but it's not enough. In [xyz] organization, I work a lot and they have a very good money for that. So now, it's well balanced. (R3)

Those who said they are getting appropriate pay for their jobs were more likely to express an intention to stay than those who did not. The former were mostly male and almost all EU country respondents belonged to this group. As for age, more people were content with their compensation above 33 years old.

### 5.2.3. Financial security

20 respondents live in financial security in Hungary, yet again sometimes due to having several sources of income.

Financial security is for me is that if something happened to me, I can live on for two years, at least on my saving. So yeah, I think I can do that. (R9)

Four respondents said they do not live in financial security due to low salaries.

Everything is expensive. So, I would say with the salaries that we have, there's not much of financial security because you cannot undertake big projects. (R19)

All four respondents who did not live in financial security were female between 21 and 32. Three of them were of non-EU origin and also three of them expressed an intention to leave. Those who live in financial security were mainly male, all other EU respondents belonged to this group and slightly more than half of them expressed an intention to stay.

### 5.2.4 Ability to save money

19 respondents could save money, however, there are differences in whether it was easy or difficult for them.

Absolutely. [I can save] a lot of it [money]. (R10)

Three non-EU female respondents said that they are unable to save money with their current income in Hungary. Two of them expressed an intention to leave.

I can earn enough just to get by here. (R17)

11 out of 19 people who could save money expressed an intention to stay. There were more male, EU country origin and above 33 years old respondents in this group.

### 5.2.5. Other financial elements

During the interview, three other elements of financial well-being were mentioned by the respondents.

Tax

The high amount of tax imposed on employees was perceived as a negative financial aspect of living and working in Hungary.

And when you consider the 33.5% tax, you're left with nothing. 1/3 of my salary goes in tax. (R19)

However, the low-tax environment for small entrepreneurs was perceived as a positive financial aspect and a reason to stay.

*I think that the business environment for small or self-employed enterprises are good, especially with this possibility to pay fix taxation and don't worry about anything. (R18)* 

### The Hungarian Forint as a currency

The fact of not having euros as a currency in Hungary, having to exchange money when going abroad and the inflation of Hungarian Forints was mentioned by five respondents as a negative financial factor.

I'm foreigner and then sometime going home I'm thinking in euros when the Forint is losing 15% in one year of course your comparison to a salary [in euros] take 15% difference. (R2)

Buying power in Hungary

The lifestyle they can afford in Hungary and their buying power was mentioned by three respondents as a positive trait.

I was offered a job, same level as mine but my buying power in Switzerland was nowhere near what my buying power is here. I will not be able to afford a house with a garden or having two cars or bringing my daughter to an international school there. (R4)

There were no differences detected amongst the variables, however, it is possibly due to the low number of mentions.

# 5.2.6 Change in financial well-being

Ten respondents said that their financial well-being got better after moving to Hungary with only one respondent expressing a negative change. However, there were concerns of how this financial well-being would translate in other countries, especially in case they were receiving less salary than in their home country.

My financials if I want to stay all my life in Hungary, it's better but if I plan to move back to the West, we have some problem actually. (R1)

# 5.2.7 Interim summary of financial well-being

Financial well-being resulted to be an important element in HSMs' decision making. It seems that living above average was not necessarily a decisive factor for the intention to stay, however, those who did not achieve this living standard yet were more likely to look for it in another country. The above-average living standard was expressed mainly by male and EU candidates which corresponds to the previous chapter's findings. Those who said they are getting and appropriate pay for their jobs were more likely to express an intention to stay than those who did not. These were mostly male respondents, and almost all EU country respondents belonged to this group. As for age, more people were content with their compensation who were between 33 and 44 and 45 and 65. Most respondents lived in financial security, however those who did not were most likely to leave the country. This group consisted of female, from 21-32 years old and non-EU participants. 11 out of 19 people who could save money expressed an intention to stay. There were more male, EU country origin and 33-44 and 45-65-years old respondents in this group. Furthermore, additional financial factors were mentioned by the participants. The tax system has received mixed results depending on being an employee or an entrepreneur, the Hungarian forint as a currency had a negative assessment, however the buying power of participants in Hungary

was perceived as high, hence it was a motivator for staying. The change in financial wellbeing did not show any difference in the intention to stay. Furthermore, an interdependency of career and financial well-being was observed.

### 5.3 Social well-being

In this subsection, elements of social well-being and their relation to the intention to stay are discussed. Social well-being in this research consists of strong relationships, the composition of people in respondents' social circle and whether they are treated with respect in their daily interactions. Another element has been mentioned by the respondents many times which is the 'feeling at home'. This element has been added to the social well-being chapter as 'belonging' is part of this element in the Gallup model (2010).

# 5.3.1. Strong relationships

Strong relationships apart from having a social circle and close friends mean that respondents have people in their lives they could count on in case of having problems. 19 people said they have strong relationships in Hungary and people they could rely on. They strengthened this statement with past examples especially related to COVID-19.

They are always there for me even if I need to move, they offer me the cars or when I had COVID a friend just brought me the groceries. They are offering all this kind of help. (R6)

Four people specifically said they do not have strong relationships and they do not have (many) people to count on.

No [not strong relationship], I always tell myself, I always see myself as a somehow independent from people. (R16)

Four male respondents mentioned they could build their relationship network via playing team sports such as football or basketball, which was not mentioned by any female respondent.

Yeah, I'm playing basketball, I started when I arrived to Budapest that was a place where I could make a lot of friends. Some of my very good friends I met them there. (R6)

One respondent highlighted the difference in his social circles, he would turn to Hungarians for practical support and more to their international friends for emotional support which was conformed by others, however not this explicitly.

I mean the foreigners maybe they can support me more emotionally because they cannot do what the Hungarians can do. So, if you ask me that the first thing I would think of is someone Hungarian because it will be more practical. (R11)

Two respondents (one male and one female) found the dating life difficult. This can indicate that it could be difficult to build strong love relationships in Hungary for single respondents.

About the dating life, usually Hungarian is prefer to be with other Hungarian for long terms. (R5)

There is a mixed picture for those who claim to have strong ties and people to count on in Hungary. Eleven male and eight female respondents said they have strong relationships and eleven would like to stay and eight expressed an intention to leave. Based on these results a deeper understanding of these strong ties is necessary to make a connection between strong ties and the intention to stay. It needs to be examined whether these relationships would cease after leaving Hungary or continue (such as their family relations or foreign friends who move around). Some light can be shed on this element in the next chapter by examining the composition of their social circles.

# 5.3.2 Group belonging and the composition of the group

This element consists of whether respondents have a social circle they belong to and who is in this circle: mainly Hungarians, mainly people from their home country or other foreigners. 22 people have a social circle where they belong.

Yeah, in Budapest, I have quite a few different bubbles, where I feel I belong. (R14)

As for the question of who they are in touch with, mainly Hungarians, with a mixed group of foreigners or people from their home country, 19 people gave the first two answers.

So, I made friends very quickly, So most of the time, I'm with Hungarians (R10)

I have quite a number of friends. Most of them are foreigners, actually. (R4)

They are not Hungarian. They are mostly from my country. (R5)

The results show that those male respondents have the strongest ties with Hungarians who have a Hungarian partner. Those who have a social circle mainly with foreigners are female respondents. And those who mainly keep in touch with people from their own home country were all from non-EU origins and also, they were most likely between 21-32. Eight out of the 12 people having strong tie with Hungarians expressed an intention to stay. It is also important to mention here that there were eight male and two female respondents with Hungarian partners amongst the respondents, hence this gender difference described above needs to be further examined.

### 5.3.3 Being treated with respect

This element captures whether respondents are treated with respect in their daily social interactions. 21 respondents gave a positive answer to this question, however, three had mixed experiences mainly due to not speaking the language.

Generally, yes. I don't have any really bad experiences. Sometimes I meet eyes rolling because I don't speak Hungarian and some people are clearly frustrated by that. (R13)

Four people expressed that it is somehow expected to show respect first in the Hungarian society and then they were treated with respect in exchange.

I do. I think it's a 'you get what you give' type of thing. (R8)

There were no differences detected in the gender, origin country, age or relationships status or intention to stay of people, however, this is probably due to the very low number that expressed even mixed experiences.

# 5.3.4 Other social well-being elements

# Feeling at home

The 'feeling at home' or the opposite, 'not feeling at home' was mentioned by 14 respondents throughout the interviews without prompting, hence it became an important element of social well-being. Additionally, it was times associated with the intention to stay or to leave and with belonging by the respondents themselves.

So, it's definitely my second home now and I cannot imagine moving. (R21)

It doesn't feel like home. It just feels like something temporary. (R13)

However, 'feeling at home' seems intangible due to its sentimental being it strongly correlates with intending to leave which was expressed by all respondents who did not feel at home in Hungary (mainly respondents between 21 and 32) and the majority of those who feel at home would like to stay in the country.

# 5.3.5 Change in social well-being

Social well-being changed for the better or the worse or stayed the same for the same amount of people. This results is different from the change in career and financial well-being, where almost every respondents experienced a change for the better.

Social relationships got much better after I came to Hungary. I was not a very social person, it was always difficult for me making new contacts making new friends here, I get to practice this a lot and it always became easier and easier. (R22)

Social relationships, it will be far better in [home country] (R7)

Those who experienced a positive change in their social well-being were all from non-EU countries, other differences were not detected.

# 5.3.6 Interim summary of social well-being

Most respondents had some strong relationships in Hungary, however, these relationships, in general, did not influence the intention to stay. When examining who is in their social circle, Hungarians, foreigners, or people from their home country, it resulted that eight out of those 12 people who had strong ties with Hungarians had an intention to stay. This group mainly consisted of male respondents who had a Hungarian partner; however, the gender spectrum might be questionable as a result, since most people in a relationship in the sample were male. Those people who kept in touch with mostly fellow citizens were from a non-EU country and between 21 and 32. The sub-element being treated with respect did not show any influence on the intention to stay, however, it can also be due to the low number of people not treated with respect in Hungary or not. The majority who felt at home express an intention to stay and all the respondents who did not, an intent to leave. The majority who did not feel at home were from 21 to 32 years old. The change in social well-being did not influence the intention to leave, however mostly non-EU candidates expressed that their social well-being changed for the better after moving.

# 5.4 Community well-being

Community well-being consists of the infrastructure of the district (in case the respondent lives in Budapest) or the city, the safety of the district or the city, engagement with the community such as volunteering or donating and the openness of residents to foreigners. Another important element emerged which is politics and media, especially the policies of the Hungarian government and migrants' portrayal in media which are presented afterwards. To finish this chapter the change in the community well-being will be discussed.

# 5.4.1 Infrastructure of the district/city

16 respondents lived in one of the central districts of Budapest, four in the outer districts of Budapest and four in the Hungarian countryside. Out of the infrastructure, the public transport network of Budapest was mentioned the most times and it was perceived as a great one by most of the respondents.

To be honest, I would always say that the public transportation in Budapest, especially in the center, nobody can beat this public transportation. It's really everywhere in every corner all the time. Like it's really really really comfortable. (R5)

However, the equipment and cleanliness could be better according to three people.

It's quite okay, except that the equipment is very old. What is sometimes funny what is sometimes very unpleasant. (R3)

Also, there was a difference perceived in public transportation in Budapest and its districts and cities in the countryside.

I think one of the worst in this experience of living in [city in the countryside] is the public transport. It's really bad. (R20)

The availability of supermarkets, shops, pharmacies, restaurants, and bars was also rated great by most people. Parks had only four mentions and resulted to have mixed opinions, some people claiming there are many green areas in the city, some saying it is full of concrete.

That's crazy perfect for me it's like walking distance of anything. The biggest park is walking distance. Big mall is that the walking distance any shop is around even even small practical shop everything you can think of social activity I mean bars and things also reachable walking. (R2)

Noise, pollution, and cleanliness of the areas where respondents lived got mixed results as well, mainly depending on where the respondent resided.

It's, it's a pretty quiet one, we live at the bottom of the hill, I don't like noise, etc. So, like, I think it's perfect for us. (R19)

It was so loud like nights. Because there's so many Airbnb, obviously. (R21)

A new element arose during the COVID-19 pandemic, notably food delivery. It is not accessible in all areas of Budapest, or the choice is limited.

One thing is missing, no home delivery for food. This is driving me crazy. (R4)

12 out of the 20 respondents living in Budapest showed some appreciation for Budapest and the beauty of the city.

I remember when I came to Budapest for the first time and then I start walking...the Parliament and the river and the castle, it was so amazing for me and just feel like there's a lot of history here. (R24)

There were no differences detected between the different groups for this sub-element or influence on the intention to stay.

# 5.4.2 Safety of the district/city

All 24 respondents classified their area or city as safe, highlighting the low crime rate and the safety even at night. There was no difference in feeling safe for female and male respondents, all female respondents claimed to be safe, some saying even at night on their own, however many male respondents emphasized that as a female they would not feel safe.

I would say it's a very safe and sound place. I can go and come at any point of the time, so I do not have to think if I come in late at night like 1 or 2 am I do not have to think twice to walk on the streets. (R23)

There were a couple of problematic areas mentioned by the respondents, especially the 4-6 tram line and downtown with drunk people at night. Also, the 8<sup>th</sup> district was highlighted many times for its bad reputation, although several respondents living in the 8<sup>th</sup> district felt safe themselves.

I don't know if I would be really in danger but here in this border part of  $8^{th}$  district, I think it's completely safe even at night and even if I'm by myself. (R13)

As all respondents claimed to feel safe, there was no difference detected between the groups. The importance of safety in their intention to stay was highlighted by some of the respondents, and it will be discussed in chapter 5.7 Importance of well-being elements in the intention to stay.

# 5.4.3 Being engaged with the community

Engagement with the community such as volunteering, or donating was quite rare amongst the respondents. Those five who did such activities were involved in topics like rescued animals, homeless people or collecting rubbish.

Where I live there is a very nice erdo [forest in Hungarian] and full of rubbish. So with few people in the community, we have a Facebook group of the place where I live. So we organized pick up rubbish for every month. (R4)

Three people wanted to participate in such activities, however for some reason they could not. One of the main cases was donating blood at Red Cross, where they faced linguistic issues.

I just wanted to donate blood once. You can't go there without a person that speaks Hungarian. And they just said no, you can't donate blood. And the whole process just, I had to give up. (R13)

The respondents who were engaged with the community were from non-EU countries, except for one respondent. Importantly, all the respondents who engaged with the community expressed an intention to stay in Hungary.

# 5.4.4 Residents being open to foreigners

Respondents had a lot to say about this sub-element and the results were mixed. Respondents did not agree on whether residents of Hungary are used to foreigners or not and whether there are a lot of immigrants in the country or not at all.

*Everybody is really nice even when they realize that I'm a foreigner, they are still really nice. (R22)* 

If you asked me if Hungarians are racist. Yes, they are. (R6)

Six respondents mentioned that the openness of residents depends on the generation and that young people are in general more open to foreigners than elderly people.

Well, again, it depends on the age, in my opinion. Because most of the younger ones, I think they're okay with the foreigner. (R7)

The location was also mentioned, people living in the centre of Budapest believing that is the most open place to foreigners, however, people living outside of the centre told different experiences.

Not very diversified in some of the region in Hungary, but like capital, Budapest, I would say it's very diversified but when you go outside you will get noticed and you will be pinpointed. (R9)

It actually changed my perspective of, or my experience with Hungarians a lot. So you would think that people maybe in the city centre would be more welcoming and here I felt the opposite. I felt like people are really nice. (R14)

Respondents mostly agreed that it depends on the type of immigrant whether residents of Hungary are open or not. Immigrants with a Western background and students were more welcomed and had mainly positive experiences as a foreigner.

It does make a difference where you're from? Yeah, it does. You don't see people a lot who are dark-skinned. (R15)

*That as soon as I tell them that I came here to study, they see me in a different way. (R22)* 

Those people who in religion or background visibly differ from residents of Hungary had mixed experiences from being kicked, mocked, and stared at to being welcomed as a family member.

I picked up my mobile and I was speaking [language]. And there was a gang of young men who were already a bit tipsy or a lot tipsy. They realized that I spoke [language] and then decided to blame everything on me, even for Trianon treaty. So one of them, he kicked me in my ass with his leg. But it was 2005, that was long time ago and never since. (R18) Since COVID thing we have like something weird with the Asian people. Yeah, I have sometimes some kids mocking around or even stalking actually me on the bus and stuff or bullying a little bit but I kind of deal with that situation very good now. (R17)

I also own a farmhouse over here in [village]. And you wouldn't believe like, they are like a big family, even for the first day when I went over there - and I don't speak Hungarian, but a little bit - but they were treating me like a son. And I will like shocked like how can you? You know, I look different and how can you so like friendly and like this? And they were like offering their whatever they have, like, you know, fruits and vegetable in the side of the village. So it's a very good experience for me till now. (R10)

Speaking the Hungarian language was expressed as a barrier and also as an icebreaker.

You start to say 'I'm sorry I'm not understanding'. Once they asked me 'Then why are you here?'. (R2)

It's easy to break the ice because it's already sort of this unique attraction that I can speak a little bit of Hungarian. So now it's an initial conversation starter in a bar or in a park or really anywhere and then that becomes a conduit towards Hungarian people. (R8)

Having bad experiences in the supermarket and with customer service was given as an example by 12 respondents without prompting (only four had positive or neutral experiences in these situations).

*Oh, regularly I usually shop at [supermarket], but the staff is mostly Hungarian, mostly middle-aged women. If you would have questions, or you would not understand anything simple things like them asking you if you want a bag or something like that, obviously, they see you're a foreigner, obviously, you don't speak the language, but they would still go about and speak to me in that language. And when I would look at their face, they would be like, so irritated. (R19)* 

Those who expressed that residents were not open towards them were mainly female from non-EU countries. Most of this group expressed an intention to leave. The main place all foreigners felt some hostility was the supermarket and more from elderly people than the young generations. Many times, any negative feeling towards them was only coming from the fact that they are foreigners and do not speak the language, however people of colour expressed more negative experiences. Respondents also mentioned that residents differentiate between immigrants. The group of 'good' immigrants even felt the advantages of being a foreigner such as people being curious about them.

#### 5.4.5 Other elements of community well-being

## Politics and media

Other important elements, notably politics and media are discussed in the following subchapter. This element is strongly related to the previous chapter as it emerged mainly about the Hungarian government's policies on immigration and migrants' portrayal in media. It needs to be noted that this element was initially not controlled, however, reference to the current political situation in Hungary was mentioned by half of the respondents and onequarter of respondents talked about how migrants are portrayed in media without prompting. Politics was almost every time mentioned together with a disagreement with the current government's policies and the general direction the country is going in a political sense. The policies that were criticised the most were about topics such as migration, LGBTQ+, homeless people, adoption, and the government's Catholic view on family.

I am planning to stay here as long as the government does not fully turn into a dictatorship... because of the government putting this kind of message that migrants or people are not great Hungarians are not considered good enough to be here. Unfortunately. (R4)

Public institutions (apart from healthcare providers which are discussed in the physical wellbeing chapter) have been mentioned by five respondents. The majority had negative opinions, lengthy and complicated processes were mentioned.

I encountered some problems with the with the immigration office, that was extremely frustrating. It involved a lot of your calling and worrying about that, though. (R13)

Only one person mentioned that she wished to be a more active participant in politics.

So to try to get more acquainted and be involved in the Hungarian political life, though, of course, you understand that I cannot vote (R18)

Also, how the government handled Covid-19 was only mentioned twice and in terms of getting the vaccination early.

I just recently vaccinated so my ideas about the system is a bit better because at this age being vaccinated is great. (R21)

Migrants' portrayal in media was mentioned by six people, mainly as a source of influence on Hungarian people's way of thinking about migrants.

They don't have problem with races, as long as they are not pressured by political factors and mass media to hate them. So that in the back of the head, they're constantly listening on radio and TV: 'the migrants, migrants'. (R12)

Those who mentioned politics and media were male in the majority, except for public institutions which were mostly highlighted by women. There was an overlap between the two groups, however, those who mentioned media portrayal of migrants had more intention to stay than those who were not happy with the current political status. This indicates that

people are more able to ignore the media than the political atmosphere and the government's policies.

# 5.4.6 Change in community well-being

Similar to social well-being, the same number of participants said that their community wellbeing got better or did not change considering all factors discussed above. Those two people who claimed to have a decline in their community well-being both said they wished to leave. However, those who had no change or better community well-being expressed mixed intentions.

The community, I can say it's different from [home country]. So, to talk about the way I live in [home country], by means of community, friends, neighbours, colleagues, blah, blah. It was good enough for me here also, it is good enough for me (R11)

# 5.4.7 Interim results of community well-being

Infrastructure and safety had positive feedback from respondents with no big influence on the intention to stay. Respondents highlighted the public transport of Budapest and the overall safety in Hungary. Engagement with the community was rare amongst respondents, however, all people who volunteered expressed an intention to stay. Residents being open to foreigners got mixed results. Respondents had both extremely negative and incredibly positive experiences. Participants claimed that younger generations are more open to foreigners. Language resulted to be a big barrier here. Those who expressed that they felt that residents were not open towards them or experienced specific unpleasant situations were mainly female from non-EU countries. The majority of this group expressed an intention to leave. Another important topic, politics and media have emerged, specifically the disagreement with the Hungarian government's policies on migrants (and other minority groups) and migrants' negative portrayal in media. Politics was a bigger influencing factor in the intention to leave than media. Change in the community well-being was an influence only if it got worse, these participants expressed an intention to leave.

# 5.5 Physical well-being

Physical well-being in this study consists of two main areas. The first is Hungarian healthcare, both public and private, in terms of its price and quality and the second is personal health. As for personal health the main element examined was access to any type of food and/ or ingredients at a reasonable cost.

# 5.5.1 Hungarian healthcare

There were two levels of Hungarian healthcare examined in this research, there was a tendency to use private healthcare instead of or parallel to public healthcare services. These

two systems are different in terms of quality and price; hence it was important to differentiate which one the respondent is referring to. First, public healthcare will be discussed, in terms of quality and price. Afterwards, private healthcare is assessed by the same points.

## Quality of public healthcare

The quality of public healthcare has been divided into several elements by the respondents. The first is the number and the knowledge of staff members in public healthcare. Results were mixed, respondents found doctors and nurses competent, however, lacking in numbers.

Generally, is the people, the nurse, the doctor and the people who are there are quite competent. (R3)

I think that Hungarian health system lacks doctors, like lacks even medium level personnel. And I'm afraid that the best of them already somewhere in Canada or UK. (R18)

The second element of quality is the facilities and the equipment available. This factor had 13 negative opinions from respondents with three positive experiences.

I was surprised that the buildings are really, really, really, really old. And, and the room there is like six beds. (R5)

I think this symbolizes how bad is the healthcare system. There is no toilet paper in public hospitals in Hungary. (R14)

A third area mentioned was the complicatedness of the system as a negative. It is difficult for foreigners to understand where to go and how the system works.

It's kind of hard to actually find where the hospital, whoever your doctor is, based on your address card. That's also that's a struggle. And I always find myself, I have to talk to my Hungarian classmates to help me about. (R16)

The fourth element of the quality perceived mentioned by most of the respondents is the language issue they are facing when visiting public healthcare providers.

Lingually it was bad. And no one could speak even one word in English. So they started translating and I started translating. (R11)

The level of customer service received at the public hospitals was not up to their standards.

Imagine me walking with my blood sample in the hospital for like 15 minutes, just trying to find the laboratories to give it, come on, where's the customer service at least like I shouldn't do this. So, this wasn't expected. (R5)

# Price of public healthcare

Respondents were content with the fact that Hungarian public healthcare, including emergency services, is free.

So the fact that in the when, when she had to go to the hospital, just recently, and then, I call the ambulance in the middle of the night, pick them up. And the state paying for this and not seeing any bill. I don't have to pay in advance, you don't need to get it back. It's just a free service. So that aspect is I think, really, really nice. I like that (R15)

# Quality of private healthcare

Most of the time private healthcare insurance was provided by the company of HSMs. Four respondents were not content with the quality of private healthcare providers mainly because they believed the providers are reluctant to do certain examinations. After all, it costs them money.

Whatever exam he asks you, you have, is mainly sponsored. I don't think is like really profitable when the person has health insurance for them. So they avoided the exams, the more they can. (R20)

However, six respondents found their services of good quality.

I was having this healthcare insurance offered by a private healthcare company and they offer really good service. So there were a couple of times where I had to go there and it was really convenient (R22)

# Price of private healthcare

As most of the time private healthcare insurance was provided by the company for HSMs, the price was not perceived as an important factor. However, once they needed to pay for the service themselves, healthcare was perceived as rather expensive by four respondents.

But once I checked, like the prices of the surgery and things, it was pretty expensive. So I don't think it's easy, and it's affordable. I mean, the private health care here is not affordable for me. (R5)

It was also expressed that respondents go back to their home country for medical treatment.

Even for my dental services, I used to travel back to [home country]. (R18)

When asked about healthcare, most respondents shared their negative experiences in terms of the quality of public healthcare. The majority were female respondents and single (although most female respondents were single in the sample). And although they almost equally expressed an intention to stay and leave, some respondents emphasized the importance of their negative experiences with healthcare in their intention to leave. This aspect of physical well-being will be discussed later in details in chapter 5.7 Importance of well-being elements in the intention to stay. For private healthcare, results were more mixed in terms of being content with quality and the prices or not.

# 5.5.2. Personal health

Personal health is divided into sleep, exercise, and food by Gallup (2010). However, in this study, only the food element was researched as it is more linked to the location than sleep and exercise. This chapter resulted to be one of the most subjective one and results highly depend on taste and how important gastronomy is for the respondent. Some respondents claim they find everything they need even in the countryside; others say that the Budapest food scene is not diverse enough for them. However, 14 respondents painted a positive picture about the availability of any type of food or ingredient they would like to access. It was also mentioned byfour respondents that they travel to or order from places where other migrants from their home country live such as the Hungarian countryside, Austria, or Germany. Respondents said that the country can cater for several diets, including vegan, vegetarian, kosher, halal, etc.

*I can buy it online for example from Germany. Other than that, I could find maybe* 80% of what I needed. So that was never a problem for me, nor will be. (*R11*)

Although seven respondents expressed a lack of diversity in gastronomy and the difficulty of the availability of seafood, good quality meat or vegetarian options amongst others.

What I feel like the hardest to find here, I think it's a good fresh meat. (R20)

Four respondents expressed that although they easily access international ingredients, the price of these imported goods is higher.

It might be more expensive than then in [home country] itself because of import and stuff. It cost more than to buy in the [supermarket]. (R7)

Hungarian cuisine received mixed, however, mostly negative opinions.

I don't like also too much the Hungarian cuisine Okay, I like chicken paprikash. But in general, the cuisine here is really poor. Like, it's mostly soup and pork. I came from [home country]. And, you know, our cuisine is very, very, very, very, very, very big. (R5)

The majority of respondents who were not content with their personal health were female, single, from a non-EU country, and were between 21 and 32.

# 5.5.3 Change in physical well-being

The most significant negative change by moving to Hungary was in the physical well-being of respondents out of the five well-being elements due to the low quality of Hungarian public healthcare. Out of these people, the majority was female and/or from a non-EU country, and half of them expressed an intention to leave. For those whose physical well-being got better or stayed the same, there were no differences detected in the intention to stay.

# 5.5.4 Interim summary of physical well-being

The healthcare element of physical well-being was divided into public and private providers. Respondents had a positive opinion about the staff members in terms of competency and the price of public healthcare, however, they said that the facilities and customer service were poor. As for private healthcare, there were mixed opinions about the quality and price. Some respondents said these providers are reluctant to carry out certain examinations as it costs them money. As for the price, many respondents were provided with insurance by their employer, however, most people said that the price was high. Several respondents said they still travel back to their home country for healthcare services. In terms of the food element of personal health, people were mostly able to access any type of food or ingredient. However, the price of these imported goods resulted to be higher in many cases. Local Hungarian cuisine received mainly negative remarks. Also, most respondents expressed a negative change in their physical well-being after moving to Hungary.

#### 5.6 Other well-being elements and additional findings

To complete the Gallup (2010) model, the research started with an open question for respondents to list the factors that influence their intention to stay. Several elements emerged during the conversations which were not part of the five well-being elements previously presented.

#### 5.6.1 Language

The main topic mentioned by all 24 respondents was the Hungarian language and the effect of speaking or not speaking Hungarian in several areas of their lives.

Now, if you speak Hungarian, your life becomes like, infinitely better. Because not only can you actually do things and that are maybe a little bit more difficult than do them with less frustration. And then yeah, honestly, the better I speak Hungarian, the better my life becomes here. (R8)

Five people expressed the restricted opportunities in their career due to a lack of speaking the Hungarian language.

*Currently, with the B1, I don't think I have the opportunity. I wouldn't be able to work in Hungarian, of course. (R6)* 

Another big area affected by the language was respondents' social relationships, mentioned by six respondents.

Now as I'm building more and more relationships with Hungarians and being able to speak the language, it's like you get this constant positive validation of progress in a sense. (R8)

Those who speak at least a basic Hungarian had more positive experiences with members of the community where they live.

I think for them, it's nice enough that a foreigner is doing its best to speak their language. I could just go to the supermarket and speak in English but I would prefer to speak in your language, so they can easily understand that I'm not a Hungarian from my accent, from the way I talk, but they are still being nice. Really nice. So yeah, I didn't find any I don't have any bad experiences here. (R22)

As already mentioned in the physical well-being element, language issues in public healthcare providers arose as well.

And the fact that they don't speak English is just so annoying (R16)

Eight people also mentioned that Hungarians do not speak languages; however, two respondents believed English only is enough to get by in Budapest. There was a difference noticed whether the respondent lived in the countryside or Budapest. Budapest was perceived to be the place where Hungarians spoke more English.

The only downside is that Hungarians are not too familiar with foreign languages. And that's a big problem. (R12)

And I would say in terms of needing it to get by, you don't need it at all. (R8)

Ten respondents tried to learn or learnt Hungarian, however, most of them expressed how difficult it was for them.

I'm really studying. Trying to learn Hungarian in the past three years, though, is a difficult language, I should say. (R18)

Three people emphasized that Hungarian is not useful in other places but also three respondents found the uniqueness of the language interesting.

Why I would invest in this language? Will it be useful? I mean, will I use it here or not? I don't know. Hungarian is used only in Hungary and not everywhere. if I learned German, I don't work on in Germany, I can compete in Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, almost everywhere and every branch of German company all over the world. But with Hungarian language, I don't think I can do that. So it's like, it's not the same value. (R5)

*I* was just fascinated by the language (*R1*)

Out of those ten people who made the effort to learn Hungarian to a certain level nine expressed an intention to stay in the country, hence there is a strong influence of staying in Hungary if someone speaks the language. However, the opposite relation can be noted as well, respondents might be invested in learning the language because they wished to stay in Hungary. The majority in this group were male respondents and several was in a relationship with a Hungarian partner.

## 5.6.2 Visa status

When asked about the intention to stay eleven respondents linked it in some way to their visa, residency, or citizenship status. Visa sponsorship concerning work was the most common mention.

It's not because I particularly enjoy this position that I am here. It's just it's the only company that's, that's allowing me to be in Hungary with work permit. (R19)

Having difficulty getting a visa in other countries, especially due to COVID-19 was a reason to stay (longer) in Hungary.

Like, the only thing that holds me back, it's because I'm a third country citizen, I need a company sponsoring my visa. And because of the pandemic, because of the higher unemployment rates, a lot of countries only hire European citizens. So it might force me to stay here in Hungary for a bit longer. But it's not a problem. (R20)

The visa or residency status was also important from a stability point of view.

I'm a permanent resident, which is a relief. So I don't need to renew my card every second year. (R9)

Two respondents also claimed it is not easy to apply for permanent residency in Hungary.

Hungary is one of the worst countries in giving like residence, permanent residence permit or, or this stuff is really, really hard. So to be honest, I never thought about having such thing here. Because I don't think it's easy. And in other countries, it's easier. (R5)

Three people expressed they would like to receive Hungarian citizenship.

But I'm actually going to apply for Hungarian citizenship. So that's my plan. (R21)

Ten out of eleven respondents mentioning the above topics in any way were from non-EU countries. Also, the majority of them were female, single and between 21-32, and seven of them expressed an intention to stay in the country. Those who expressed interest in applying for Hungarian citizenship all expressed an intention to stay.

# 5.6.3 Culture

The culture was mentioned by 18 respondents. The main elements of the Hungarian culture highlighted were the social aspect of culture, architecture, history, and traditions. 14 respondents talked about the social aspect of the culture, many of them describing Hungarian people as 'cold' or 'closed'.

I really wonder why. Especially old people, they're so close, like, very difficult to get inside. (R24)

The warmth, we are warm and the Hungarians are colder. (R7)

The unhappiness and pessimistic nature of people were expressed several times as well.

People here they don't smile, we enjoy a bit more life. So this depressing side from Hungary is also another factor to be considered. (R20)

On a more positive note, Hungarians were perceived as calm, quiet, non-confrontational, giving each other space, and it is possible to get into their circles after a while, according to some participants.

I think the good things is like people give enough space for each other. (R5)

I've been accepted as a family member in there. So I think, the people in Budapest do take their time to get to know someone. And once they know it, here, they are open, but maybe it takes some time, more time than the Americans do. (R9)

12 respondents mentioned Hungarian architecture, history, and traditions, and the vast majority had a positive opinion about these topics. Mostly architecture of Budapest was highlighted by the participants.

I mean just the beauty of the city I really love to walk to Budapest to in the old buildings just in love you know the bridges. I think the most beautiful cities in the world so as really means a lot for me as well. (R6)

*I see that people here appreciate too much like the holidays like Christmas. It's in the culture here, which I like (R5)* 

Culturally, Hungary is so interesting, like, I find this country to be so interesting from a historical perspective. And the traditions I like Hungarian traditions, for the most part. (R14)

As for the social aspect, there were more female respondents having issues with navigating in the closedness of the culture. One of the reasons might be that most female respondents were single in this study. Most people expressed an intention to leave this group. As for the other aspect of culture, such as architecture, history, and traditions, exactly half of the respondents expressed an intention to stay of those who had a positive opinion, hence this aspect did not have a major effect on decision making.

#### 5.6.4 Geographical location

#### Landscape

The landscape of the country was mentioned by six respondents, half of them evaluating it positively. The biggest negative about the landscape of Hungary was the lack of sea access.

I wish we had a sea here. That would be perfect world. (R9)

Those who liked the landscape of Hungary were more likely to express an intention to stay.

## Weather

The weather of Hungary was mentioned by ten participants and six of them evaluated it as positive.

The weather of [city], is the best I have known for my entire life. I never was before in a place where was so stable and nice weather. So it's important to mention this kind of thing. (R1)

Usually, respondents coming from colder countries found the weather nice and those who came from warmer climates found it too cold. There was no difference detected in any variable or the intention to stay.

## Europe

Four respondents emphasized the importance of Hungary's central location in Europe and that the country is part of the European Union.

Yes, it was a big one. [big factor, that Hungary is part of the EU] (R5)

The second thing could be it could be that the central location can move around easily within Europe (R9)

Being in Europe was mentioned slightly more by the non-EU citizens. There was no difference in the intention to stay or other control variables.

#### Access to home country

Three respondents mentioned the importance of easy and quick access to their home country, especially in terms of direct flights.

There is no direct flights to [home country] from here. So whatever I'm going home I need at least one day to go to the airport, the layover and then take another flight. (R20)

Access to the home country was an issue for mainly non-EU country participants.

# 5.6.5 Being settled

Being settled, having certain stability, and not wishing to restart somewhere else was mentioned by ten respondents as a reason to stay.

*I am pretty integrated. So it's easier to stay here than going somewhere or going back to [home country] and start over with everything. (R21)* 

The majority of respondents mentioning this element were female and from non-EU countries. Seven of them expressed an intention to stay in the country and interestingly six were between 21 and 32.

## 5.6.6 Hungary as a steppingstone for next migrations

Four respondents expressed that they have or had intentions to migrate to other European countries from Hungary and they saw the country as a good steppingstone for their further moves.

I will say that this the opportunity, if I stay in Hungary, I have the possibility to in the future, to migrate to another country. (R24)

This group consisted of non-EU respondents; however, after staying in Hungary for a couple of years, most of this group expressed an interest in staying in the country which is opposite to their initial plans.

# 5.6.7 Covid-19

The Covid-19 pandemic had an impact on respondents' well-being and their intentions to stay. Their work-life was affected in several ways, primarily of those who worked in real estate or tourism.

But for now, because of the COVID, I really don't know what I will do. I'm thinking about it all the time to go back. Because it's like my main income was from Airbnb. (R7)

Also, the availability of work permits in other countries for third-country nationals decreased.

So, to be honest, I've been applying to jobs outside for a year I would say, but with the COVID companies would be less willing to give a work permit. (R19)

There was a tendency of staying for more time in Hungary just because of the stability respondents had here and the risk a migration would have during the pandemic times.

*I feel like I have a stability here and we are not in a very good moment to take risks. (R24)* 

The other area that was severely damaged by the pandemic was respondents' social wellbeing which could also influence the results of this element.

*Oh, I will tell my social life before the epidemic because nowadays, I have nothing. (R20)* 

There was no difference detected between the groups or in the intention to stay or leave amongst those respondents who were affected by the pandemic.

## 5.6.8 Live free from societal pressure

Four respondents mentioned that they can live free from societal and religious pressure in Hungary.

The freedom that people have here is also a major reason that I chose not to go back to my country. (R22)

However, this element is mainly linked to why they do not wish to return to their (non-EU) home countries, all these respondents expressed an intention to stay in Hungary.

# 5.6.9 Change in other elements

As the other elements mentioned by the participants were so different from each other, it makes it difficult to find a pattern. However, language has been mentioned as a negative change more than once.

Language, well, from my perspective worse, because I don't speak it. (laughs) (R13)

# 5.7 Importance of well-being elements in the intention to stay

After discussing the different elements of well-being, all respondents were asked to name the three most important of these elements in terms of their importance in their decision making. Two aspects of this ranking were examined: which element was mentioned as the most important the most times and which elements were mentioned the most in total.

For both groups, the element that was most selected as their number one reason to stay or to leave was financial well-being, followed by career well-being. For those respondents who expressed an intention to stay, social well-being (11 times) was the most mentioned element, followed by career (seven times), financial (six times), and community (five times). Physical well-being was not mentioned at all. Apart from the five well-being elements, other elements and factors have been mentioned once such as being settled (three times), the weather (two times), and the freedom they have in Hungary, taking the challenge to make a life here, the country being a steppingstone, linked lives such as partners, children, parents, and extended family and not wanting to go through the immigration process again. For those respondents who expressed an intention to leave, community well-being was mentioned the most times (six), followed by social (five), physical (three), career (three) and financial (three). Other factors mentioned were linked lives (five times), culture (three times) and landscape, language, and access to the home country once.

In summary, the main motivating factors were either financial- or career-related for both groups. However, when looking at which other factors they evaluated for staying, social wellbeing resulted important together with the weather and being settled. As a reason to leave, the physical well-being got a higher mention together with community well-being, linked lives and the culture. Female respondents were more likely to mention non-career and non-financial related reasons as their number one for leaving or staying. Respondents from the EU were more likely to name financial and career reasons for staying and those from non-EU the same well-being elements for leaving. This result corresponds to the findings that non-EU respondents expressed lower career and financial well-being.

## 5.8 The Life-Course Approach and the life grid

## Linked lives

22 out of 24 respondents mentioned linked lives concerning their migration decisions. All people who were in a relationship and/or had children mentioned their well-being as an influencing factor on the intention to stay.

The one that is more applicable for now is staying because I recently started a relationship with the Hungarian lady. And if everything goes well, then most probably I'm staying here at least for the upcoming years. Then when you have a partner then both of us has to decide not just me. (R11)

More important thing, both of my kids are Hungarian genetically. So it would be kind of difficult for them to, you know, readjust. So that's part of it. (R12)

Seven respondents mentioned their family members in their home country or in other countries as an influence on their decisions. Being close to them can be both a reason to leave and a reason to stay in Europe. Those who have Hungarian family through their partners mentioned it as a reason to stay in Hungary.

We've always wanted to go spend more time in the [home country], I would like to be closer to family is the main reason (to leave). (R8)

Also, the lack of linked lives was associated with freedom to move, three times mentioned this freedom would be lost in case they started a relationship.

For now, I only have a job here. I mean, I didn't have a family, I didn't have a husband, boyfriend, children, even dogs or cats, I have just my job. So I am sort of free to go, whatever I want. (R20)

# Migration times

As part of the life grid, migration paths were captured for participants. In this section, the link between the number of migrations and the intention to stay will be examined.

15 respondents migrated once in their lives, hence their first country to live after their home country was Hungary. The other nine respondents migrated from two to six times. Less than half of the first group expressed an intention to stay in Hungary compared to two thirds in the second group. There were no other differences detected in terms of gender, relationships status or origin country. However, those who migrated more than once were more likely to belong to the age stages of 33-44 and 45-65.

#### 5.9 Intention to stay or intention to leave

As shown in Table 1, exactly half of the respondents in the sample had an intention to stay. This even distribution opened the opportunity to examine this aspect closer. Six out 12 people were male and proportionally the same amount of people was from an EU origin. As for relationships seven respondents were single. The biggest noticed difference in the contr4ol variables was in the age stage. Seven people from age stage 2 expressed an intention to stay and seven people from age stage 1 an intention to leave. When examining the well-being elements, the following patterns have emerged. Those who wished to stay were more likely to work according to their qualifications but the biggest difference in terms of career well-being was that people to stay were more positive about the future and saw achieving their goals in Hungary, the others did not see opportunities for growth in the country sometimes due to lack of language, sometimes due to lack of certain position available or industries. Those who wished to stay were financially more satisfied which holds especially for women. These people had stronger ties with Hungarians, were more content with physical well-being, more engaged with the community and rated the openness of Hungarian to foreigners higher than those who expressed an intent to leave. Interestingly eight out of 12 people who talked about any sorts of visas were to stay. Having a Hungarian partner did not make people necessarily stay as six out of these ten people expressed an intention to leave. The intent depended on whether the partner was willing to move or not. Furthermore, those who were interested in staying could socialize better in Hungary, learnt or were learning Hungarian, were more satisfied with the weather and did not mention or did not feel as strongly about politics as those to leave

#### 6. Conclusion and Discussion

In this chapter, first, the conclusion of the study will be presented in 6.1, then the discussion follows in chapter 6.2. Afterwards, recommendations were formulated in 6.3, together with suggestions for future research in 6.4. Finally, the limitations of this study are discussed in 6.5.

# 6.1 Conclusion

This study aimed to discover the relationship between the different elements of well-being of HSMs in Hungary and their intention to stay in the country. Well-being was operationalized through the Gallup model (2010), completed by other elements mentioned by the respondents, the hierarchy of elements and the change in well-being elements after moving to Hungary. The LCA was used to detect further differences in migration paths of respondents and was operationalized through the migration grid.

The well-being and the intention to stay of HSMs in Hungary is a complex matter as migrants evaluate several aspects of their lives when making decisions. It has also been found that some respondents tended to be overall positive and some overall negative of their experience which suggests that these elements are interrelated. Furthermore, the interconnectedness of elements and that these elements influence each other was found. This study examined

which elements influence the intention to stay and what are the most important elements in the decision-making process for HSMs in Hungary. The study shows that although the first choice of HSMs for leaving or staying is career and financial related, the decision making is influenced by many other factors. Migrants aim to achieve at least the same level of wellbeing by moving hence the elements must be in a balance as only one outstanding element will not increase the overall well-being if the others are low.

All elements of career well-being examined resulted to be important in the intention to stay. Most respondents liked their jobs and were employed according to their qualifications. However, those who were not were mainly female, non-EU country citizens who accepted job offers to provide them visa sponsorship and were aged between 21 and 32. Although only half of the respondents claimed to be able to achieve their career goals in Hungary, mainly due to the lack of knowledge of the Hungarian language and the lack of certain industries. Not being in a job according to their qualifications influenced female, non-EU respondents' achievement of career goals. Also, there was intersectionality detected here. The economic situation was mentioned as an additional element influencing the career well-being both as an obstacle and an opportunity. Despite the change of career well-being not being relevant for all respondents, those few respondents who said their career got worse were all female from non-EU countries which coincides with the group affected the most by with previously discussed elements of carrier well-being. When examining the hierarchy of elements, career well-being resulted to be the most mentioned reason for both stating and leaving together with financial well-being.

As for financial well-being, the respondents of this study had at least an average overall standard of living and many expressed an above-average living condition. The latter were mainly male and from EU countries. Having an above-average living standard did not show influence on the intention to stay in contrary to the average living standard which was a motivator to leave. Getting appropriate pay also influenced the intention to stay, mainly male and EU candidates expressing being content with their compensation. The majority of the people lived in financial security, however, those who did not were more likely to express an intention to leave. These candidates were female, between 21 and 32 and non-EU countries. This result shows a strong correlation between career and financial well-being. Also, more than half of those who can save money expressed an intention to stay. Other elements of financial well-being such as high taxation on employees and the Hungarian forint as a currency has a negative influence on the intention to stay. However, the low-tax environment for small entrepreneurs and the purchasing power in Hungary was perceived as a positive financial aspect and a reason to stay. Almost every respondent said that their financial wellbeing got better after moving to Hungary. Financial well-being, together with career wellbeing were the two main elements mentioned as a number one reason to either stay or leave.

The findings on social well-being show that most people had strong relationships in Hungary, however, the study did not detect any influence on the intention to stay. One reason could be that these strong ties would move with the respondent in case he/she moved to another place. Hence it was important to examine who are these strong ties with. Those people who had strong ties with Hungarians were more likely to express an intention to stay. This group

mainly consisted of male respondents with a Hungarian partner. The vast majority of people felt they were treated with respect; hence the influence of this factor was difficult to determine. Another important element of social well-being and belonging was expressed, notably whether respondents felt at home in Hungary. This intangible element especially strongly correlates with intending to stay. The change in social well-being did not influence the intention to leave, however mostly non-EU candidates expressed that their social well-being changed for the better after moving. As for the importance of this element, the results show it was an especially important element in the decision making as it was mentioned by most of the respondents who expressed an intention to stay in Hungary.

As for community well-being, respondents rated the infrastructure, especially the public transport and access to supermarket and other facilities together with the safety of their district or city high. It was found that all respondents who engaged with the community such as donating, or volunteering expressed an intention to stay. The most controversial and influential factor of community well-being was the openness of residents of Hungary to foreigners. Those who did not find the residents open were mainly female from non-EU countries and they also expressed an intention to leave. Supermarkets and customer service were many times highlighted as places where foreigners encounter bad experiences. People of colour also expressed more negative experiences, however, some of them had outstandingly positive stories. Elderly people were less open to foreigners and language emerged again as an obstacle. Another important element that emerged within community well-being is politics and media, specifically the Hungarian government's policies on migration and other minorities and migrants' portrayal in media. Those who mentioned media portraval of migrants had more intention to stay than those who were not happy with the current political status. This indicates that people are more able to ignore the media than the political situation and the government's policies. The negative change in community well-being has been linked to the intention to leave and as per its importance, it was more mentioned amongst those who wished to leave the country than as a reason to stay.

As for physical well-being, public healthcare was positively assessed in terms of price and the competency of doctors, however, it lacks staff, buildings and equipment are outdated and customer service is poor according to respondents. Private healthcare's quality was questioned and the opinion on its price was mixed. As for personal health, the food, and ingredients available were examined and have been found a subjective matter. In general, most respondents can access whatever they need, however, the price of imported goods can be higher. Also, Hungarian cuisines received mainly negative comments. Those who were not content with their physical well-being were mainly female, non-EU country and between 21 and 32 respondents. The biggest negative change by moving to Hungary was in the physical well-being of respondents out of the five well-being elements as the majority said that their physical well-being got worse after moving to the country mainly due to the poor quality of public healthcare. Accordingly, not one respondent mentioned physical well-being as a reason to stay, however, it was high on the list of those who wished to leave the country.

The study detected other important well-being elements that are not part of the Gallup wellbeing model, however, they turned out to be important or even a decisive factor for HSMs in Hungary. All respondents mentioned the Hungarian language and its effect on areas of life such as career, social, community or physical well-being. Those who studied or spoke the language were more likely to express an intention to stay in Hungary. Many of these respondents had a Hungarian partner. The difficulty and the usefulness of the language also emerged. Visa and residency status was another key factor for non-EU country respondents. Those who are going to apply for Hungarian citizenship, all expressed an intention to stay. Social aspects of culture were mentioned as a negative, Hungarians were found closed and cold, although Hungarian traditions and architecture were liked by respondents. However, only the former influenced the intention to stay. The geographical location, such as being part of the EU was positively evaluated, the weather and the landscape got mixed, however mostly positive results and the access to the home country was found difficult to mainly non-EU respondents. Being settled in Hungary was also mentioned by almost half of the respondents as a reason to stay. It is important to highlight COVID-19 as an influencing factor on the intention to stay due to the instability in the world right now and on several well-being areas of respondents' lives, especially on social well-being for all respondents and on career and financial for those working in tourism or real estate. Being settled and the weather was a reason to stay, while culture was a reason to leave.

Furthermore, linked lives have an important influence on migration decisions, respondents emphasizing their partners and children's well-being when considering staying or leaving. Those who migrated more than once were more likely to stay in Hungary than those whose first country to move to was Hungary. The study shed light on certain specific characteristics Hungary has when it comes to HSMs well-being and their intention to stay.

#### 6.2 Discussion

The study corresponds with the finding that migrants do not only wish to maximize their economic gains by moving to another country, but they would also like to have an overall improvement of their lives (Kou et al., 2010; Spadavecchia, 2017), hence the elements of well-being must be in balance, one high well-being element will not compensate the others (Rath & Harter, 2010). Furthermore, the study showed the interconnectedness of elements of well-being also claimed by Rath and Harter (2010). It also revealed that HSMs' well-being in Hungary increased with the time they are spending in the country and is generally higher than of the local population which confirmed the findings by Graham (2005), Kenny (2005) and the UNDP (2009) and contradicts Safi (2010) (IOM, 2013).

As for the well-being elements, the study shows that although the first choice of HSMs for leaving or staying is career or financial related, the decision making is influenced by many other factors such as shown in the IOM report on migrants' well-being (2013) and by Spadavecchia (2017). Also, it was found that most people who do not work according to their qualification were female which resonates with the findings of many previous studies that examined gender differences in migration such as Riano (2011), Bastia (2011b) Slade et al., (2013), Aure (2013), and Spadavecchia and Yu (forthcoming). In addition, intersectionality between gender and origin was detected which has also been found in

Bastia (2014) and Spadavecchia and Yu (forthcoming). Furthermore, only half of the respondents were positive about achieving their career goals compared to 87% in Cseh et al. (2018) although the study confirmed that those who are from an EU origin have better working conditions than those from non-EU countries. Also, the existence of the informal economy translated as business opportunities were mentioned by several respondents which confirms the results of Wallace (2002) despite the many years passed since the study.

Financial well-being was also found important such as in Mara and Landesmann (2013), although having an above-average standard of living did not influence the intention to stay which confirms the findings of Gallup (2010). The study found that the overall standard of living of HSMs in Hungary is the same or higher as Hungarians which coincides with Egedy and Kovacs (2011) and Goncz et al. (2013) and contradicts the IOM (2013) research. People were dissatisfied with the high tax such as in Egedy and Kovacs (2011), however contrary to their findings the purchasing power in Hungary was mostly positively evaluated. Savings have been found to increase the probability of staying by Barbiano di Belgiojoso (2016) and this was confirmed by the results of this study.

As for social well-being, contrary to Cseh et al (2018) who found Hungarians friendly and welcoming, people thought they are closed and cold and in addition, racism was expressed by participants. Although, the majority had Hungarian friends such as in Cseh et al (2018) and it has been shown that these contacts with natives increase the probability of staying as findings by Barbiano di Belgiojoso (2016) show. Batista's (2016) findings who claimed that social ties in the destination country have little or no influence on the intention to stay were not confirmed by the study since social well-being was a major reason to stay in Hungary which rather confirms Snel et al.'s (2015) findings on the positive effect of higher social embeddedness on the intention to stay. The sense of belonging has not been found to have a certain effect on staying by Barbiano di Belgiojoso (2016) which contradicts this study since an especially strong relationship between the sense of belonging described as feeling at home and the intention to stay was detected.

The most influential element of community well-being was the openness of residents of Hungary towards migrants and the findings of this study coincide with Wallace (2002). The urban, young, higher educated population has been found more open to foreigners, compared to the older, low-educated people living outside of Budapest who has been found more closed and opposed to migration. Migrants' portrayal in media was mentioned by respondents as an influence on Hungarian's behaviour towards foreigners which confirms the results of Simonovits (2020) who found that media and the government's approach to migration heavily influence public opinion on the topic and fuels fear of mass migration and foreigners in general. The study agrees with Shamsuddin and Katsaiti's (2019) findings that lower hostility of residents towards foreigners increase the intention to stay which is also mentioned in the IOM (2013) report as discrimination and low level of tolerance and openness of residents in Egedy and Kovacs (2011). Other elements of community well-being such as the architecture of the city and safety were slightly positively associated with the intention to stay, and the bureaucracy of public institution and processes was mentioned as a reason to

leave which coincides with the findings of Egedy and Kovacs (2011). However, the lack of green areas was not evident in the present study nor the country not being environmentally friendly was mentioned which were found important elements in Egedy and Kovacs (2011) for leaving.

The most important part of physical well-being was Hungarian healthcare. The study shows that the quality of the infrastructure, customer service and English language lacks from the public service which confirms the findings of dr. Makara et al. (2012). This study together with dr. Makara et al. (2012) found that the issues of healthcare were more emphasized by female respondents which contradicts the findings of Spadavecchia and Yu (forthcoming). Lack of knowledge on migrant health, including other non-Western views on medicine as also highlighted by the study of dr. Makara et al. (2012), however, did not emerge in this study. Gastronomy was positively mentioned for staying in Egedy and Kovacs (2011), although it was a rather neutral or negative aspect in this study.

The study found linked lives having an especially important influence on the intention to stay. The well-being of partners and children were always mentioned by respondents as an important factor to consider when making decisions which confirms the results of Riano (2011), Bastia (2011a), Aure (2013), Barbiano di Belgiojoso (2016), Kou et al. (2017) and Spadavecchia and Yu (forthcoming).

Such as Spadavecchia and Yu (forthcoming) claims, this study also shows that the Gallup well-being model is not complete as several other important factors emerged during the interviews. First, speaking the Hungarian language correlated with the intention to stay and Hungarians were believed not to speak languages such as found in Cseh et al. (2018) and Egedy and Kovacs (2011) and the IOM report (2013). Second, the culture was positively influencing the intention for staying in Egedy and Kovacs (2011) and was found as a crucial factor by ICP (2016), however, in this study, the social aspect of culture had a negative influence, and the architecture and traditions did not influence the intention to stay. Hungary still has been found a steppingstone for future migration such as in Wallace (2002). Additionally, the study also aimed to capture the change in the well-being elements of participants after moving to Hungary. It has been found that besides changes in the past, prospects of change in well-being are also a motivator of migration, hence this element was both linked to the intention to stay and the intention to leave. Furthermore, the change was also influenced by the length of stay in the country and life stage of the respondent as well (Gallup, 2010, IOM, 2013).

#### **6.3 Recommendations**

In the following sub-chapter, five recommendations have been formulated for further consideration.

#### A country-level strategy on the retention of HSMs

Recommendations on a country level do not influence all elements of the well-being of HSMs, however, these changes could contribute to higher well-being and hence a higher

retention rate of HSMs in Hungary. First, a shift in migration policies is required to create a welcoming atmosphere for HSMs as the political decisions on migration and migrants' portrayal in media emerged as a negative influencer during the research. A country-level strategy is necessary which includes more research on the topic as gaps in the literature were found, data collection and management on the different groups, their motivations, and intentions. These would contribute to the attraction and the retention of more HSMs and would have positive effects on the Hungarian economic situation. The development of certain industries and the competitiveness of the country which could lead to a higher retention rate and the attraction of more HSMs as it was found a major cause of HSMs not able to achieve their career goals in Hungary. The strategy should also restart the integration provision which was stopped in 2016 (Simonovits, 2020). Once the HSMs arrived in the country, a welcome package should be offered to them. This could include information on how public institutions work in Hungary including healthcare, basic Hungarian languages courses and information on how to socialize in Hungary as the lack of information, the lack of knowledge of Hungarian language and the differences in social life have been found a major issue for HSMs. The strategy would also need to include new and clear entry paths and requirements for HSMs such as new visa policies to attract HSMs and their partners, as linked lives have been found crucial when making decisions. Also, more companies offering visa sponsorships would mean that more non-EU residents could work according to their qualifications and skills in the country as this has been found the main reason to leave the country. Also, the process of getting permanent residency and citizenship need to be reviewed and made easier to have a comparative advantage over other EU countries as the legal status was crucial for non-EU residents.

#### Raise the number of English-speaking staff members

Language was found a major barrier in several aspects of HSMs lives in Hungary such as in interactions at government offices, healthcare providers or at supermarkets. More English-speaking staff would increase the efficiency of the communication. Also, more emphasis on language education in schools would result in more Hungarians speaking languages which would help HSMs with socializing and engagement with the community as these areas were found where language was also an important element and a barrier.

#### Healthcare

The poor quality of healthcare in Hungary has been found a major reason to leave the country. The development of these providers in terms of infrastructure, equipment and customer service is crucial. Apart from the information given to HSMs on how the system works, they should be automatically directed to English speaking service providers. Also, the attraction of more HSMs to healthcare would ease the lack of staff and the lack of non-English speaking staff at the providers.

On the local government level, several changes are needed as well. As Budapest and surroundings attracts the most HSMs, these recommendations were created for the Council of Budapest for practical implementation of the study.

#### Infrastructure & safety

As the difficult access to home country was indicated as a reason to leave, infrastructure could also be improved, such as direct flights from Budapest (as the main international airport in Hungary) to countries from where big groups of HSMs arrive to Hungary. This would increase the intention to stay of these groups and facilitate the arrival of more HSMs from these countries. Budapest is a major attraction for HSMs, its safety has been highlighted by all people living in the city. The local government must maintain this safety and also increase safety in those areas which has been found less safe, such as the line of the tram 4-6, the area of the 'party district' and the 8<sup>th</sup> district. Also, the equipment of public transport should be renewed and the cleanliness of the city increased.

#### Recommendations for HSMs

As HSMs are active participants of their own lives and hold responsibility for their own wellbeing, the following is recommended for them. HSMs would need to make efforts to learn the basics of the Hungarian language. Speaking the language has been found to increase all other elements of well-being, especially the social and community well-being. Engaging in any activity with the community and meeting Hungarians also contributes to an increased wellbeing. It is also the HSMs responsibility to register at an English-speaking doctor, as communication at the healthcare provider is crucial to have an acceptable level of physical well-being.

## 6.4 Further research

This study showed a general picture of the well-being of HSMs in Hungary and their intention to stay, however, certain elements or groups have been found especially interesting or were missing from the study and would need further examination. It would be beneficial to break down HSMs into more homogeneous groups, in terms of their work (eg. business owner or employee), their location in the country (capital or the countryside) and their cultural background. This would allow a deeper understanding of each group's well-being and intention to stay in Hungary. As there was strong intersectionality detected between being female and being from non-EU origin a future study on the well-being of these people could help to gain more certainty of this intersectionality and gain a better picture of the well-being of this specific group in Hungary.

The influence of COVID-19 on HSMs well-being and their intention to stay is another area to explore, together with the stigmatisation of Asian people since the pandemic started. The political situation in Hungary and migrants' portrayal in media and its influence on HSMs well-being as this element resulted to be important, however, was not controlled in the present study. As linked lives also resulted to be particularly important, HSMs couple and family strategies and well-being in Hungary could be researched as well.

Additionally, the change in well-being needs to be researched further, especially in relation to the length of stay in the country and life stages of the respondents. It could also be linked to the expected change in well-being of future migrations.

Also, to complete this current study, longitudinal research in five or ten years with the same group could reveal whether the intention to stay of participants precisely reflected their future

decision and the reasons behind it. Last, to complete these qualitative studies, a representative quantitative study on HSMs in Hungary could be built on the results of these qualitative studies.

## 6.5 Limitations

Despite all the efforts, the sample of this research was only controlled for gender and relationships status and not for origin region or age stage. Also, most single respondents were female. Due to the interconnectedness of these two control variables in the sample, it is difficult to make distinctions whether the gender or the relationship status had more effect on certain results. As for the age, there were significantly fewer respondents from age stage 3 than the other two groups. In addition, the intended sample contained people from 21 to 65 years old and the actual sample had participants between 24 and 49 years old. This meant that the actual age difference amongst participants in the different age stages was many times not significant. A possible reason for the age distribution is that HSMs are usually younger (Bailey & Mulder, 2017) and that the sample was selected from the researcher's personal network and social media groups. The control variable of origin region was not controlled either, as there were more participants from the non-EU origin than from EU countries. This differentiation worked well in certain elements of the research such as access to visas, however, did not highlight the real differences in other cases such as social or cultural aspects where a Western and non-Western grouping would have been more insightful.

A second limitation is that some elements of well-being only arose during the interview process and turned out to be important for many respondents. Some of these are the political situation and media in Hungary, especially regarding migration, the Hungarian language, visa conditions and the culture. It would have been possible to gain a better understanding of these topics if they had been asked from the other respondents as well who did not mention this element by themselves.

A third limitation is a time when the interviews were conducted. During those weeks there was a stricter lockdown due to Covid-19 in Hungary which could influence the answers of respondents, especially regarding their social well-being. Additionally, the sensitivity of certain topics, the gender and the nationality of the researcher could have influenced the results as well.

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### Appendices

Appendix I.: Interview guide

Information about the interview

**Background questions** (*only posed questions in italics in case there was not enough previous information*) and fill migration grid if not pre-filled by the respondent.

Which country are you from? How old are you? Which gender do you identify yourself with? What level of education do you have? Are you currently in a relationship? How long have you been living in Hungary? What is your current job (or daily activity)? What was the main motivation of yours to move to Hungary?

Are you planning to stay or to leave Hungary? What are your motives for staying/leaving? Elaborate on these motives.

Further questions on the motives not mentioned:

### **Community well-being**

Please describe the area you currently live in. How would you describe your area's infrastructure? How would you describe your area's safety? How would you describe your engagement with the area you live in? Do you give back to your community? (eg donating, volunteering) How would you describe the attitude of residents towards people regardless of heritage, age, or sexual orientation in your area? And towards yourself (and your partner)? How did your community well-being change after moving to Hungary? How does the change in your community well-being after moving to Hungary influence your intention to stay?

### Social well-being:

How would you describe the social relationships in your life? Do you have close friendships? Do you have friends or relatives to count on if you have any problems? Do you have a group where you belong, and you are accepted? Are you treated with respect in your everyday encounters? How did your social well-being change after moving to Hungary? How does the change in your social well-being after moving to Hungary influence your intention to stay?

### **Physical well-being**

Do you have access to all food, ingredients you would like to? Are you able to fulfil your exercising needs? Do you have access to an appropriate level of healthcare at a reasonable cost? How did your physical well-being change after moving to Hungary? How does the change in your physical well-being after moving to Hungary influence your intention to stay?

### **Career well-being:**

How do you feel about your work? Do you like what you do each day? Do you get to use your skills at your current job? Would you like to advance in your career? Is your desired career advancement being possible in Hungary? How did your career well-being change after moving to Hungary? How does the change in your career well-being after moving to Hungary influence your intention to stay?

#### **Financial well-being:**

How would you describe your overall standard of living? Are you satisfied with your salary? Are you satisfied with your ability to save money? Would you consider yourself living in financial security? Explain. How did your financial well-being change after moving to Hungary? How does the change in your financial well-being after moving to Hungary influence your intention to stay?

#### **Hierarchy of factors**

Which factors of well-being are the most important for you? Please rank them and explain your choices.

### Closure

Is there anything else you would like to add?

### Appendix II.: Sub-questions and sub-sub questions

## SQ1. How does the career well-being of highly skilled migrants influence their intention to stay in Hungary?

SSQ1.1 How does do what someone likes every day influence the intention to stay? SSQ1.2 How does use one's skills at their main activity influence the intention to stay?

SSQ1.3 How does the possibility to achieve one's career goals in Hungary influence the intention to stay?

## SQ2. How does the change in the career well-being after moving to Hungary influence their intention to stay?

SSQ2.1 How does the career well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting better influence their intention to stay?

SSQ2.2 How does the career well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting worse influence their intention to stay?

SSQ2.3 How does no change in the career well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting better influence their intention to stay?

## SQ3. How does the financial well-being of highly skilled migrants influence their intention to stay in Hungary?

SSQ3.1 How does satisfaction with one's overall standard of living in Hungary influence the intention to stay?

SSQ3.2 How does get appropriate pay for the work one is doing influence the intention to stay?

SSQ3.3 How does financial security influence the intention to stay?

SSQ3.4 How does the ability to save money influence the intention to stay?

# SQ4. How does the change in the financial well-being after moving to Hungary influence their intention to stay?

SSQ4.1 How does the financial well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting better influence their intention to stay?

SSQ4.2 How does the financial well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting worse influence their intention to stay?

SSQ4.3 How does no change in the financial well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting better influence their intention to stay?

# SQ5. How does the social well-being of highly skilled migrants influence their intention to stay in Hungary?

SSQ5.1 How does have strong relationships in Hungary influence the intention to stay?

SSQ5.2 How does have strong ties with Hungarians influence the intention to stay? SSQ5.3 How does be treated with respect in Hungary influence the intention to stay?

# SQ6. How does the change in the social well-being after moving to Hungary influence their intention to stay?

SSQ6.1 How does the social well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting better influence their intention to stay? SSQ6.2 How does the social well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting worse influence their intention to stay? SSQ6.3 How does no change in the social well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting better influence their intention to stay?

# SQ7. How does the community well-being of highly skilled migrants influence their intention to stay in Hungary?

SSQ7.1 How does the infrastructure of the area one lives in influence the intention to stay?

SSQ7.2 How does feel safe in the area one lives in influence the length of stay? SSQ7.3 How does be engaged with the community influence the intention to stay? SSQ7.4 How do residents being open to all types of people regardless of heritage, age, or sexual orientation in one's area influence the intention to stay?

# SQ8. How does the change in the community well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary influence their intention to stay?

SSQ8.1 How does the community well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting better influence their intention to stay?

SSQ8.2 How does the community well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting worse influence their intention to stay?

SSQ8.3 How does no change in the community well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting better influence their intention to stay?

# SQ9. How does the physical well-being of highly skilled migrants influence their intention to stay in Hungary?

SSQ9.1 How does access to appropriate healthcare at a reasonable cost influence the intention of stay?

SSQ9.2 How does personal health (food) influence the intention to stay?

# SQ10. How does the change in the physical well-being after moving to Hungary influence their intention to stay?

SSQ10.1 How does the physical well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting better influence their intention to stay?

SSQ10.2 How does the physical well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting worse influence their intention to stay?

SSQ10.3 How does no change in the physical well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting better influence their intention to stay?

# SQ11. How do other elements of the well-being of highly skilled migrants influence their intention to stay in Hungary?

SSQ11.1 What other elements of the well-being of highly skilled migrants influence their intention to stay in Hungary?

SSQ11.2 How these other elements of the well-being of highly skilled migrants influence their intention to stay in Hungary?

# SQ12. How does change in other elements of the well-being after moving to Hungary influence their intention to stay?

SSQ12.1 How do other elements of the well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting better influence their intention to stay? SSQ12.2 How do other elements of the well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting worse influence their intention to stay? SSQ12.3 How does no change in other elements of the well-being of highly skilled migrants after moving to Hungary getting better influence their intention to stay?

## Appendix III: Migration grid (Spadavecchia & Yu, 2019; Vink, 2019)

Your age				
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Your city of residence		
Countries you lived		
Relationship status at the time of migrating		
Migration (reasons)		
Occupation (work, study)		
Life events (graduation, relationship, or		
family events)		
Historical events (relevant for the life eg.		
war, economic, crisis, pandemic, joining		
the EU)		

## **Appendix IV.: Main Codes**

### Career Like what someone does

Well, I wouldn't say is my dream career because in my dreams I'm not working. But but it's pretty good. I mean, that's not what I imagine, of course, like, oh, I'm gonna be a sales manager growing up or anything like that. But I like my job. I enjoy it. Generally, my everyday task. I like my team. I like the freedom I had. I like the responsibilities I have. It's pretty good. It's really good. I'm very good work balance, currently. (R6)

It's very comfortable. But still, I have this language barrier, for example, in the company I'm working with everybody is Hungarian, and everybody speak Hungarian. And I'm kinda the only one who speaks English. And whatever I do, whatever I work, I have to give it to my boss. So he can translate what I did. So it's like, I'm always dependent on others in my job, I am not like independent, which is kind of putting me behind others. And that's not very nice. (R5)

Some days I don't. But mostly I do. I don't work for a company that makes money. So I work for a company that helps migrants actually. I always look at the biggest, bigger picture. So I do like what I do. I do like the organization I work for. (R4)

No, I'm doing it just because I need to support myself. No, no, it's not something that I would want to spend my life doing. Definitely not. I'm happy that I did find a job after this virus started here, because we all got screwed. But no it's not something that I would go for later. So it's also like somehow a way not to be jobless as well. (R16)

So basically, I have a law degree from [home country]. Here for you to get a job in the law field would be very difficult because you need to have Hungarian qualifications. And most importantly, you need to speak the language. Also, my firm my professional background is in the financial services sector, the offshore sector, which is zero here. Yeah. So Shared Services is what is popular here. And that's the only place I could I could get a job. And I could get a job only because I speak French. (R19)

Absolutely not. (R19)

So it has been four years now that I am working in this space that I also don't like like my like all my previous job I hate. I don't like my industry. So it's not for me actually. That's why I try to escape from this and be independent in the tourism domain. Build myself company. (R1)

I don't like my job (R1)

Yes, yes. That's also something that I really kind of surprize in a good way, living here, like having this new type of job that I never did before. And I realized that it's something that I really enjoyed. And I also realized that I have skilled for it. So it's been very nice. (R24)

Pretty much yes. Yes, kind of directly directly related. A bit more technical. But it is skilled enough to fit my studies you do need a master to to be good at it. So it's not like it's not like a subsidiary job, because I had to find something here. No, it's something I would have loved to do in [home city] if I found it, like it's not. (R2)

Great job like it, but it's not as funny as it seems to be. (R3)

So this is not really a field I wanted to go into because I have a financial services background. I used to do administration of offshore companies. So here it was just a question of sustaining myself. So I applied to whatever company I could find (R19)

You know, law is everywhere, so it's easy to put law in everything you do. (R3)

And so was very pleasant to give information and knowledge to another, you know, it's something is really valuable for me. At least for me, it's really important, you know, it makes me feel useful for something. (R3)

I didn't like it and they didn't like not like it was like okay, some sometimes it was better sometimes it was worse because it was like working with people all the time. So it depends also the on the people that you're meeting on the way. (R7)

Yeah, definitely, yeah. This is something that I planned to connect dots with. And I feel accomplished when I'm connecting all the dots. So yeah. (R9)

Yes, yes, I do [like my job]. Pretty much. (R20)

Actually, no, definitely. But I'm happy for my, I don't know, like, the benefits I have, I can make savings, I'm working very flexibly. (R21)

It depends. Sometimes I feel like I wasted my seven years of studies, working, you know, studying something and then ending up working something completely different. That is not

even connected to what I studied. And I couldn't say that it's my dream job. It's not something that I dreamt of ever doing. It has its fun parts, and I have a lot of opportunities to grow and to develop inside the company. But still, I am not sure whether that is something that I want to do, or I want to develop. So. Yeah. It's I have mixed feelings about it. (R13)

Yeah, it's quite good job. I wouldn't say I'm enjoying because I'm not really people's person. Returns are good. And the most important thing is free time. That this kind of business gives me a lot of free time when I need to do stuff. (R12)

There aren't so many good trainers around, makes it that kind of made a name this area here. (R15)

That was the main reason for me to come back. I have a job here (R15)

Oh, yeah, definitely. Yeah. And are doing it for the last 18 years. So I think I will do it for another 10. If the new company continues to like me, then yes. (R15)

### Using skills

Well, mostly language language skills. I know Spanish, so if I had the guests speak Spanish, I could communicate them easily in in Spanish, like in some in some point. Sometimes my Spanish is better than my, my English. So in that aspect, yeah. But it has nothing to do with the with what I learned. Nothing. (R7)

Skills that I gained at university. Not fully, not 100%. (R20)

I think it's a good job. But it's not the I think I could get the best job with my skill. (R24)

Yes, I'm working with my degree in structural engineering. (R5)

Now I get to be a bit more self-directed or much more self-directed and creative. And so yeah, yeah, I think it definitely allows me to use my skills. (R8)

Well, yes, I have a room to improve. (R10)

That's what they hire me. (laughs) (R4)

Yes, yes. I mean, I, I'm putting a lot of time and effort and especially I think passion is the only you know, the little I can get done these days. I feel like it's well invested. And very intentional. And I enjoy. (R14)

Oh, yeah, on some extent, not all of them. But yeah, of course, otherwise, I wouldn't be doing it. (R6)

That I acquired previously. Absolutely not. My, my, my main skills that are relevant to this job is that I speak French and I know how to deal with customers. That's all. I would say my job currently is a job that makes me feel a little bit less of myself if I could, if I could say that, because I do not use my qualifications my intelligence, I would say. (R19)

Yeah, only only in that part of dealing with people. And some of I don't know, their emotions or something similar, but not much, not much. (R13)

Yes, I'm always using my best skills. (laughs) Sometimes even a little bit excessive way, sometimes my wife has done me to slow down a bit. Yeah, it is a work habit that you pick up through years of work, especially with the companies that do not tolerate anything below their criteria. So there is no fluctuation. So you have to always put yourself into everything you do. And then you know, it becomes part of you. So whenever we do this business, it's pretty much the same. (R12)

Yes, it's interesting, because I think for me, the education that I had in the [home country], kind of is not what I'm doing at all. But things I have learnt there are the ones that are actually applying now. So the fact that you have to stand up even as a tour guide, you have to stand up, you're responsible for a group of people. And at that case, okay, you have to tell them where you are. And what you can see, in this case, it's the training and I have to teach them some something that they have to learn to apply. But those definitely are skills that I on a day to day base used indeed, using. (R15)

## **Career goals**

I think yes, it is possible. Because it is somehow connected to research and university and I guess I can reach it here. (R11)

So yeah, I do not see myself evolving on the on the work front here (R19)

O yeah, I am looking to stay like I am more like I feel like a promise land. (R9)

So that dot that I was talking about in the beginning that I was trying to connect dots to, to be technical officer, CTO. And so it's very close to that, because right now, I'm managing the team of engineers, project managers and data processors in the field of marketing research. (R9)

Yeah, definitely like. Oh, yeah, there are so many companies working in there and so many international companies working in their multinationals. And I feel Yeah, that would be very, very likely. (R9)

Yeah, like, opportunities, there are many opportunities there. (R9)

I would say yes, but I would say not in this company that I am working nowadays, because it's a it's a factory, I work in the controlling department in this factory. So many people that I would have to deal with on a daily basis, they don't speak English. And if I would have to achieve this goal in my current company, I would definitely have to learn Hungarian fluently. And others, I know the basic, so and I can catch some phrases in the conversation. So I think the the language is the big barrier here. (R20)

About Hungary I have one plan for next year, and I want to study something different if I can get the Hungarian passport, because then I can have an access to some of the faculties and schools for almost free. Because as a foreigner you have to pay. And I want to go to Budapest Film Academy. Yeah, it's pretty good. My friend graduated from there. It's not like it's not a faculty, but it's, there's a connection with ELTE. And it's also a private school, of course. And I have interest. So my plan is like doing that also getting using this benefit. And maybe like switch to that career. (R21)

I don't think that would be a chance to be honest, like if I improved Hungarian. And maybe, but in the same time in this industry, probably I cannot totally be based on making money in this industry. But it can be like a side job or like will be of interest for me. (R21)

No, Because NGOs. I mean, if you work in that field, then you have to work in an NGO. It's almost 90% of the cases and NGOs that work with refugees in Hungary, there are not so many of them. And they are not really looking to hire people, especially people that don't speak Hungarian. Because I mean, it doesn't make sense. So I am aware that that's not really something that it might happen. There are UN's refugee, UNHCR headquarters, not headquarters, but service center, though, working there is not something that would be a direct work with refugees. It's more like a support service center. So maybe that but I don't think so. (R13)

It's a peaceful nice town bit a little bit less economical opportunities then most of major towns in Hungary, because for whatever reason, [city] is a bit left out from all the improvements that are going around bigger places in Hungary. (R12)

Yes, it is, is just like in any other country. If you are willing to work for a bigger company, mainly Budapest again, because everything centered around Budapest. If you are willing to relocate and work for them, you can start as a junior developer, entry level job and then work your way up. And salaries to go with it are actually pretty good for the current economic situation. So IT industry is growing and they are well paid. The other profession here is literally non-existing because the security that Hungarian said here is nothing like to what I was doing totally two different jobs. So IT if I was going to apply for a job probably I would be able to find a job in Budapest depending on conditions. In [countryside city] has a couple of companies. I even tried with one company. I don't know for what reason I didn't go through whether foreigner or not not speaking Hungarian. That level or I technically I wasn't

up to their standards, but very, very limited. Very limited. Even for the [citizens] and what's called the Hungarians. It's very limited (R12)

Yes, I can. Because it's a niche. It's a niche. So the fact that the fact that I'm from for instances from the [home country] doesn't have an impact anymore, it was at the beginning. At the beginning, you go, I'm [nationality], and people hire you, they fight for you. They might still do that forever. They use the [mother tongue] language, but I don't use that [mother tongue] language anymore. Now, it is simply the expertise (R15)

Like, I am quite surprised that Hungary kind of open up a lot for the enterpreneur. You know, like, when a lot of countries and all you have to bring like three millions. But here you can start from freelance from being a freelance. (R17)

Not many, not many Asian stuff right here that there's a lot of things that I can still do, because they don't have it yet. And I have a lot of connections. (R17)

Yeah, I think so. Yeah. Yeah. Because being the mean, for the agency, you know, I register [home country]. So, okay. Yeah, and more most of my targets or customers is from [home country]. So it can do like a virtual business, like, online. Here like I can invest in to something else that can get the money flow a whole month, like real business, you know, either Asian store or spa or something. Yeah, it's good opportunity. (R17)

With technology, you can do it wherever you want (R3)

I feel that I should move somewhere else to where I could learn more. I don't think that this environment is giving me growth as much as I want to (R23)

Obviously, I'm applying for the job. So that's like the objective of me applying outside. So in the job, I expect, I want to learn more from that side (R23)

So my job is into sociology, gender equality, which is totally opposite (inaudible). So I did not think that I could add more into my career even if I want to do a job I would have to do which is somewhat related to what I would not totally so that's the thing (R23)

If I do not want to earn so much. The salaries are not that enough. (R23)

In terms of psychological climate, yes [I can reach my career goals in Hungary]. Because when you develop business or even a self employed, you need to have some kind of stability, which I think in Hungary, I can get stability, nice environment, nice food, which is important for health. I mean, of course, it just one of the factors. I don't say that it's the main factor, but it's important. It's important domain, the good quality of life and the good part. Oh, stability. (R18)

Well, the place also have an impact as to that in Hungary there might be some some things not for me in terms of career, I don't speak the local language. The number of job in my company at least. We have an office in Hungary but not not all the positions are available, you know, it's not the headquarter. So in terms of opportunities, it might be also a good way but yeah, the thing is like it's it's mainly it's mainly for me I would have all the benefits to move (R2)

Well, for me, there's mainly two things mainly work related, which I feel that in IT consulting, or whether you speak which is normal, but it's like whether you speak the local language and then you can really be team leader or something or there is a lots of support job. Back office companies IT support but it's lower a bit lower levels such as a bit limiting (R2)

Could, I can feel I mean, there are lots of foreigners. I know other [home country] people they also don't speak the language and they have some some good job it's more than first the number of opportunity are pretty limited. So it's like once or twice you you hear for a good position and it's more within the position itself. It's true that we I'm not working in the headquarters so if I want to be kind of become the senior of the team and more have the best project or so it's not really we're not be changing the career I'm I'm consultant in IT I would still be but if you want something a bit more functional and less technical side if you if you want a better project or joined join some other team. While it's happen that is usually in the headquarter and Budapest have a lots of back office lots of service center as we call them now of this company, but they usually don't have the main if you reach a decision making job or it's or as the headquarter is now in Budapest or it's a Hungarian company but then you need to be to be Hungarian on a local language mastered to reach this position so it's kind of closed for me so I see I see time to time I hear off position but it's true that it's not you know, it's not like a dozen choice and also well salaries or salaries also thing that it's true that it's once once you reach a good level in Hungary is hard to that there is always the the offer are really really lower even even considering the even considering the localization even considering the neighborhood country. It's true that that salary are a bit. I had the good offer. So it's okay. But it's I see I see all their offers I have around when I when I applied to other companies that it's it's a will always be limited for the moment. (R2)

They are absolutely reachable in Hungary, I just feel bad that I don't yet speak the language. Because it's making my chances of getting to my goals less and less if I if I don't speak the language (R22)

Yes, I think so. Yes. Actually, I had, I met Hungarian girl, and she told me that you should work for NGO. She told me like, Oh, we are looking for new people, you know, but the only problem is that they don't provide a work permit. So, in that moment, I really like, Oh, okay. Maybe I just have to wait a little bit longer like I don't know, like, three years I think and then maybe I can have to get residency and then I can have any type of jo. (R24)

No. I've reached, I have reached the maximum of my possibilities in terms of career goals in Hungary at the moment. So I cannot go higher than I am in the moment. So for me, they can

be some lateral moves, changing area of responsibility, but no growth. It bothers me. Once a week, or so it was me pretty much on an ongoing basis, when I think about it, by but I also need to I also, I'm not a selfish person. So obviously, always think about the other part of my family also. So I always put, always put myself behind. So I kind of suppress this need I have. (R4)

The my professional career aspirations are a bit different. I'm not sure if I'm going to be able to find something here in Hungary (R16)

Most of the things are in Hungarian, even like the application for jobs whatever the requirements are in Hungarian because of course, this type of job you will work with the Hungarians directly so that's not something that I might be opting for. (R16)

Especially in the last year I've had a lot of traction and success with my career and in terms of making videos and having people being very receptive to them, and specifically, I've made a lot of videos about the Hungarian history and the culture. So from a professional level, it makes a lot of sense for me to stay here. (R8)

I think living in Hungary has helped me more than any other place I've ever lived in that respect. And I expect that it will continue to help me in one way or another going forward. (R8)

So let's say that I'm working for [xyz] company since four years, and I'm working in Hungary since like six and a half years. And let's say that the progression that my career had in this amount of time has been really fast upwards. So I had really good opportunities to grow up within the organization, not only in terms of salary, but also in terms of professional development, that in [home country], wouldn't have been possible knowing the culture or would have been way more difficult. I would have take much more time to make those steps. While in Hungary. Luckily for me, I had these opportunities. (R6)

So in Hungary, so I am very limited, also language wise. I see myself being a doula, and see myself being a specialist, but I also see myself I want to have a company that sells educational tools also for in this field of motherhood. And that's already kind of in the language again. So, because of my level of Hungarian, and also my non desire of being here much longer, then I'm not going to learn Hungarian. And if this point, we can also be efficient and to be able to live here without Hungarian. So I'm not invested in that at this point. Then I know that, you know, also work wise, this is not the place for me. (R14)

Absolutely, I've already made a plan (R10)

Because I don't think Hungary is the land of opportunities to be almost like, and then nearby countries, I can find much better opportunities and much better life quality, for example, like Switzerland, Germany, Netherlands, these places, I think there is better opportunities, better

quality of life, even I consider moving to other continents like Australia, Canada, I mean, with my degree with my qualifications with my age, I think I can go everywhere now. And I can get any opportunity I would like to. So I don't think I would find it in Hungary. (R5)

What I think, okay, this is this is one I mean, plus, like, there is a lot of experience, outside Hungary is a small country. And it's not very popular for such career. I mean, kind of the center of technology. So not everybody is coming to Hungary to do their projects or whatever. It's more like local projects. (R5)

But I don't think I will be able to compete here. One of the biggest barriers for me is the language, like in order to get the Hungarian language then to set my good connection. and blah, blah, blah. Others will be just like way. I mean, I will be way behind others. And that's what, that's what would stop me from investing time here. Because I don't think I can compete with others. (R5)

Yes, for my career goals, of course, they are affected by default by the language. (R5)

## Economic situation of the country

(I want to go where) they have a good stable economy (R23)

There's the economic situation which which makes that the type of job available or the number of job available is not always corresponding to what I would wish but this is more like macroeconomic dimension. (R2)

But overall, yeah, or maybe economical pressure could be one of the reason I might move. (R9)

And Hungary is developing. I mean, technologically, they are on the way of being very good. country, like you have a lot of industry like Mercedes, Audi, all these companies here, okay, I know these are German factories, but they are Hungarian. I mean, they are in Hungary, and they are kind of giving the technology to Hungary somehow by the workers and all this stuff. (R5)

Back when I moved to Hungary, the economical situation was a tiny bit better. The overall economy was on the rise. And then there was that period of international crisis when everything went down 2008-9-10 and you know, fallout from the big market crash. And ever since Hungary was recovering, relatively slowly, not as fast as Western countries. business opportunities, or job opportunities here are very limited for somebody who is not fluent in native in Hungarian (R12)

Not many, not many Asian stuff right here that there's a lot of things that I can still do, because they don't have it yet. And I have a lot of connections. (R17)

Compared to Hungary, where there is a still many things to do because in many domains, Hungary is retarded compared to [home country], where everything is locked already there is unless you have a very incredible idea in the digital domain. (R1)

### Financial

### **Standard of living**

It's an average. Yeah, it's an average one (R10)

Hmm, I think it's fine. Because, as I told you, of course, there were like, bad times, and good times. But the for a person at my age, I mean, I'm 24. I just turned 24. Recently, and I'm already in my PhD studies, and I got the chance to go everywhere here, I got a chance to travel a lot. And I have my own small studio. So it's fine. I mean, I'm trying to save money to get a car, which no one from our community, at least from the [home country people] here would be thinking, even if they are getting good salary. Well, I think it's fine. Yeah. I didn't have major issues. (R16)

Yeah, I do. I mean, I always want more, but that's who I am who doesn't but, but the ratio of what I earn and what I can do with that type of money, the type of flat that I can afford, travels, restaurants, drinks, clothes, savings and everything. It's it's a very good ratio. I think. I'm a lucky person. (R6)

I mean, the lifestyle in terms that you know, the things I can afford the type of life I can live, the flat on living or the, you know, traveling, the cost of the life, all these kinds of things would be for lifestyle, it's really good for me.(R6)

Yeah, because I'm working. I mean, I'm having a scholarship. I'm having I'm working as well. So I kind of, kind of have two sources of income. That's why I'm, I say I'm living comfortably. Yes. But I don't think I can stay without work and scholarship for two months. That won't be like, so I won't be that happy for that. Like I would be drained really fast. So I'm not rich just like I'm okay. (R5)

I think my standard living is very, very good. It's, it's where I would want it to be right now. I mean, I don't spend a lot of money on luxuries. I very rarely buy clothes and things of that nature. But in terms of, you know, food, eating out, going for drinks, doing things that I enjoy spending my money on, I never, I never worried about it, which is like, inherently, for me, a very important thing is just not to have to worry about that. Or think about it really. So yeah, like, just as a blanket answer in that respect the quality of life I enjoy. I mean, my apartment is a fraction of the price that an equivalent apartment would be in [city in home country], for instance. (R8)

And definitely my standard of living in Hungary is better in the sense of like, my apartments nicer and I'm paying about same price. When I go out to dinner, I can buy more expensive dishes go to nicer restaurants. But then again, it's also like London has so many amazing restaurants that even if it's not like a fine dining in London is like in a category that you don't even see in Hungary and then the next level down is probably more expensive for what you get. But I also yeah, I would I would say, though, compared to London, my quality of living is definitely better in Hungary. (R8)

I think that my see my compensation package related to work is pretty good. And I live a comfortable life for the country that I'm living in, in, if I would, if I would be in [home country], for example, doing the same job I'm doing it but in [home country], I probably get paid 10 times more. But I don't think my standard of living would be the same. So here my style of living is so high that none of the countries that I for example, I was planning to move to Switzerland. Two years ago, I was offered a job, same same level as mine. But my, my buying power in Switzerland was nowhere near what my buying power is here, I will not be able to afford a house with a garden or having two cars or bringing my daughter to an international school there. So one this this way, the reason my work is allow me to have all these things that I would never been able to do with without if I would live in a different country. (R4)

As soon as I finished my studies, I didn't have to pay like 3000 euros each semester, things were starting to get better, I could save some money and I started working on other projects next to my full time job here because I work as a freelancer so I'm kind of free to be able to work for a few companies at the same time. So financially, I think the quality of my life is rather okayish. But again, in order to be like this, I have to, to work day and night on on weekends on holidays. And this is not something that I would want to to go on with I would like to be able to rest during the weekend and to have time to spend on my other skills. So yeah, in a way, it's good, but in another way, it's not that good. (R22)

In terms of average salaries, I think I might be sitting the 10% here of the richest. So I really don't have to complain. I think my global standard is a bit better than what it should be one it could be in [home country], to be honest. A bit higher than what it could be in [home country]. Because if I compare with the kind of flat I had in [home country], with twice more salary was less comfortable than what I have here. And I could have more I could have a better car, I could have a better computer I could have if I was not putting a part of my money in my project. I could spend much more money here. (R1)

I would say say, not look luxurious. But I will say very well. Um, I can do what I want, when I want it. (R4)

I would say we are comfortable in the way we live. We we don't really deprive ourselves of things. Just I would say things are more controlled. For example, ordering out etc. We order pretty much I would say five to six times a month, which could be much higher if our salary

permitted us overall I would say it's fine. We We are not like, poor people are very deprived. I don't know what I would say. It's decent. (R19)

Well, mine is mine is very good. I think compared to compared to average Hungarian person. Or even in my company, I was pretty lucky I'm actually having a foreign language which in Hungary is it's always a benefit. So now my my level of living is very good. Not nothing compared to go to [city in home country] before living. Of course in numbers this is lower but in in living standards, like meter square of flat or capacity of activity is way higher than average. (R2)

Well, I think I really belong to middle class, like middle middle class. And I have some savings, I have my own property I have. And I don't I don't have to hesitate when I buy food. But of course, I already start hesitating when it comes to the clothes or for shoes. So then I start to assess price quality ratio, and so on. So you can imagine how it is. (R18)

I think I would give it a like an average. I would not say super nice because and I'm not super bad too. So I could manage to live in a cheap room which I'm lucky I found. And then I could manage to do some activity, which I like. So for like a gym membership, or going to some badminton place where I need to pay for the place, which I need and I also travelled to other cities with the same amount of money which I received. So I save and honestly, I do not go and stay into the Airbnb, is unless Airbnb is a cheaper option. So I go and stay in the shared hostels and so. So I think it's an average one for me. (R23)

Very modest. Me and my wife, we have a big common point. Beyond our cultural differences and different gender different and so on. We come together from an environment was not rich, more poor than rich. And we both knows the value of money. What does it mean. Even if we can be considered as I don't know upper middle class. We are currently in the middle class but let's say in the upper middle class we are still we are no throwing money, We really have everything we need everything we want we are lucky we have the money to go each year for two weeks in holidays in [home country], we have the money to see the sea or the ocean whenever we want when we go in holidays and we know we don't have to take care about you know we don't have to count every coin that you're going to spend you know it's something you really want it's whatever the price but not you know an extraordinary price you know you can afford it but it the same way yeah we are really take care about the money you know to to not make extravagant expensive. Yeah, it's not bad, let's say (R3)

I can't even go eat out every day. (R17)

Yeah, compared to Yeah, like, I live in the first district, which could be considered as the prime one. So I chose because living standard is something that I don't compromise on. So that is something but I'm not living very lavishly. And I use public transport because I'd like to use it. And it's, it's here. It's very good in Budapest. So I am not living lavishly, but I'm living very comfortably. My apartment, it's like around 50-60 square meter. I can have few friends over. And yeah, I can go in the normal days, I can eat in any restaurant, because I like

experiencing restaurants. So yeah, overall, I'm enjoying my living here in Budapest, I would say that up to the living standards that I wanted to be in my 20s. (R9)

Yeah, the number one, I would say the living standard, I can enjoy the highest living standard, in a very reasonable price, to be honest. It's like the amount that I pay for that if I paid the same in the Western Europe, it would be very different. I get the same facilities here to compare to. I never lived there but I traveled there, I think, for one month in Italy, and I've been in other European countries, too. So I don't see the major difference in the living standard, or the community where I live. So I'm comfortable with that. That would be the first thing, which is important for me (R9)

I live in the city center of [countryside city], I lived in a studio on my own. And as I said I go to the restaurants, okay, we have a SZEP card, and it helps a lot. But I could go for example, in the middle of the month, I don't know, like in the middle of the month like oh, I really feel like I could eat the carbonara. I could go and buy like I wouldn't have to wait for the next salary. And also, I could go to [home country] twice a year. So it's it's not a cheap thing. But I could afford that and also go to the gym go to the swimming class. So I would say it's like, I'm not sure, like the average living standard, I'm not sure. (R20)

I would say that it's average. We, we do live in in a bit better apartment. But in terms of, I don't know, our everyday life, we really don't I, how would I say, go after some luxury things. I mean, we are pretty much living a simple life. We don't. If we want to buy something, we buy it. We don't have to look at prices when when we go somewhere, but we also don't buy the most expensive and unnecessary stuff. So I would say that it's if I would compare it with other expats here it's there somewhere, like, in average, but I have a feeling that Hungarians don't maybe can't afford that I have a feeling that average salary for a Hungarian person in Hungary is lower than an average salary of an expat in Hungary (R13)

Good, good. Our standard is not luxury, but it's it's very good. We virtually, okay, financially, we are secured returns, because of current situation a little bit lower, but still pretty decent. Before this, all this mess with Corona, we were traveling a lot we could afford without problems, even up to five or six international travels a year, here and there and back and forth, and so on so forth. We do live in the house that was previously owned. But that didn't change anything, it would be that this house or the other house. It's not luxury, but it's well kept well maintained. As for cars, change them every couple of years. As they getting older, the swap it out for a newer version, and so on, so forth. So our living standard was pretty good. And hopefully, when vaccination goes through, it's going to go back to normal. (R12)

Because I have a higher salary, Yes. Because otherwise it wouldn't have been doable. I mean, I live in Budapest, because this is where the work is. I'm earning a whole lot of money on my own, to provide for the both of us. And I know that most people live together, because otherwise, or three or four people even, otherwise, they can't afford it, especially the youngsters. I'm lucky that I don't need to do that. But still, also, for me long time, I would like to just continue to work from home like I'm doing right now, which means I would not

be so tied to Budapest and I know that if you move out of Budapest, I could I could have been even nicer I think living, I could I could afford like I had actually in the past and have my own house and have my own stuff. So yeah, for me, it's good. (R15)

Well, first, I live here in one of my boss's apartments, so I don't need to pay the rent. This is this is already a huge, huge difference. I pay only the bills and not not rent, so it's better. And the [home country] is like, way more expensive than in Hungary. So even if I make the same money, more or less, which, which I did, even I did here more than that in [home country], then I can afford a lot, a lot more to let's say, for example, if if you if you go to, to a beer, a beer in the bar, here, it's like I know, let's say the most expensive bar is 1000 forint one beer. In [home country], it's can be almost 3000. And it's not only in bars, it's in in everything. Everything here is way more cheaper, well except, let's say electronic, except electronic. Here is way, way cheaper. So with the same money, I can live here, like in better quality than what I used to live in [home country]. (R7)

## Appropriate pay

I am really well paid for a teacher and really well paid. But it's not enough. In [xyz] organization, I work a lot. And they have a very good money from that. So now, it's well balanced. (R3)

Yes, definitely. (R8)

Well, my salary for my experience in Hungary, I think is good enough. But compared to other countries, it's way under paid. (R5)

In Hungary, the salaries of an engineer, I mean, structural engineer are like maximum 300-350,000, in case I'm employed in a company, but the same amount of work and the same amount of stress I can give in Germany or Austria, I can get like three or four times the salary. So I think that's a fast asset. (R5)

For now, it is not, and I understand because the market is going down, but we have completely changed our strategy. But before COVID, it was. (R10)

So definitely, that's something we will consider and we are considering when we talk about moving, going abroad, moving out of the country. Because, yes, yeah. Whereas it's very important to have the decent or comfortable way of living in Hungary with my salary, with my husband being from Hungarian he often gets you know, the, your Hungarian right, like, we're not pay you extra but because you're not even. I mean, this man is by beyond words, smart and capable and everything. So yeah, but for him, he's limited because he doesn't get the expat package. So he makes a good salary. But he is get hired locally. (R14)

So the way I said well put it in like, I mean, obviously, the ratio, but what what if one is earning with my work is we're talking about millions of euros, of course, what you find compared. But if I will be doing this same job in Western European capital, I will be earning a lot of money, like, big time, you know. A lot a lot of money. So, so compared to that, I'm like, Yeah, okay. Budapest cheaper, but they comprise is not exactly the same. You know, I'm not getting that that much. I think I could definitely earn more money. Let's say if I would go to another capital in Europe, I will have to pay double the price for what I was earning. My salary would be 3-4 times, sort of a gap. (R6)

And I'm in a very good position currently, with a good salary. For Hungary, it's pretty good so can't complain. (R6)

Not really no, because it's like a full-time position but with an intern salary. (laughs) Because legally, I'm not allowed to work as a full timer. But even with a full-time position it's not a good salary at all. No. No. I mean, for student life, it's fine (R16)

It might be even a little bit better than what I should have as a Hungarian in this company. But I insisted before I talked to the employer that I need to travel back to [home country], being alone here I can count only on myself. I don't have a family to go to for the things of for example, or to share some expenses. When you have a family here you can share a lot of things on here, but when you are alone, you need to pay everything by you. I have to maintain a bank account in [home country], phonecard in [home country] or so so I have more expenses. So I think it's normal that I have a bit more than that the Hungarian person for the same experience and same same rank. But I think it's quite okay. I never tried to ask more because I have no motivation for so I cannot beg for an increase to my own prayers because I don't deserve it, actually. (R1)

My motivation for leaving is first the money. It's a very low paid country compared to other EU countries. (R19)

Also it would be so difficult to get our own place here. Real estate is so so so expensive. (R19)

Absolutely i i think i am well compensated. (R4)

I think salaries are low here even considering the the income needed for life or even needed even considering the the regional I mean of course of course the salary in my company will not be the same if you apply in [capital of home country] or if you apply in Budapest where having a beer outside is one euro that's totally makes sense but even regionally when I see salaries I'm offered in like in Slovakia Czech Republic or anywhere in in in comparable country its true that there is like pretty low salary in in Hungary that you we reach a top which is and it's not to compare the of course (R2)

Definitely. Like, it's not a lot of not a lot of work usually. And it's like really easy and good. And it's paid good. (R7)

Yeah, that's a tricky question. Yeah, so that's not my only income source. But so maybe that's why I'm not so very concerned about that. I got a role like this role not so long ago. The client servicing manager it was two and a half, two months ago. And now I have started to talk about appraisal. And now we are discussing that. So, yeah, if I get that what I have asked for them definitely satisfied. Yeah. (R9)

Yes, I got. If I compare, for example, with US, I would say that I earn a quarter of what they earned, but I cannot go convert that. Because it's not convertible. Because we live in a Hungarian forints reality, not in US dollar. So I would say that when I talk with friends that works in Budapest, about salary, and they say like, oh, to earn this in Budapest, you'd have to search a lot. So I would say I have a good earnings here. But when you compare with another country's again, it's the Hungarian forint. It's do you feel like that you should earn more, but I'm really happy with the salary I have nowadays. (R20)

Now Yes, I am definitely being paid enough. But to future I don't know, what will happen. (R13)

Yes, that as well. Because it's a niche. So the fact that it is a niche job makes the pay very well. (R15)

Well, basically, it's it's the salaries of course, the income [is the reason for leaving]. (R7)

Well, yes and no. If I would like to compare myself to, to how much the salaries are in Hungary that the minimum salary then then yes, my salary is good. But then again, if I was doing the very same job in Italy, my salary would be like, at least 700 euros more than what I'm making now. So yeah, in a way, it's good for, for affording good quality life in Hungary. But if I'm living in a different country, then no. (R22)

I think the salary can be better (R24)

Hungary is is actually very expensive, sorry actually expensive for the salaries you know (R14)

So to get that kind of money, it's it's impossible with the salary that we have. Yeah, so that's why I say it's pretty difficult (R19)

It is very less, it is very less. And people are aware of that that chat services are very less paid in this country. Because it's just it's just the use of your language thats all. So yeah, very much less paid. And when you consider the 33.5% tax, you're left with nothing. Yeah, so 1/3 of my salary goes in tax. (R19) The increase of my salary here, even if I didn't beg for any increase in five years, four years, I got approximately plus 35% in four years. And you could not have this in [home country], it would have taken maybe plus 6-7% if you don't ask for anything. So this is about the financial aspect. (R1)

### **Financial security**

Absolutely. Yeah. (R4)

I think it's, it's quite okay (R1)

Oh, yeah, sure. with even all the spendings Yes, I do. I do have a good, a good financial. (R6)

I would say so. Because of my work and scholarship. Otherwise, I would say it's really hard. (R5)

Now, it's fine. Because yeah, if you say like they are both together the scholarship and the job money, both of them together are good. But you know, it's so much a struggle to be doing a doctoral research and working 40 hours and more per week to get this from both. So it's just so hard. Not so many people would be able to do that now. No, it's definitely way too complicated. But, yeah, its secure, it's in financially, you will be secure, secure somehow. (R16)

It's stable. I can I can I can say that. I get enough money for me. I don't know if it's relevant to you or not. But most of the Hungarians disagree with me. They always say that this is too little money, we cannot live with this, etc, etc. For me for my goals in life now and in the future I find it enough or stable. (R11)

Think I can say that, yeah. (R7)

Yes, and no. It's it's hard for me to say because I do have some independent finances as well (R8)

Everything's expensive. So I would say with the salaries that we have, there's not much of a of it over financial security because you cannot undertake big projects. (R19)

The main ones is that I got financially secured and stabled here. (R22)

Financial security is for me is that that if something happened to me, I can live on for two years, at least on my saving. So yeah, I think I can do that. (R9)

Yes, yes. (R10)

Oh, yeah. I do worry about money, not because I don't have it, but because how I can get more. So that's a different discussion. (laughs) (R9)

Yes, yes. And to be honest, even the pandemic made me realize that I should not enjoy my life that much I should say. So, but yes, yes, I would say yes. (R20)

In simple terms, when when someone would ask me, are you financially secure. I would say yes, because I have a decent salary. And I don't see that I will lose my job in any way. If I don't know what has to happen that I that I lose my job. So in that narrow sense, yes. It's, it's something that is sure. But in a broader sense, as I mentioned, that the salary increase was pretty recent. So if I would have to live for I don't know, three or four or five months without any income, I don't know that I would manage maybe for three or four months. But beyond that, no. So in that sense, like being financially secure, is when you can live several, or even maybe half of more than half of a year. Without having another income, then, in that sense, not really. But in the first sense yeah. (R13)

And for right now our income scenario life here is stable and well organized (R12)

Yeah, clearly oh, yeah. My salary for Hungary is very good one. (R3)

No, I do not think that 50% of my scholarship goes to my rent, and the other 50% not 50, I would say 60 to 70 goes into the rent. And the other from that I have to manage having my food and other stuffs. So after having that I would hardly have a major savings. And while I have to buy, I had to buy laptops, I had to ask my dad for some financial help. I didn't want to do that. But I couldn't do that at the end because it was not super possible for me to buy. So I wouldn't say I'm in a financial security. But as of now I can survive myself unless I don't buy like a new thing. Which is not good in the future. Because at the end, I would need something to buy. (23)

Not anymore, because freelancer is freelancer. So today, you've got a contract tomorrow, you don't have a contract. And it's again from contract to contract. It's not a secure situation. But it comes again that doesn't belong to Hungary. So it's everywhere in the world. (R18)

## Save money

And I have some savings. (R18)

Yeah, of course (R4)

Yes, yes. Absolutely. Okay, not a lot. Just like, of course, I can save some, as I mentioned, I don't think I can stay for two months without without salary. That I mean, that could alter the describe how much I can save. (R5)

I had to struggle. I had to struggle a lot. You know, I had to give up spending on many, many things so that they would be able to save some money. But yeah. (R16)

Absolutely. A lot of it a lot of it. (R10)

With the cost of living etc. not much saving is possible (R19)

I could see that the people here they are saving everything they can for the future for buying the car buying the house, and I'm doing the same but I'm not saving 100% of my liquid profit (R20)

So I got the the salary increase in December, so then I will definitely be able to save but now also can, let's say. (R13)

Well, that's why I don't do only one job. And because, yeah, you know, like, okay, the cost of living here is cheap. Its just like [home country] actually. But also the incomes is not much different. So actually, like I can earn enough just to get by here. (R17)

I can. (R17)

I don't think so. (R23)

I'm not worried about money. I can save money. And I I can say that because the pandemic as well I'm saving more than I was suspected money. But I also kind of asked sometimes I yeah, but I'm not doing so many things. Like I'm not taking the day. I'm not eating outside. I always buy food. But maybe in a normal life. It will be will be enough, but probably will not. (R24)

## Tax

The tax tax that is not too high. (R17)

Think that the business environment for small or self-employed enterprises are good, especially with this KATA possibility to pay fix taxation. So I outsource my bookkeeping for an external firm. And for them, it's really easier to make more tax reports with this KATA thing. So they don't charge me much. And I think that it's a welcoming environment environment. So you just, yeah. So it's easy to pay fixed taxation, and don't worry about anything. (R18)

And what concerns Hungary, it's actually very friendly to small businesses. So for instance, if I don't expect much income, in a couple of next month, I can inform the tax authorities about this. And in these months, I pay only my health insurance into the social system. So it's less than standard 50,000 per month. (R18)

Because people should be free to live, especially in a country where tax is so high we pay social security and everything we have tax on everything. So so we should be free to live how we want. (R19)

## The currency

Because I'm foreigners and then sometime going home I'm thinking in euros when the Forint is losing 15% in what one year of course your your comparison to to a Spanish salary in Barcelona is suddenly completely you suddenly take 15% difference (R2)

We live in a Hungarian forints reality, not in US dollar (R20)

So that is that is really bad and that's what I need more money. I want more of course, like goes like you know if I go or anywhere else like had to spend a lot of Forint for that, but that's one of the downsides but it was one of my arguments with my boss for me. (R6)

We do not use the euro. So the currencies is shit if I can say not not a lot of value (R19)

My financials if I want to stay all my life in Hungary, it's better. But if I plan one day to go back to [home country], during all these years, I'm here, I don't put I don't save as much money as I would, if I was in [home country]. Basically, I save twice less money per month. So if I want to buy a property in [home country], I cannot make because so locally, and if I want to stay it's better. But if I plan to move back to the west, we have some problem actually (R1)

## Social well-being

### **Strong relationships**

So, I made friends very quickly. (R10)

Yeah, of course, I have like a lot of friends. But like, I have a circle that I really trust, which is like, four or five people, and I can really rely on, so I think I'm fine. (R5)

So mainly, my connections are mostly internationals. And I think it's really hard to get Hungarian friends they are not very interested in us, I think. (R5)

Well, you cannot say, to that extent, but seems like seemed like yes, for me. Because when I was having my long-term permanent, so they asked for the references, and I asked my friends, like, will you be my reference. And they were absolutely. So, they didn't, they weren't hesitant, like, oh, man, like, you know, you're like foreigner and why would I. Maybe you're like, you know, somebody, which we don't like. So nobody said that. And but if on these basis, I can say yes, they will be helpful. And they will come up in case anything goes

wrong. Especially family members, obviously, are there without any doubt. So but if we talked about generally the neighbours and other people do too, I think they wouldn't back off in time of need, they wouldn't. (R10)

Yeah, I'm still playing for NB2 for basketball, or I started when I arrived to Budapest. So seven years ago. It's pretty much only Hungarians. But I also that was a place where I could make a lot of friends. And actually, some of my very good friends I met them there (R6)

I have strong ties because my family is Hungarian. Yeah. And then we clash so much, but we complement each other so much as well. What I have today is because my husband is Hungarian and I and my babies are Hungarian really. And you know, as much as I want to say that they have the only half the mother of the Spanish here. We don't even interact with with that many people these days. Yeah, I do have a few good friends that I think you know, it depends on count on them, like two three people that would count on. (R14)

Yeah in Budapest, in Budapest, Budapest, yes, yes, yes, I have quite a few different bubbles, you know, where I feel I belong (R14)

No because they are all foreigners, and they were all gone. And they've been leaving all throughout the process. Yeah, that's another factor. Right. And most of my friends are not Hungarian. And you know, they ended up leaving (R14)

I mean have a lot and my closest friends on a so it's a smaller group but it's pretty good since I arrived, but I've been very lucky to meet the right people had a lot of fun I get to know a lot a lot of people and you know through the years build up relationships and it's really good there they're mostly only Hungarians actually. Yeah. But they are more likely I'm going to have few other nationalities but the majority of them are all Hungarians (R6)

They are always there for me even if I need to move you know, they offer me the cars or or you know, if I'm sick bring me when I had COVID a friend just brought me the groceries they offering you know all this kind of (R6)

Just three weeks at a friend's place just to find the flats in Budapest because I didn't want to squat to the little house of his friend. (R1)

Now as I'm building more and more relationships with Hungarians and being able to speak the language, it's like you get this constant positive validation of progress in a sense. (R8)

Like you know about the dating life, usually Hungarian is prefer to be with, with other Hungarian for long terms (R5)

Yes, I have my friends. Fortunately, I'm very in a very good relation with my boss, and my supervisor in the university. So if I got into trouble, and anything happened, I mean, I can just

like call them they will be like the Hungarians of course. But I mean, they are not in my age there. They are just old. I mean, older than me. (R5)

I have a lot of very deep relationships that most of my Hungarian relationships, at least originally, were made via [girlfriend] because she already had this very strong group of friends. And her friend group is the type of group which [name] is amongst, of people that definitely do things for each other. So I don't know that I've had to rely on them that much. But it's always been a comfort to know that I could, if necessary. And then I have another layer of friends, which is more manifested in like the expat community via the soccer team I played for, for instance, which is mostly expats, although some Hungarians as well. And those are people also. I would say that I can definitely count on. And then my roommate, originally, before I lived with [girlfriend] was [name], who was the guy that I visited back in 2016. And he's another [nationality], and we were sort of best friends before Budapest, but not really, because we just had a really good friendship in college. But since we moved to Budapest together, he's become like a very deep friend, probably one of the top three best friends I have in my life. So that's also a very deep relationship I have in Budapest, and then I meet a lot of people, just because I'm an extroverted person, and I'm always bouncing around the city. And so a lot of those relationships are more like, meet up for a beer or work on a project together. But definitely, I have a large network of people that make feel at home here. (R8)

Yes, maybe two or three people all local Hungarians. And maybe 3-4 for foreigners, [nationality] people in Budapest. In [countryside city], if I have trouble I will ask all my colleagues or my, my szomszed neighbours. But no, I truly I don't know if I am in real trouble here. I have no one who came first in my in the top of my mind. (R1)

Because I'm lucky because I play football and I, when I was young I played well, and then continue to play football. But you know, in really amateur. And in this way I always meet a lot of people. And we have a common things of football first and then after you begin to speak, and so my oh you become friend and and we don't care about where they come the way they dress. And so it's really varies (R3)

I had a much more rich and exciting social life in Szentes, which is more poor. And people are more open and more sociable. In [countryside city], I don't know if it's completely related to my personality. But after four years, I could not make a single friend. I mean, I I got my two best Hungarian friend out from Szentes since 2012, I still travel to visit them. They are real friend with full trust between us. In [countryside city] people are more cold and a bit more difficult to approach. So my social life here is really limited. I stay all my weekend at home to work on my projects. And if I want to have some social life, I travelled to bp and szentes, and I do almost nothing social here. (R1)

I don't feel that I can approach people easily so social life is very limited. (R1)

And I think also, I didn't really have any issues with people. I mean, Hungarians or internationals here. But still, it just feels too cold. In the sense not on the weather, of course, but it's just yeah, it's so cold with people like I come from a collectivist country, but where people are always gathering, not talking about this period, of course. But still people gather people socialize a lot people have more fun somehow (R16)

when we have this sort of gatherings, it just seems too vivid. And too maybe the atmosphere just so nice. And people would be spontaneously I don't know dancing laughing talking, speaking out loud and whatever. And these are the things maybe that I'm used to, but here we would just see people, okay, gathering the huge number, but still everyone sitting in a corner, maybe talking two together, like it still would be talking together not really the whole group discussing and everyone is speaking just so low. And you know, like not really that spontaneous and not that much fun about it. And I don't know there's I'm not sure it was I can't really explain this, but there is some spark about maybe Arabs gatherings and not Africans in general. That's a bit different from how things are. I mean, all right here. I don't know I i or maybe because, I mean, we were internationals though there were of course, common traits. Between us, but I'm not sure about the things with Hungarians in particular, but I just always noticed them that they are the calmest one the, I believe the most quiet one, the non talkative ones. And this is how I could explain it somehow. (laughs) (R16)

So I was also just with this international community somehow I only had very few Hungarian friends. Were my masters. Most of my classmates were [home country]n And I had a close friend one of them. She's a really nice person. Then I started working almost like three or four months after I moved here. And I got to know people from the company that I work with that. There were many [home country]ns (R16)

But I can't really say they (Hungarians) are friends. But they're they are nice people. But we're not that close. Maybe one of them. We have the same circle of friends that sometimes if we gathered, but that's it. (R16)

No (not strong relationships), I always tell myself, I always see myself as a somehow I don't know, independent from people. No. (R16)

Definitely. Sure. Sure. For example, my supervisor I can say now he is my past supervisor but he's still my big brother. He is my supervisor in Hungary and life so I know if now I get an accident, no one to reach for example, I can just call him and I am pretty much sure that he will be there for me. Now my girlfriend Of course she will be somehow able to to support me here. I mean the foreigners maybe they can support me more emotionally because they cannot do what the Hungarians can do. So, if if if you ask me that the first thing I would think of is so if someone Hungarian because it will be more practical and i know i know that based on my knowledge of those people based off my experience with those people I know that this guy that guy this lady that will be there for me no matter what. (R11) It's true that my circle of friends and colleague is kind of the same. But I think it's happened a lot to foreigners living abroad, because at one point is your first So first point of contact with with the local life unfortunately I would say mainly the foreigners is this true that yeah we have lots of foreigners in the office and there is a tendency as we became friends I'm trying to mix it the bits we hang out in English. and my girlfriend is local so big circle is also her I'm thinking he's joining and the plus one here and I'm like joining her circle there's a few very random friends from from concert like from from social activities but yeah once again after one year of being being locked this is this is drastically smaller. (R2)

Um, I think I think so (I could count on them). At least at least some colleagues now we were really communicate a lot are we leaving the same thing for the International colleague also here because of local girlfriend and we here for the same number of years so we really understand each other but they're Yeah, they're good. They are good friends. We can share personal personal thing while I make I make friendship really fast so for me after three years it's it's old friend already it's true that it's not the same as having your good old friend around you. But nowadays they are good friends.(R2)

It's might be a bit hard after a while, not only because of language to really have a big circle of friends because you're fairly limited. (R2)

I really regret that I don't have enough Hungarian friends. Because I would like to be more involved in the normal Hungarian life. And Come to think of it. I know about [home country]n and European political events, more than I know about Hungary. So I realized that some time ago now I'm trying to rectify the situation, and try to be more involved in the country life in country political life. (R18)

I have my friends over here. (R23)

I have friends already here (R18)

The people that I work with are not necessarily Hungarians. And my neighbour is a young Hungarian woman, but she she's not. She's not interested in being friends. Or in being neighbours. If I would say just if I see her across the corridor, we would say hi, hello. Um, so I would not say that I have any other personal relationship with Hungarian people. (R19)

My colleagues actually pretty cool. Yeah, we find ourselves discussing about things like back in our country, how it was, the food, things like that. So yeah, on that front I do not have any problem with my colleagues. (R19)

No. [not strong relationships]. No [I would not count on them] (R19)

Well, to be honest, it's it was very hard at the beginning, I met my friends, I think at the end of the last year. And I mean, it's crazy, but I at some point is like, what we experienced when

we are following a country maybe because of pandemic, you will be more difficult to meet people obviously, because we can go out with tongue socialized, but I think social media has been very helpful. So yeah, I will say that the last year us kind of very changed in like a year for me, obviously, also because I had some health problems. But when summer came, everything changed for me, really. Like I met I met new people and so I could say that maybe not the first year but definitely this this second year is being more friendly. (R24)

I have I have quite a number of friends. Most of them are foreigners actually. Now that I can think of it. I have a couple of Hungarian friends through my my partner but don't think I have any real Hungarian them friends that I made myself or I at I have a lot of connections, you know a lot. I have ex colleagues I have. I have people like play football with I have a lot of acquaintances. This this how hi i distinct distinguish between the people thing. So I have acquaintances a lot like 1000s people something, friends that I can say friends that I can count on when I'm in need. In Hungary, for example, I have COVID up to two weeks ago, and friends that I could call on when I needed shopping, let's say are my foreign friends. Obviously, my partner has a family with brothers. Obviously, I can count on them, of course. But does my family now a friend or family, but the other ones are foreign and most mostly foreigners. (R4)

I was in trouble. I had COVID in February. And it was very, very hard. I feel lonely. Yeah. And I also realized that definitely take time to build like strongly relationship with people, even if you if you meet them, even if you if you live with them, or you receive them every day. They take time. But I realized that this foreign people, foreign girls that I met the ideal of the last year were like, very important. important for me in that in that process. Yeah. I have the support of my co-workers. (R24)

For short term help. Yes. But of course for not long term support. So then for instance, if I asked for instance, illness and go to hospital of all they can come and feed my cats. They won't help me for half a year for instance. So I we are so these are people who I can count on for some ad hoc short term trouble. Yes. (R18)

They're expats, even though they also live here for some time offer my professional time in the regional environment of center. And they are also basically expats, although there are some [home country]n people whom I met through some social gatherings so but not much. So I socializing in the expat community mainly, unfortunately, I don't have too many Hungarian friends, though I have some good Hungarian acquaintances. But not like close close. So from time to time we meet we have coffee together the pleasantly chat, but they're not like close. They're a great nice acquaintances. (R18)

I am very quite extroverted person. So I kind of talked to a lot of people. And I wouldn't say I just have, I have a different set of people like from different kind of countries. So it's not just [home country]n or Hungarian. I do like to talk to them equally I have and since I stayed in the dorm, I also have friends with Azerbaijan and from [home country] and stuff. So I have a bunch of people. (R23)

I have [home country]ns, foreigners and Hungarians too, so I do meet Hungarians once or twice a week, like, once in two weeks, depending on how everyone is free, and then international, but I think I'm more comfortable, and we have more communication with the other internationals compared to the Hungarians, I would say that. (R23)

More comfortable to go back to [home country], you know, to my family to my home, (R3)

I was in quarantine in in a hostel quarantine for like, 10 days after I went back to Hungary from Slovakia. When there was a Hungarian friend who like went to the shopping mall, went to the supermarket for me, and like, you know, carry a lot of stuff for me to eat for 10 days. Not many people like that, but you can find here. (R17)

Oh, yeah, definitely. For example, I'm in quarantine. And I haven't. Yeah, so I've been fed. Get the food delivered on my doorsteps. And most of the friends I'm asking, no, I don't need anything. Don't worry, I'm fine. So yeah, I would say is more like an individualistic person. But yeah, when I need them, I have that sense that I have people around me. (R9)

Secondly, I've been an introverted person when I moved here, and along the way, I made very close friends of mine. So now I have very close friends around, some of them are Hungarian, some of them are Americans. So here, so that is one of the reason to that I feel very connected here. (R9)

It's really varies. I have a very good friend and he's Hungarian. I've got Good [home country nationals] friends, I got good foreign your friend. It's girl boy, young old All the there is some workers are we some intellectual profession people it's really varies, (R3)

Generally I have a better relation with the people who lived abroad What does it mean. That I have people with good connection who were always was always stayed in Hungary. But the fact that generally, people went abroad for one year or several months. I don't know maybe I feel more comfortable with this kind of people. This is made easier only thing I can see clearly. (R3)

[I'm in touch with] more Hungarian. (R3)

Yeah, so my social network is quite diversified, actually. If Yeah, yeah, I'm connected with Hungarian like I said, and also with expat community, because I've been going on many social events when the life is normal, of course. And along the way, I have made friends and yeah, like, I like cooking. I like baking. I like dancing. So these are all the events when you mingle around with people, and some of them are very strong. I've been to some Hungarian weddings, I have experienced that, which means that I've been very close to them, and so that I could get invited to the weddings too. So yeah, so that I feel accomplished that I have made, those kinds of friendships are long lasting, and very strong rooted. (R9)

So I have really good Hungarian friends. And interestingly enough, these friends or friends that lived abroad, so I personally, I think it's easier for me to get along with people that lived abroad, and came back to Hungary, then with people that lived it their whole life here in Hungary. It's a different mindset (R20)

Oh, yes, definitely. And they are Hungarians, I would rely more people that I I speak nowadays I would rely more the Hungarians and the other and then in the foreigners, yes. And the Hungarians that I am friends. I know that I can trust them because they know that I am alone. No family here. So they they worry about me as if I was their child. So I could rely on them because of it. (R20)

I had my best friends (R21)

Like basically personal relationships. Like I wouldn't want it left everybody behind. (R21)

For this reason, because I miss being around people, especially as a foreigner, you need some company, you know, like, there every day, you can just start chatting with some random, now that we are working from home, so you have to turn back to your own friends and like nothing you can get to know new people. That's tough for a foreigners obviously, no family etc (R21)

I found myself in a situation where it's hard for me to meet new people here. So several months after I got the job, the pandemic started, so nobody was even going out anywhere. Everything was closing. All the events were cancelled. And somehow even nowadays, like I I think I'm lacking some social circle here. Yeah, it's, that is also one of the reasons why it's, it doesn't feel like home. It, it just feels like something temporary. (R13)

So hmm people that I met, were mainly through my boyfriend's work. So his colleagues, and girlfriend's of those colleagues and you know, there's always someone pulling someone, but those I wouldn't say are some strong relationships. It's more like, occasional, let's go grab a beer, let's go grab a coffee, something like that. And other people that I meet are literally people from work, which, as I said, it's it's such a small circle that it's even hard to talk about it (laughs). So at this time, basically that is it, that there's no one else here in Hungary that I can say that I spend time with, or or no. (R13)

I would say yes. Mainly, yes. I mean, just because they are people that seem like they would help if I would encounter in some trouble, but I can't guarantee that I, as I said, I don't know them that well, or I can't claim that they would do it for sure. But I think that they would, at least most of them. Yeah (R13)

Limited, it's quite limited. Again, because of the language barrier, but not only that, people are at my age, limiting number of friends and socialize social interaction. So it's not bad, but

it's quite limited, especially now. It's difficult right now. Thankfully, this this is the wrong time to talk about this subject, because the corona is for over a year now. shut everything down. It's very difficult to function in normal ways two things could have changed. But it's, it's okay. It's not perfect or not even good. It's okay. (R12)

No, not that not that level. okay, let me it's a gray zone, it's not yes or in old fashioned way that if I'm in trouble financial, for example, they will jump in and help me out with the money. I kind of doubt that. If I'm in health problems, and they have somebody to call to assist to help, they probably would help in that in that matter, either. If I'm in need of short term physical help to move something to do something, whatever, they will probably do that too. But I think that, that old hearted help. I can't really count on that one. Because we didn't, we didn't develop friendships to that level that you know, like. (R12)

### M friends are here. (R15)

The second is that the friends because I lost connect with most my friend, we're very different lives, even the ones that I speak to they're very different. If changed, it's up them but I have changed a lot. So my experience of being abroad has changed me greatly. So don't have the same personality as the people remember me from the [home country] (R15)

Yeah. Some of them Yes. Because I noticed that that time you know when you go to the [home country] because you're pregnant and then you come back you basically trying as a single mom to handle things abroad. Then you see who your true friends are. So yes, these people are still they're still in my life. (R15)

Yes, for sure (I can rely on them) the Hungarians one, when I learned a lot of stuff in the city, I would go and ask them, for example, with the knowing a health issue or having to know a doctor or something which I can ask. And so and I had a very severe pollen allergy. And I asked them if they knew what is the medicine and stuff. Luckily, one of them already was or had gone through that. And he's mother was a doctor. So he helped to guide which medicines to take. And regarding the other ones, when I not broke, but how do you say, anyway, so there was some problem with my leg and which I couldn't walk for like a week, and there were a lot of people who came in help me give me food, try to stay with me until I get Okay, so I think these are the two instances which I would say describe it perfect. (R23)

And apart from that, I think, when there are some international gatherings or some events is I think people are super friendly. And you do not feel you know, any bad vibes over there. If I had to say that. And there are also a lot of people who try to just say hi, in a very, not weird, but a happy way. You know, there are people in the university security, which tries to wish me very nicely every morning when he sees me, or there are some people in the metro when I have to show them my ticket and they just, you know, smile and say something to me, which I don't understand. But at the end they say something, and I just smile and say thank you selling there are some good moments it just happens withless intensity with me. (R23)

And the first person that I came to know in Hungary was the, the, the woman that the lady that with whom I was having the university interview, and she was super nice and friendly. we became really good friends later on (R22)

### Composition of group where respondent belongs

Yeah, of course, I have like a lot of friends. But like, I have a circle that I really trust, which is like, four or five people, and I can really rely on so I think I'm fine. they are not Hungarian. They are mostly from my country. (R5)

Secondly, I've been an introverted person when I moved here, and along the way, I made very close friends of mine. So now I have very close friends around, some of them are Hungarian, some of them are Americans. So here, so that is one of the reason to that I feel very connected here. (R9)

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They're expats, even though they also live here for some time offer my professional time in the regional environment of center. And they are also basically expats, although there are some [home country]n people whom I met through some social gatherings so but not much. So I socializing in the expat community mainly, unfortunately, I don't have too many Hungarian friends, though I have some good Hungarian acquaintances. But not like close close. So from time to time we meet we have coffee together the pleasantly chat, but they're not like close. They're a great nice acquaintances. (R18)

I am very quite extroverted person. So I kind of talked to a lot of people. And I wouldn't say I just have, I have a different set of people like from different kind of countries. So it's not just [home country]n or Hungarian. I do like to talk to them equally I have and since I stayed in the dorm, I also have friends with Azerbaijan and from [home country] and stuff. So I have a bunch of people. (R23)

I have [home country]ns, foreigners and Hungarians too, so I do meet Hungarians once or twice a week, like, once in two weeks, depending on how everyone is free, and then international, but I think I'm more comfortable, and we have more communication with the other internationals compared to the Hungarians, I would say that. (R23)

I have I have quite a number of friends. Most of them are foreigners actually. Now that I can think of it. I have a couple of Hungarian friends through through my my partner but don't think I have any real Hungarian them friends that I made myself or I at I have a lot of connections, you know a lot. I have ex colleagues I have. I have people like play football with I have a lot of acquaintances. This this how hi i distinct distinguish between the people thing. So I have acquaintances a lot like 1000s people something, friends that I can say friends that I can count on when I'm in need. In Hungary, for example, I have COVID up to two weeks ago, and friends that I could call on when I needed shopping, let's say are my foreign friends. Obviously, my partner has a family with brothers. Obviously, I can count on them, of course. But does my family now a friend or family, but the other ones are foreign and most mostly foreigners. (R4)

The people that I work with are not necessarily Hungarians. And my neighbour is a young Hungarian woman, but she she's not. She's not interested in being friends. Or in being neighbours. If I would say just if I see her across the corridor, we would say hi, hello. Um, so I would not say that I have any other personal relationship with Hungarian people. (R19)

My colleagues actually pretty cool. Yeah, we find ourselves discussing about things like back in our country, how it was, the food, things like that. So yeah, on that frontI do not have any problem with my colleagues. (R19)

I really regret that I don't have enough Hungarian friends. Because I would like to be more involved in the normal Hungarian life. And Come to think of it. I know about [home country]n and European political events, more than I know about Hungary. So I realized that some time ago now I'm trying to rectify the situation, and try to be more involved in the country life in country political life..(R18)

But I can't really say they (Hungarians) are friends. But they're they are nice people. But we're not that close. Maybe one of them. We have the same circle of friends that sometimes if we gathered, but that's it. (R16)

It's true that my circle of friends and colleague is kind of the same. But I think it's happened a lot to foreigners living abroad, because at one point is your first So first point of contact with with the local life unfortunately I would say mainly the foreigners is this true that yeah we have lots of foreigners in the office and there is a tendency as we became friends I'm trying to mix it the bits we hang out in English. and my girlfriend is local so big circle is also her I'm thinking he's joining and the plus one here and I'm like joining her circle there's a few very random friends from from concert like from from social activities but yeah once again after one year of being being locked this is this is drastically smaller. (R2)

So I was also just with this international community somehow I only had very few Hungarian friends. Were my masters. Most of my classmates were [home country]n And I had a close friend one of them. She's a really nice person. Then I started working almost like three or four months after I moved here. And I got to know people from the company that I work with that. There were many [home country]ns (R16)

Yes, maybe two or three people all local Hungarians. And maybe 3-4 for foreigners, [home country nationals] people in Budapest. In [countryside city], if I have trouble I will ask all my colleagues or my, my szomszed neighbours. But no, I truly I don't know if I am in real trouble here. I have no one who came first in my in the top of my mind. (R1)

No because they are all foreigners and they were all gone. And they've been leaving all throughout the process. Yeah, that's another factor. Right. And most of my friends are not Hungarian. And you know, they ended up leaving (R14)

Now as I'm building more and more relationships with Hungarians and being able to speak the language, it's like you get this constant positive validation of progress in a sense. (R8)

I mean have a lot and my closest friends on a so it's a smaller group but but it's pretty good since I arrived but I've been very lucky to meet the right people had a lot of fun I get to know a lot a lot of people and you know through the years build up relationships and and it's really

good there they're mostly only Hungarians actually. Yeah. But they are more likely I'm going to have few other nationalities but the majority of them are all Hungarians (R6)

Most of the people I know, outside my study life, and now my work life, they are foreigners. Most of them are [home country]ns. Like me, we find the ourselves somehow, some of them because of the language, we speak some the same language, and some of them are just foreigners. (R11)

So I made friends very quickly, So most of the time, I'm with Hungarians (R10)

And, of course, and Hungarian people let's put it like that, so the Hungarian community is still very closed. So they might go out with you, they remember your birthdays, they can... about around Christmas, but then don't accept you in their circle. And I don't blame for this. So it's just how the world works. But I really regret that I cannot get into the circle and know more about Hungarian like home, culture, or I don't know how people socialize within the Hungarian circle friends, that's what I would like to know. But so far, I don't see any possibilities when I'm looking for them. But so far, I haven't found them. (R18)

We became strong friends. And we have a strong trust today. Can I trust them. 100% I can be myself 100% with them (R1)

I'm not very religious. But still, I have that faith part that plays in my life. And I go to the church, and I have a community there. And regardless of color, regardless of breed, regardless of where you comes from, it's like a platform where the people are known by one name. So that been very helpful to build to Yeah, I never been very religious. But I had a strong teaching. So my parents, yeah, because yeah, we were living in a hard society, hard cultural society. So they taught us a lot about that particular subject, too. And that helped me a lot in leading the discussions there. And, yeah, I got the respect of people based on the knowledge I have about different religions, and Christianity and Judaism too. And I got accepted in that community very quickly. So I would say that would be one of the highlight, you know, like, I've been traveling 1000s of miles, and I find some community accept me as I am, you know. (R9)

Yeah, I've been to me or like my friend's grandparents. And, you know, when somebody knows me, then it's different like, anywhere even in the countryside. I have a friend I met don't know if I'm going to pronounce it right or not, Gyor. Yeah, so I've been there and they were living in a more like, countryside life. Her parents were both architects and retired. I spend two days with them when they had their grandmothers too. So we I don't know what we had. How could I, how I were able to communicate with them in Hungarian, but somehow I managed. But overall, it was a good experience. And I've been accepted as a family member in there. So. So I think, yeah, the people in Budapest do take their time to get to know someone. And once they know it, here, they are open, but maybe it takes some time, more time than the Americans do. So yeah. (R9)

Oh, here, are the people that the first people that I speak the most everyday, they are majority, the majority is like a foreigners. I speak because the Hungarians that I have, that I am in contact nowadays. They are in the work. And I also because I live in Gardony. Now, I have more contact with the Hungarian people, but it's not like an everyday conversation. Like a acquaintance is not really friends. So I would say 60 foreigners- 40 Hungarians. (R20)

I don't want to say difficult but it's it's a challenging place for it when I say like, hard to integrate. Hard to understand people really distant to you, especially when you're foreigner most of my friends are not Hungarian, actually, with my Hungarian boyfriend, I had a Hungarian circle. But right now it's like two international people that I'm seeing and Turks. Probably my best like, closest circle now is in one year from [home country] because I think this whole situation like connected us more like we have to support each other or something. And I since I am the experienced one, like I kind of speak the language and know the Hungarian system and stuff. Basically, like all my Turkish friends are calling me for support, (R21)

It's hard. It's not only my observation, it's like, our observation when we come together, like, why they're doing this, you know why this is so like, taboo that you don't talk or, you know, ask personal questions. It's, it's tough. Also, it's like, I think it's also personal because I am not very, I'm an introvert. Maybe also so it's not exactly ideal thing. Maybe you should be a little bit pushy with which I am not so. Yeah, sometimes I get easily like, I get offended when people like just avoid me, for example, you met before and just like passing by without saying hi, things like that. Many times I faced these things. So yeah, in general, it's not (R21)

People are socially, okay. not overly too acceptable, but not too bad, either. A little difficulty that foreigner would meet here is lack of foreign languages. Because I bet I guess that's like everywhere else in Hungary. [countryside city] is just picture of the rest of the Hungary. Apart from Budapest, Budapest is all different (R12)

The people that I am contact with are Hungarians, and primarily, they all speak also English, this and that level does matter. Other people that I keep in touch my old friends, which is like occasional once a month or something like that. So that's just to maintain the contact rather than actually socializing So, but my primary socializing group are Hungarians, or all of them, no foreigners. (R12)

But I must admit that also Hungarian language was limited. So I was bit dependent on who speaks whatever language but then I had exclusively Hungarian friends. Now I work in a nationality with 90 different nationalities. So my friends are from all over. So I don't have a preference. I do see the tendency to have rather foreign friends but that's probably because their rate of foreigners around me is high. Not because I have any preference before or against, Hungarian/foreigner. (R15)

I have a lot of Hungarian friends. Because in a very first, I mean, before COVID thing. I was in a group, you know, like, either expat group that that, that you met me or you know, CS the

couchsurfing. Yeah, yeah, I was I was in couchsurfing for 11 years. So actually, when I came here, I had a lot of CS friends that a lot of them that are foreigners, they have a friend I mean, a lot of them that it tourists in Budapest, or a lot of Hungarian and too. So a lot of meetings, a lot of party stuff and yeah, and so actually I found it like quite a few of Hungarian people that that go out of the box that travel see things. (R17)

It's more international. So I can Yeah, and it's way more international than in China. like in in Hungary, I mean, in Budapest, I die with a lot of groups like CS you know, we have party we have like get together. We have yoga, you know, like expat group of yoga and stuff. We do yoga in the park. A lot of people speak English, you know, either Hungarian or expats. We have, like community that I can join (R17)

And then it can it can affect like, I don't have much people that I know here that are Hungarians. And it also like, can be a little bit hard sometimes when all my friends are back home and I don't have like, really. Yeah, I know some people from here some people from from there, but I it's not people that they can call them like friends. It's like, life brings up bring us all most of them are foreigners, of course. And lifelike brought us all over to Budapest. And we're like, you know, more, more or less in the same age and same interests. So, okay, you're socializing with with them, but I can't really, you know, call them true friends like to most of them. Oh, it's also a little bit difficult to understand. (R7)

Only one of them (would help), Know, you know what to maybe two, one or two [home country]is (R7)

Just a feeling you express that something maybe you need them you know, you need to belong to community and so natural community for my wife is Hungarian people and my natural community is [home country nationals] people you know [home country nationals] sourreounding It's my country and you know, when you begin older maybe you feel more this kind of need because when you are young you can move you can really adapt yourself very easily (R3)

I do not belong here, even though I try my best to do from my side (R23)

You try to keep giving tries of you know, telling people or being around where you want to live. And after four and a half years, you realize that, you know, this is just not possible. So that's like a gut feeling that what I was trying to, you know, cannot be done. And I need to find in some other place because this cannot be done. I tried to include, try to maintain my Hungarian friendships, but I think it's really hard sometimes. (R23)

And I feel that no matter how much I try to be friendly, no matter how much I try to talk to them, since they have this, obviously Hungarian base, they try to have more friendly talks even. And try to communicate more to them rather than to me. And I don't know any of the informations until I asked them. Like, if I asked them this when they finally do, talk to me or share, but that's like, I have to push myself to do that. And when I'm around them, they try to

speak English as much as possible. So trying to be very, you know, trying to make me include, but there are some points where they have to switch back, which is perfectly fine. But you know, there are sometimes when they know that you are not being invited into some sort and because yeah. (R23)

I met so many beautiful people nice and friendly. Although many of my friends were experiencing some source of unpleasant contacts, or sometimes they were saying that they have experienced some kind of racism in in people. But to be honest, I never really it never really happened with me, at all. Everyone that I met and every friend that I found here, made here are super, super nice and helpful. So I kind of even owe everything that I am here to my Hungarian friends that I found here and who helped me get up on my feet in a foreign country. (R22)

But the real reason that that was that I felt relieved. And my that was my goal, to reach a community to be in a community where I can feel myself relief, where I can feel myself self confident, confident, self satisfied, etc, etc. and Hungary somehow could provide that to me even more than I expected (R11)

Yeah, I'm still playing for NB ketto for basketball, or I started when I arrived to Budapest. So seven years ago. It's pretty much only Hungarians. But I also that was a place where I could make a lot of friends. And actually, some of my very good friends I met them there (R6)

### Being treated with respect

I'm yeah if you if if you do the if you do they do it's always it's very Hungarian and they expect you to say hi and how are you and in the common area or anywhere if you get on the bus This is and if you don't you're considered rude so they will behave rude but if you show polite some time can be hard some some places think it's mainly in the commercial area that if you understand slowly or if you need like you see that you're much a burden for someshop owner or some some market sellers and that can be pretty.. you feel it's that's you're the foreigner here and people's life I cross the neighbor colleague or any fun nights there's no issue (R2)

Yeah, I don't think I had issues with people before. (R16)

I would say respect, yes. But a lot of hostility. (R19)

Yes, I think I am But usually people treat me with respect. Yes. Sometimes not really willing to help. That's true. But they never show like, they never despise me. Oh, they rarely be rude to me. Nothing like that. (R18)

I think Yeah, yeah. I would say. Yeah, well, there are a few times where that but I would say a majority or you can say it's okay. (R23)

I would say yes. I would say that in for example, in the local markets, people are more friendly than if you go to like that big brands store. People are always judging you but I don't think it's even the Fehervar thing, but the world thing. So I but I would say that The I was always treated with respect. (R20)

I never had to really problem, discrimination. Anything here I was, I am and I was really happy here. Hmm. And that was never really mistreated by Hungarians so I can know. Okay, boys, but these boys This is love wise, this is not important. But I never had any problems. I was never I was always treated with respect here. (R20)

I do. Yeah. I think it's a you get what you give type of thing. There's been occasions where I've had, maybe someone that I didn't think was the nicest person in the world. (R8)

No. first I speak Hungarian. So I make the first step. I don't speak badly. I know how to be respectful, but most of the time, the return is English. What like how much they don't accept your effort. Say yes or no. They prefer to do with English which I think means that they don't accept to speak. Anyway, this is not important. I don't care about it anymore. But cashiers, shopkeepers, they're like, super upset about their life and situation or socio-economical status. So, you feel it. I mean, they don't want to be there, they want to get rid with you. But it's not exactly to like most of the time when I go to a shop I feel like I have anxiety. So yeah, sometimes I avoid some shops, because I know that person is going to be really upset again. So I know I'm not the only one saying yeah. (R21)

Generally, yes. I don't have any really bad experiences. Sometimes I meet, eyes rolling, because Iy don't speak Hungarian. And some people are clearly frustrated by that. And I understand because it would be the same for me, if I would be in [home country], and someone would start speaking Italian to me, which I don't speak, it will be the same reaction. And they're probably encountering so many foreign people that don't speak Hungarian. After some time, you you just get frustrated. Because if you don't speak English, then then you don't speak English. And I don't mind that. It's just something that is, I think, natural. (R13)

Me. Yes. Yes. (R15)

Yes completely Yes. (R1)

I found, like, most of people are very friendly here. They're very nice (R17)

Well, actually, it's very hard to say. I think but I think 99% or 90 percents I get treat. Pretty good. But it just depends too because people look at people before they decide, you know, like, what to do with the other people. Yeah, but I give myself a lot of respect. So people treat me the way that I treat myself and know where I am. (R17)

Generally, yes (R7)

### Feeling at home

So what was most important for me as a foreigner is to feel as much home as possible, not to feeling stressed because of the community. So I didn't feel stressed, I didn't feel rejected by the community (R11)

So it's definitely my second home now and I cannot imagine moving (R21)

More comfortable to go back to [home country], you know, to my family to my home, (R3)

And then it can it can affect like, I don't have much people that I know here that are Hungarians. And it also like, can be a little bit hard sometimes when all my friends are back home and I don't have like, really. Yeah, I know some people from here some people from from there, but I it's not people that they can call them like friends. It's like, life brings up bring us all most of them are foreigners, of course. And lifelike brought us all over to Budapest. And we're like, you know, more, more or less in the same age and same interests. So, okay, you're socializing with with them, but I can't really, you know, call them true friends like to most of them. Oh, it's also a little bit difficult to understand. (R7)

But definitely, I have a large network of people that make feel at home here. (R8)

Like, I feel like home (R10)

And why should I leave. I feel like home (R6)

It doesn't feel like home. It, it just feels like something temporary. (R13)

I kind of belong somehow to the city to this country, like I feel it is home. Now. Like, if I want to go back to [home country] now, I will really miss the place here. So it's kind of home for me (R5)

The House we're in you know, I mean this house may feel like home and I keep telling him not to you know, when we move with them or we have to sell this house. Like I want to put it in my pocket and take it was a very big, luxurious house. I love it. I just love the way it is a home. It's so beautiful. (R14)

And although it's been one and a half years since I am here It's not home I have not been able to make my place here (R19)

So that's the only thing that makes it hard but other than that, yes, here this is home. (R15)

It's like, they are strangers, they are foreigner, they do not belong there. And they will never belong, even if they get the citizenship or whatever. This is just not our home country (R16)

I found freedom in a country where I wasn't even born in so it's kind of I kind of consider Hungary more more like a home than my own country. (R22)

#### **Community well-being**

#### Infrasturcture

I think is really nice area, I live very near to a metro station really near to the Varosliget. I think they area is quite by a nice safe and I have been, I have been, I have thinking to move for example, find another place maybe liveve alone. But I like this the area. (R24)

Yes. To be honest, I would always say that the public transportation in Hungary, I mean, in Budapest, especially in the center. Nobody can beat this public transportation. It's really everywhere in every coordinate all the time. Like it's really really really comfortable. (R5)

This public transportation system, the infrastructure, like pharmacies, shops, time in the center, that is everything around like everything in like 10 minutes, which like everything, literally. So I think it's pretty, pretty good place (R5)

It's just like the buildings. There's some infrastructure problems in the buildings. I know about this because I'm an engineer. For example, like These are very old buildings and like the pipes are probably very old. They're like the cables inside the buildings are there. So we may face problems with like drinking water we have, we may face problems with internet cables, all this stuff. (R5)

Well, it is a very beautiful district. I mean, I live literally on the one one half of my street is the wall of the castle. On the backside of the castle (R8)

And then if you talk about the roads, I don't know what's wrong with them. But it's fine. What to do (R10)

There is the public transport is one of the best in Europe. But I don't think I would stay I would always use the public transport, and the future. And I see that the streets are small. It's always crowded, there is always like crowd and every street everywhere. So I don't think it's the best place for driving the car. Honestly, even like parking gets like crazy. You can't find a place to park your car as I would. I mean, in the center where I live. So it's just not very comfortable there (R5)

Somehow you don't feel that the I don't know like the taste of luxuriousness here in Budapest even though Okay, we know that there are castles palaces whatsoever, but not in everyday life. Like when you go outside things are not Wow, or whatever here even the buildings there are just so nice to see (R16)

I like it. I love the area. I mean, I always been living in the, in the city center, more or less. So in real liferealized because you know, everything when everything was open, you can just like walk to every places. There is nightlife. But there's also quiet places or living around here. It's always I always liked it. Duna is close, the center is the most beautiful part. Budapest Of course. So I enjoy it. Definitely. (R6)

I would say that Budapest or Hungary in general, like whatever infrastructure here the roads or cleaness, or whatever, it's, it's not the best. I've been to the Scandinavian countries. And that is really Europe. And I don't want to compare like, someone not Denmark, and it's not like Sweden. And it's not Norway here. So it's also still okay, I like the transportation at least, even though the Hungarians complain about it, but it's way better if I compare it to some other places. So at least when it comes to BKK transportation, not that's fine, but I don't know it's not that clean (R16)

You have two swimming pools. So it's a completely crazy actually to have two swimming pool 50 meters in a small town (R1)

I would like to buy a flat here (R6)

Yeah, there is everything you need here is a Tesco big interspa. I never think the bus but as far as I know it works completely well. They do frequently restoration in the city. So they restore roacsSo nothing really to complain I'm lucky that they just before I came here, they just needed the autopalya highway. So just two and a half kilometers, I have the highway, which directly leads me to Budapest. I have the balaton lake,, which is not so far I have some very nice nature here. So if we can, because every gym and swimming pool are close, so I try to do bicycle for 40 kilometers every weekend. And just at five kilometres, you have some really nice places to to do some bicycles here. And we have two of the most famous thermal bath here so good to know. (R1)

It's, it's a pretty quiet one, we live at the bottom of the hill, which is suitable for me because I am somebody quite reserved, at first, and I don't really like mingling with other people. I don't like noise, etc. So like, I think it's perfect for us. (R19)

Like I don't want to live in crowd noise. And, like, polluted area, for example. For example, I don't know if you consider like, for me, Budapest is a little bit crowded. It's noisy. And I think there is some kind of pollution here. So I would prefer to live a little bit outside. (R5)

Everything is right here. I think I live at a strategic point, because I have two malls like five to 10 minutes away with tram lines and bus lines. Yeah, a lot of cake shops. But these things are pretty much popular at every street here. Yeah, yeah, we have everything we have the registrar, etc. So so everything is with easy reach. (R19)

I just bought a flats here in [countryside city], it's a nice old the construction from 120 years old in the city centre, so it has a nice facade like stones. So all the classical historical facade

and such a flat. I could have never bought such a flat like this in in [home country] because he I am in sozmbathely which is not a poor city, actually in Hungary, I am just in the city centre, and it's 56 m2 And even with my engineer salary, which is twice less than what I should have in [home country], or maybe more than half, I could have never bought such a flat But here I can, because the price condition and salary condition of an engineer, allow me to buy such a flat (R1)

That's why we chose Urom. Because at the time when we moved six years ago, it had quite it has still now quite good inftfracture. There's a bus that brings you to return from Arpad hod but hit the pharmacy. There's a little church, although we don't go. But there's everything around apparently, one thing is missing. And I noticed it during this period of of working from home. No home delivery for food for food, like noWOLTt. This is driving driving me crazy. Sometimes that's one of the reasons why I'm I'm at work today is that I feel like eating special tonight. So I come to work. I would read order it through WOlt to deliver to my work, which is in the 13th district. And then I'll bring home tonight with me. (laughs) (R4)

I like it. The people are saying that it's not the best district in Budapest and I kinda agree with with this some parts of the district. But not every part, I found this very beautiful area they called the castle area (Referring to Palotanegyed) or something like that. It's really beautiful and very international, full of coffee places full of art galleries. And I can see so many English-speaking people in this area, even when I'm walking in the street. So and it's close to some universities and university buildings. So there are there is life going on with with all the students going there (22)

So if I walk from my apartment at Harminckettesek tere to Kalvin ter., I pass all these beautiful buildings and they are now buildings, but I heard from my Hungarian friends that they were castles in the past, belonging to the rich families and they were like summer houses or something like this or spring houses. (R22)

Also it would be so difficult to get our own place here. Real estate is so so so expensive (R19)

It says that's crazy perfect for me it's like walking distance of anything. The biggest park is walking distance. big mall is that the walking distance any shop is around even even small practical shop everything you can think of social activity I mean bars and things also reachable walking. know it's it's everything is at walking distance. That's that's that's very cool. (R2)

Oh, firstly, I love that the tears high ceiling, on which I'm a former child who was raised in this newly build apartment houses of 60s was low, very low ceilings, and I enjoy a lot, four meters of height in my apartment. And then of course, it's a nice environment, it's around Rozsak tere.. And transportation is good. The environment is good. And while of course, the flat was not chosen for this particular reason Exactly. But there is a Vet University next to me, and very good. The vet drugstore on Istvan utca, just two steps from here, I'll enjoy it

Well, before the pandemic. There were like, a lot of nice cafes, and little restaurants around the place. So yeah, other than, it was very livable. It's very nice. The architecture is great. So it's always nice, just to get out of the door and see all these nice buildings around here. (R18)

So because I bought an apartment here already my own apartment (R18)

You can get a transportation within very small reach and you can totally go to another part of the city within like maximum 15 to 20 minutes which I really like it, second is about the grocery stores and the bars which are just near the surroundings. So getting fresh air going for for walking in the Danube which is fine because the other parts of the city you cannot really access the Danube part or very easily with this district I can do it very easy. So I think that's the thing getting the restaurants getting the food very easy, (R23)

In my neighborhood is really okay because now we have a little mall. And we have also the facilities we need on a daily basis. But it's quite new, it's from two or three years, before it was quite difficult because each time you have to commute have to take your car in order to go to pharmacy. Stuff like that. Now it's five minute by walk. So it's quite easy, though to bepubli Transportation. Well, it's really contrast because the network is really well done. It go really deeply in Budapest. And it's quite reliable. It's quite okay, except that the equipment is very old. What does it means that you know, the bus themselves. It's really old one. What is sometimes funny. What is sometimes very unpleasant (R3)

I have the 4-6 in less than 10 minutes walk and the the entry kilinkak is like five minutes walk. Which, in that in those aspects. It's not, not that bad. But if I were to go to the city center, then I have to take the bus or walk around 30 minutes. And if I was living in those districts, it's like, it's a 10 minute walk. (R7)

I would say developing is the is the right word. Because it's not it's not one of the best areas in Budapest, but it's always, always getting better and better. You can see a lot of new buildings, new shops I live near the corvin setany So everything is like new new buildings, a lot of foreigners, a lot of companies like, like Nokia. So yeah, there are some bad aspects you can still see like homeless people or like if I can say it but gypsies. not from the good kind. But in general, I think it's it was way better, let's say right now than when I first got here three years ago, always look looks like it keeps, keeps improving time. (R7)

If you know, [countryside city]. You don't really offer much. Yeah. it's only one street. That everything and done (R17)

Oh, let's put it as medium size, city or town if you want to call it pretty infrastructure wise, pretty well organized. Service wise, pretty well organized. For the most part, like most of the most of the country (R12)

So along the way, and I plan to actually looking for a flat there. So I'm going to be buying a flat here (R9)

And it's very accessible to downtown to you can reach into your favorite restaurant downtown in less than 15 minutes. (R9)

I don't know. It's more accessible the facilities. It's more usable. I would say it's more neat and clean. Somehow people here are more calm, you know like in in Dubai enercon They're like, even children are not that calm. (R10)

The public transport, I really think it's bad. Because in the rush hour, when you have to go to the work, there are only two buses that takes you to arrive before eight. And then both buses are full, are crowded all the time. And if you miss this bus, you needed to wait another hour to take you to the office. And then there's only bus as a public transport. Here, there are like no trams, no, there are trains, but they cannot take me to the work. So I would say that public transport wise, it's really bad. But in the spring, and in autumn, and even the beginning of the summer, I used to commute by bike. So it's nice, because there is like a bike lane all around the city. So in this aspect, it's sort of okay. And it's really, it says, I think one of the worst thing in the city in this experience of living Fehervar is the public transport. It's really bad. (R20)

It's all good. But obviously too much concrete. Yeah, the park is close Varosliget to get but I mean, kind of living by but I like it like you can find everything. In sixth. I meanpretty affordable places. This is easy, got nearly five for the market. For my dog, I can cycle, it is safe. The only problem is when the tourist was here. It was so loud like nights. Because there's so many Airbnb, obviously. Yeah, but I still, wouldn't I still not at this stage moving to Buda, in some calm area not yet. (R21)

Building that we live in It's a bit weird, even if, so it's the building is built in last five years, I think. And I think that is owned by a foreigner. Even though that's irrelevant, that we did encounter some problems with electricity, for example, you know, those switches have electricity, when when the voltage is too high, then the switch comes down. So for example, if we cook three things, or even sometimes two things at once, that switch will go off and we will lose electricity in the whole apartment until we go outside and change it. So that's one part that's a bit and the rest is okay. (R13)

I've noticed that there are a lot of pharmacies around us, I think that is because Semmelweis is close, but there are really pharmacies everywhere. And it's nice to have pharmacies everywhere (laugs). There a lot of of stores. I can say anything bad about stores, even the public transportation. So I haven't lived in a lot of I mean, I just lived in [home country] and here so I can just compare that but if I compare Zagreb public transport and Budapest is much, much more developed. I when I lived in Zagreb, I was really frustrated with the public transport, but here, it's like, it's fast, it's going and the trams are new. The Metro it's, it's somehow at some point, I wouldn't say that it's not even expensive. So I'm happy with with the public transportation. Parks. Yeah, there are parks. It's, I don't really look for or go

after parks. But it's, it's nice that there are a lot of smaller parks in the city center. So that's, that's okay. (R13)

Well, up until 'Hosok tere' (note: she means 'Ors vezer tere' from the city center. after that, it's not so there, there are plenty of buses and stuff going around, obviously, like in everywhere in Budapest. But for me, it's interesting that my job is actually on the other side of the city. Near 'Lagymanyosi hid' which for me is like, really quite a distance. But from 'Ors vezer ter' which is four and a half kilometers away from my home. That distance from my home to her visit here in time is the same as from her city all the way across the city with the metro. So that's what I feel a lot when people are visiting me that they're hesitant, because of the dependent public transportation that happy to take the metro. And then after you were to go, Okay, then now another half an hour, half an hour for four and a half kilometers. And that's the pain piece I think in this piece. So I have a car, no problem. (R15)

# Safety

Well, I haven't really experienced anything bad yet. Thanks, God (R22)

You feel really safe (R1)

For me, it's fine I haven't had any issues here. I mean, before this, I was in the8th district. But it wasn't the main, like, on the Jozsef korut, like on the main tram line 4-6. I hadn't, I didn't have an issue that issue actually even before like, I was going back home, like three 4am in the morning. Before all I mean, before the lockdown, and all I know its fine. (R16)

Well 50-50, but safety is I mean we're in Budapest nothing happens honestly I mean it's true that there is this weird atmosphere like there is someone screaming out or some some like but I would say the normalyy Budapest is super safe never seen like okay maybe got stolen my bike but not says I mean Budapest is super safe as it's very I think I've never seen from my eyes someone pickpocket at all push the scream then in three years I say that's very Parisian. sentence but it's a very so it's pretty safe that a bit like okay like yeah, that's just true that you have some some annoying people asking me something but it's not let's say I consider it say (R2)

It's very safe, very safe. (R18)

I think I'm, I'm safe, fortunately in hungary. I mean, you know, the situation here, like, you know, the quality of people, but I am an Arab and usually people don't like to mess with us. So for me it is safe. I mean, this is the reality I'm so but for example, for a girl, I don't think it is very, very, very, very safe to be out, like in Harminckettesek tere. And this dirty streets after like 10 I don't think it's very safe. But for me, I don't care. I go wherever I want. That's fine. (R5)

Because of all our environment, it's quite safe. (R10)

Well, for me, it's, I never felt any. unsafe, but I'm also, you know, 190 men, for 80 plus kilos. So I don't think it's, it's also relatable that you can ask a girl a different question. It might feel different. But for me, I never I never felt any, any type of insecurity or anything. (R6)

Well, security I would say (R16)

Oh, I love it because it's very residential. It's very safe and quiet. (R14)

Safety of all of Budapest for me is really pretty decent compared to other places I've lived like it, for instance, even London or Cape Town, South Africa, like Hungary, there was a stabbing last summer and that made national headlines for like two months. And in you know, in America, there's like 300 shootings a week. So it's a relatively safe for the most part, and specifically also the first district. I don't know, I've never experienced anything that would cause any sort of alarm here. (R8)

I would say pretty much safe, but because the fact that it's it's not a popular area. If If I would walk around at midnight, for example, and I would need help, nobody would come to help me. Because Yeah, because it's a pretty quiet area. You cannot expect these things. But I would not say it's dangerous as such. (R19)

I would say it's a very safe and sound place. I can go and come at any point of the time so I do not have to think if I come in late at night like one or 2am I do not have to think twice to walk on the streets (R23)

Very safe, I leave my I leave my car unlocked all the time. By parking in front of my house. Everything is unlocked. I when I go out for walking the dog I leave the door open. I there's no there's no at all issue at all in the area in the little area that I live, which is not a gated community but it's kind of a very well-off area. of so it's not an old Uromis one of the newest part and extremely, extremely secure (R4)

And while I'm not a girl, so I don't, I can feel very safe. In every part. And in every in every hour. I never had like issues. And in general, it's it's not a bad area But if I had a choice I would it was probably was living in in a different area. (R7)

Wonderful. This is for me really big. Good point for Hungary. There is no insecurity when I was or when I am in Paris, for instance, or in Brussels or in London, I'm able to make plus 10 kilometer by foot in order to avoid certain neighborhood wwell known to be really risky. in Budapest I never felt incomfortable about the security. Well, for instance, in Paris, everybody will say never go to night bus, you're going to die. Don't do it. People will give you 20 euros in order to get to cab in order to avoid you to take a night bus. Even in London, it's quite the same, you know. In Brussel the same, but in Hungary, you know, it's very easy. (R3)

And so even the community, I would say it's the people here are more family oriented. So single families living young couples less, and the old people like yeah, very grounded nice people. And here, you won't see any kind, problematic people here at all. And here, you won't see any kind, problematic people here at all. But in downt, yoownu would see that, but here you won't see any like you, won't you I never saw someone being drunk on the street and these kinds of things there. (R9)

I would say it's pretty much safe. I could walk say that I could walk at 3am the street over myself drunk and nothing would happen to me. And I did that. So I think nothing happened (laughs) (R20)

It is safe (R21), Its safe here for sure (R21)

I don't know it's a people say that it's dangerous to live here though. We live in next to Corvin Plaza. So it's not really the inner part of it. But yet people say that it's dangerous, that it's shady that there are a lot of illegal things going on. And also the I don't know the type of people that you will encounter. It's I think that I mean, it is a fact that maybe in eighth district there is a lower standard of maybe income. Then, for example, in fifth district, which is a central one, or I don't know, but compared to seven or nine, it seems there somewhere, it's almost the same. But I think it's safe. I mean, I've never had any problems. And no, yeah, I will talk about myself (laugs), I never had any problems. So I feel I feel safe. Maybe if I go a bit further into the district, sometimes I wouldn't go there by myself at night. Just because of the perception of the danger. I don't know if I would be really in danger. But here in this in this border part of 8<sup>th</sup> district, it's I think it's completely safe even at night. And even if I'm by myself. (R13)

Hungary is a peaceful country. There is very little disturbance here on any level of or any kind. There is no very much political disturbance. There is no crime is on very lowly rate. Natural disasters of any kind literally don't exist. Yeah, I was joking to my, with my wife, that even Corona is going around us but didn't really go around us. But in all seriousness, Hungary's really great place to live. Because people are not overly confrontational here. They tend to, you know, just let it go or not get into conflict or confrontation like my people down there in [home country]. They're born for those things. Natural Disasters don't exist in this place. Every now and then, like every 10-15 years, there was a little bit of flood and that's it (R12)

Safety is on actually high level that is very, very little crime. And even when it happens is not it's not major, major incident, every decade or so. That is a major incident like murder or or kidnapping was similar thing, but that's very rare. And that happens a lot more often than in many other than in other places then in [countryside city]. Yeah, it's very safe to the point that I have no problems letting my 12 year old walking back and forth in the dusk without issues. (R12)

I've luckily never felt scared at all. I'm not a very brave person I might appear for a lot of people appear to be but I'm actually I do get nervous when I'm alone. And I started hearing people especially when they've been drinking so I do get nervous. But I just never came across to it a lot. So even in my district especially and also I've never heard or felt any uncomfortable issues here. But even when I was working on that sightseeing boat, and then I finished around 11 -11.30 in the evening, I felt safe. I lived also in the sixth district or the eighth district which is in the middle of the city center and even there I just felt safe always I could walk around simply because you're not you're not alone isn't just you with someone else had the same feeling when I was in Amsterdam there just always a bunch of people around. So I never I never felt uncomfortable. No. (R15)

Oh, you know, I've grown up in Bangkok. (laugsh) If yousurvive back home, you can survive everywhere you, if you when you say Bangkok, you know you're thinking Oh, yeah, like, you know, like Bangkok dangerous movie hangover. I never seen anybody making Budapest the film.. Yeah, so actually, Budapest is fine.I Don't say that, like everywhere is safe. You know. I mean, because it just depends. If you put yourself into anywhere if you want to put yourself into the dangerous place. There's a lot of chance. (R17)

Quite secure place (R3)

As far as I could see it safe. I didn't feel threatened. I didn't feel rejected. But you have to keep in mind that I I lived here since I lived here since last March when the curfew started (R11)

The safety, Yeah, it's like, yeah, it's very secure place, I would say, even the downtown too like, I never had an issue with security. The things that I heard from my friends could be about 8th district or region like that. But apart from that, now, I would say Budapest is one of the safest city according to my opinion, coming around late night after parting , by foot and these kind of things. So now we're had an issue. Yeah, you can see some people out there just need to be wiser on that. never had an issue around security. So yeah, that is one of the reason I'm still in Budapest. (R9)

# Engage with the community

So for example, there was a mentor program. In our university, I was part of it. (R11)

So my theme of the farmhouse is something like Hungarian, with their dresses with their traditions, specifically. But when I talk to Hungarians about these tradition, even they don't know sometimes (R10)

So we were I live there is a very, very nice, erdo. and full of rubbish, sometimes, you know, mountain path. So with few people in the community, we have a Facebook group of the place where I live in Urom. So we are We organized pick up rubbish from every month so sometimes we meet there and with the plastic bags, and we collect rubbish. (R4)

I serve from time to time as ideiglenes befogado for those animals in trouble, who need temporary accommodation, I'm cooperating with one of the animal rights little organizations, help them from time to time and help them to find the new owners for the cats. Sometimes, again, before the pandemic, I even delivered myself the cats for instance, in Germany. Yeah, that's how I participate in social life a little bit, you know, to reduce the amount of stray animals on the streets of Budapest. (R18)

We had this volunteering from the college which used to happen in different districts of the university. So I used to register for that. But I didn't do particularly for the ninth district. I do remember they have all this cooking and giving to other people and stuff on the weekends. But since I'm a vegetarian, I wouldn't be comfortable, you know, cooking the meat. And so that was one thing why I didn't do that. (R23)

They offered me a position in Prague. But yeah, I like Prague. I've been there. And I've been open to that too.. But evaluating all the other factors and how I have the community around me in Budapest, I chose to stay here. (R9)

I'm not very religious. But still, I have that faith part that plays in my life. And I go to the church, and I have a community there. And regardless of color, regardless of breed, regardless of where you comes from, it's like a platform where the people are known by one name. So that been very helpful to build to Yeah, I never been very religious. But I had a strong teaching. So my parents, yeah, because yeah, we were living in a hard society, hard cultural society. So they taught us a lot about that particular subject, too. And that helped me a lot in leading the discussions there. And, yeah, I got the respect of people based on the knowledge I have about different religions, and Christianity and Judaism too. And I got accepted in that community very quickly. So I would say that would be one of the highlight, you know, like, I've been traveling 1000s of miles, and I find some community accept me as I am, you know. (R9)

I just wanted to donate blood once. And I couldn't. So I made. That was that was one of the examples Why, why the why why certain institutions are not working. So for example, one person needed my type of blood specifically for the operation, it was a pretty important situation. And I registered to the website of the Red Cross, which was in English. So you can register in English, you can put all the data reserve the slot, but it's not written anywhere on the website that you can't go there without a person that speaks Hungarian, which is also something that makes sense, but I didn't think of it and I normally didn't have a person that speaks Hungarian with me. And they just said, No, you can't donate blood. And the whole process just, you know, I had to give up because I didn't have someone that speaks Hungarian with me on the spot. Even phone communication wasn't accepted, acceptable. So it was something like if you already made a whole website in English, and people can register in English, at least write somewhere, please bring someone that speaks Hungarian to this part because you won't be able to give blood if there is no Hungarian person with you. So yeah, just that but otherwise, no. I never had any problems here so far. So it's good. (R13)

I bring pizza to the homeless there so they know me they know my face. (R17)

But I found out everything that I have to deal with the Hungarian authorities here, or the health care systems, or even when I went donate my blood you know, it's like a donating but it's like Red Cross, but it's not Red Cross. Need need a translator. Because they don't. It's not like they don't care. But they need somebody that can translate everything. Make sure that I know, you know. (R17)

Well, I wanted to but I'd say to be different. I wants to volunteer with, with dogs, like in dog shelter. But I understood there is nothing on the city center. And when I checked in Google how to get there, it's like one and a half hours, at least each directions. So I decided to not doing it right now. But if the if there is something that I really want to volunteer, it's with the with dogs. (R7)

It's like a Jewish organization, like [home country]i Jewish organization that like, their goal is to help every Jewish in every every country in the in the world. So they have like, someone that is, let's say he's like in charge of the students. And I'm, I'm got I got friends with this guy so I usually go to his house to have like Shabbat dinners and stuff. And then I see the students but but they're like, you know, they have their own world with their own medical stuff. And so it's it's not really like socializing too, too much, I would say (R7)

### **Openness of residents**

It's a hard question. Like if you're talking about racism or stuff, I never like I'm Jewish, and I didn't get any, anything racist. But in general, I think I get a lot of looks like I don't say I wouldn't say mean looks but not friendly looks when I reminding the fact that I'm a foreigner. So I think that you need to divide it like to younger people that are more open and more like socializing. And to the more older people that I don't maybe if something still left from the communist era or something that they're they like just don't like anything that is I don't know, he's not hungarian or, or something. But in general, I think Well, again, it depends on the age, in my opinion. Because more most of the younger ones, I think they're okay with the, with the foreigner, (R7)

Depends the young generation. Yeah, it is but couldn't be sometime you have like some event that could describe you know, that, like, not like a verbal or physical abuse, but somehow you can sense that you know, that somebody is not really comfortable around you. Maybe that could be just because of the language, maybe just because of that closeness of culture. And that could be because of the media. That could be anything but yeah, you can sense it at some stages, but it's not something very extreme. (R9)

I think Yeah, like, like I never have, like I see some friends of mine face some issues here and there. But I haven't like I left the places wherever I lived I never had an issue. I lived in very, very Hungarian centered societies to right now I'm living in the first district, which is behind

the castle. So the place of appart5ment that I live in, I hardly see any foreigner it's more like local community around. So I never had an issue when I was in downtown in fifth district or sixth district when I lived there. They were very used to foreigners or like, because most of the apartments could be Airbnb, or many foreigners going here and there. So yeah, I think people are very used to expats. (R9)

I would say that. Maybe it's the it could be the color. To be honest. It could be like people are not used to that. And not very diversified in some of the region in Hungary, so but like capital, Budapest, I would say it's very diversity of diversified but when you go outside that it will get noticed and you will be pinpointed (R9)

I'm a foreigner. But for example, the refugees also fuoreigner. So that's what something that my previous landlord told me that this immigration, I am an immigrant here. So at he said, he said like no no for us No problem, you are not a problem for us. So I would say it depends for me, I was ever treated with respect. And many times I was like, treated as a Hungarian people started talking to me in Hungarian, and then was like ' Bocsanat, nem beszelek magyarul', And they were like, Oh, okay. Sorry. So I never had the problem being a foreigner. And I think that many times they think that I am Hungarian or even European, so many people don't tell me that I am [home country]ian. (R20)

Not that is not that are not welcome. But people would look different towards them. And, sadly, and another, very sensitive topic, this would be place it with racism. There are two black [home country]ians that lived here. Both of them suffered racist injuries. And one of them what he was really famous, he was a football player. And once I heard from a man like, Oh, he's a really good player, but it's a pity that he's black. So heard is for like, for person here. Like, Oh, wow. So, so that's why I think that my experience is not bad. Because Sadly, this is a big thing here. I am white. So they did not think that I am I could be dangerous, or I could be anything. But for example, this other friend is uh, she, she, if you look her You don't say She's dangerous at all. But she was like near a car, and the woman starts shouting the middle of the street, just because she was standing by her car. But she was waiting for her other friends. So and again, I never had any problems they had. (R20)

Here, immigration is not quite a thing, like, people are not really informed or concerned. If they're interested, they want to know you. But most of the time, they don't even care. Like you're just a tourist, like everyday Still, if I speak English, somewhere, I'm a tourist, I also don't really think I can be part of the society. This is the difference. But it's changing. Obviously, I can say like, in six years, I definitely experienced the difference. Like in the beginning, it was more of a closed, country. And times changing. There's so many expats. So I think we're getting used to different people. (R21)

Yeah, I mean, like I never had one single racist or ethnic comment. So I think they know that our international expats they love me. They never questioned me so far. (R21)

I think yes. Because I have a feeling that a lot of foreigners do live in a district 8 I mean, even in the street, I see a lot of foreigners especially in this area, this this inner area around Corvin I think every third person on the street is a foreigner so. (R13)

No, I don't think so. I I see a lot of similarity between Hungarians and Croats and it's the same Similar mentality, where If you look like me, then you're okay. But if you look a bit different than you're not if you're, I don't know, black or Asian or Roma, then you're it's it's not good. I think I have a feeling I wouldn't say everyone is the whole nation in general is is. I don't know hate foreigners, but there are some people that that maybe older people that are not used to seeing other races or other nationalities. Yeah. (R13)

I do see sometimes people I don't know, treating, for example, black people differently. And I wouldn't say worse, but just differently just because they are not used to maybe seeing in the tram, they are stopping black people, and then, you know, saying 2pac forever, or something like that. It's not. It's not something that that can necessarily insult a person. But it's, it's still, you know, you put an individual outside of the whole tram, and you know, you're talking to that person just because that person is black, for example. Yeah. (R13)

I would say yes, they really residents have no problems with being somebody being foreigner, on short, on short, for a short period of time. And because as I said, language barrier is the major part of it. 90% of things are based on communication, so they can't really communicate. So it's difficult to determine whether it's socially accepting you, or they're just being polite. So but yeah, they, they, they are accepting people without problems. As long as they communicate, you can communicate with them. (R12)

I've never faced any issue as a [home country nationals] throughout the years I have noticed throughout the years the difference of you know if you're that sort or not, it kind of makes a difference. But I've never experienced anything negative I did get a recommendation all those years ago to to tell them that I'm from the [home country] because then I had an option of speaking either English or German. So no, no, no, no, don't speak German because if they think you're German you can I have a worse treatment. And if if you're [home country nationals] that again, why is that a second world war as Okay, that one actually tried it back into 20 years ago, 25 years 25 years ago actually tried it because I was curious. And I noticed the difference there lake Balaton especially the Germans weren't too popular. I think okay, so I made a habit of always saying that I'm from the [home country]. I don't feel ever and I don't hear it from others either at least from not from my [home country nationals] friends that there's any negative feel towards foreigners, especially not from the [home country]. (R15)

It does make a difference where you're from. Yeah, it does. You don't see people a lot who are dark skinned. I hear that in the city center. I don't hear so many comments of it here is to see to see people stare because it's rather rare. I hear comments about whether someone is homosexual or not. That's not commonly accepted either. I have friends, some homosexual friends as well. For me living proof that they have to be careful because they felt they don't feel safe s that they don't have that impression that they are safe. So the fact that you need

those pride parades in order to prove a point. And then there are so many debates about whether that's right or wrong or what your belief is is definitely something.g here the Roma the Gypsy, we can see that there enough popular people are more scared to call it as a down district if you have many of them living in your area. I've always wondered what the opinion is about the Chinese because I see many of Chinese people are having little shops, but I can't see or hear any positive nor negative, but it makes a difference. Yes, your religion Muslim makes a difference as well. So you can hear whether people are comfortable or not. (R15)

Okay, as you say a lot People very close mind here Yeah. And that is due to the history due to like, you know, environments and stuff, the way that they brought up by the parents. But I found that a lot of young Hungarians here that the the difference I have quite a few of Hungarian friends that I get along with the .. that willing to, to meet me that they're willing to, like, talk to me and help out. (R17)

Well, you know, like if like, since COVID thing we have like something weird with the Asian people. Yeah, I have sometimes I have some kids moking around or even stalking actually me on the bus and the stuff or bullying a little bit but I kind of deal with that situation very good now. Nananana (it does not influence respondent's stay), Because I've got this in New Zealand, Australia, too. Usually in Australia and New Zealand is worse actually over there. I got stoned people's stoned. : kkk and kkk in America and Australia happened for maybe for God knows how many years right. But here, they don't have it. No here. But it just people that listen to something or some news. Right. And that only progress is good. (R17)

I don't know. I didn't know. I didn't know my neighbors. So I never had issues with them (R7)

If I'm talking like I don't know, in English or Hebrew, and I know some guys looking past me on the street, and he's like, like this, doing like some things like this with a face or I don't know, if we're foreigners, are we talking louder. In a lot of a lot of places in the supermarkets, it can be in bars, it can be in the streets. I know all those places. (R7)

Skin color. I don't know. Really. I don't know. I don't know if I was a black African people. You know, I don't know if the behavior of the people will be the same or not. (R3)

So people were were friendly, no problem about that (R3)

I don't know. How will people perceive giving their house to me because I don't know, while I was staying, but finding apartments here a lot of people were like, hesitant to give it to me because I was [home country]n because I was a student or because I didn't speak their language. So I understand that I don't speak Hungarian but the other ones I I was I was hard to hear that vibe, would you not get someone just because you're a student. Like, I do not understand you easily, but everyone is different (R23) Is I do not have it the drunk people and it's just you know, they know that I mean get in with the face so they start shouting I don't know what they shout but they do shout something with [home country]n names. (R23)

I think Yeah, because every apartment I looked in this area was very much dealt with friendly. Welcome. Yeah I would say that. (R23)

I wouldn't say totally, but you know, that there are still a little bit of people which are in feel they're against or do not feel comfortable or not, let's not use against it would be super a strong thing, but I think they do not feel comfortable when they see or hear this. But there another kind of people which are perfectly fine. So for example, there are a few people in the stores who do not like if I speak in English and if I ask for something, you know, you just know how they respond. They do not say anything, they do not look at you and just look at you with the angry face and stuff. Also in the apartment, which I live, my owner is super friendly, like he, he has never issue he speaks in German to me and he tries to speak in German, and I somehow understand it. So it's like this is how we communicate and the daughter of my owner handles everything. But they never had a problem with me or my other flatmate. But the person who not owns but who regulates this building systems like the cleaning staff and others, he is super I don't know arrogant. Like I have said hi to him while I'm passing, he will not say he will not look at me. he wants to control with who leaves and goes into my home, which is super freaky for me because he were just doing it because I'm not Hungarian, you're just like, keeping an eye on me. Who goes and who comes in everyone is like, you know, you do not come feel comfortable coming into your apartment because these things happen (R23)

How people treat me even staying in the apartment or going outside, or how they're treating when I'm using their services, which are very basic thing in any way is like, if I asked you like, Can I have one coffee and you get super hyper on it and just did not feel that that's a good thing. So yeah, I think just those experiences. (R23)

Very difficult to judge because my neighbors from the right door they're from Romania and neigbours from next door are from [home country] next door Chinese girls. So it's very difficult to say how they open for foreigners because they are foreigners themselves. But there is a nice old lady from the second floor here in the building gizella neni was home from time to time. We have a chat me in my average Hungarian and she is trying to speak [home country]n because she lived in [home country] for some time. We also she is very open and she always said that there is only one God in thr sky above. So she seems very open and very good hearted lady though she's in her 80s. Yes. (R18)

There is like tendency, the more educated people are, the more they're open, the less they are prejudiced. Unfortunately, people who are from let's put it like that, from the less fortunate backgrounds with lower education, probably low income, they despise foreigners. Sometimes they even accuse me or for instance, my friends that will come to steal their jobs, though we don't have any cross section in our employment, so But anyway, so yeah, sometimes it

happens. The cashiers in the local store, they might not be happy with you. And they might be suspicious that you might steal something well, but it happens everywhere. It's not exactly Hungarian feature. So it happens everywhere. I've been in Germany, I've been in the UK. And now people are a little bit aware of foreigners, that the less educated they are more, lets put it like that. (R18)

And at that time, my [home country]n friend called me, I picked up my mobile and I was speaking [home country]n. And there was a gang of young men who were already a bit tipsy, or a lot tipsy. They realized that I spoke [home country]n and then decided to blame everything on me, even for Trianon treaty. So one of them, sorry, he kicked me in my ass with his leg. So I just Well, I just moved away, it was only once you know, the drunk guys, they, they tend to be aggressive towards women. It's just, they will. At that time, they would say Oroszok haza. And one of them who spoke a little bit of English, he said that I'm responsible for everything starting from trianon to 56. I just moved away from the discussions, because yeah, so that was the most unpleasant incident was Ini hungary but it was 2005. That was long time ago. And never since. (R18)

Once and twice already happened to me it's a small market cashieryou know like hearing sentence like how is a foreigner again. on English again like I will have to explain him like so I had this Yeah, but it's happened like I had to use one of this automatic Kassza like thing and its beping and you don't know why and you hear that the service girl is like talking to colleagues like oh I foreingers again you know like a lot of this rhinos again I will have to explain the basic like when you feel that they have like in these foreigners they're surrounded by foreigners that don't speak the language. They have to deal with it basically every day where I am because it's true that there is a huge immigration here. And but they're not always welcome with it. Yeah (R2)

You're like start to say I'm sorry I'm not understanding once they asked me like I don't remember they'd like question but like you know like Then why are you here. Like I went to this to the local health service center and I said like I'm sorry not and Why aren't you in your country you know like and I'm here I don't speak Hungarian and sorry and I can't but then why are you here using our healtchare you know okay well come I think I paid into your more taxes that you will in your life but that's you know i mean that does sentence I would say but sometimes you'll have to think it's like okay, I'm not like a lost tourist or I'm not something I'm here I pay my taxes I'm living here so I'm not yet it's still... (R2)

Well, I think Yeah. Honestly, I would think that not because this is kind of what everybody's saying in Hungary but I have never been a witness myself of someone pushed back or molested for being so I have no I've ever seen. I know, I know that that my downstairs neighbor is from Arabic region and I never witnessed myself. Someone I know that this is this is what he said, I know that this what the political analysts talk about the local government and also the sixth district government and then everything but I never seen it. Never seen it myself. So I'm not totally sure. I mean, I guess it's right, but I never I never

had it's probably yes, I'm, I'm how to mentioned. I'm the good immigration, so. Yeah, but I never, I've never seen this. (R2)

everybody is really nice even when they realize that I'm a foreigner, they are still really nice. So for I think for them, it's nice enough that a foreigner is is doing its best to speak their language when when they are, I don't know, buying something, I could just go to the supermarket and speak in English but I would prefer to speak in your language, so they can easily understand that I'm a Hungarian I'm not a Hungarian from from my accent or from I don't know, from the way I talk, but they are still being nice. Really nice. So yeah, I didn't find any I don't have any bad experiences here. There were times when when I kind of had some encounters I can say, like contacts but encounters with people like Gypsy people who are drunk and out on the streets and trying to, to, I don't know, ask me for money or things like that. But still, this is something you can find everywhere (R22)

But, yeah, I think people in Hungary are getting used to seeing foreigners, especially students. So I don't, I can't be very sure how people are feeling about illegal illegal immigrants. But again, I was a student here, and every person who every Hungarian person with whom I, I got to talk, I could see that as soon as I tell them that I came here to study, they see me now in a different way. So they, they look at me as a as a, I don't know, as an intellectual person or intellect or someone who is educated and someone who is not here to use their their resources and to to stay in there Hungary to benefit from their, their, their rights, you know, so I think they see Hungarians in general see students and people who are here to work in a different way than immigrants. But again, in my area in my district, I haven't experienced anything bad. (R22)

Yeah. So what was most important for me as a foreigner is to feel as much home as possible, not to feeling stressed because of the community. So I didn't feel stressed, I didn't feel rejected by the community. The guys around me, my colleagues, my fellow PhD students, my supervisor, the whole department. 99.9% of them were Hungarians, we are very few foreigners in, in my department, at least. But I never felt that I am isolated. Because I am a foreigner, or because I don't speak Hungarian, or because I am [home country]n and or whatever. I was always feeling from day one that I am really welcomed here. Okay, I tried to be nice, I tried to follow the rules. That's, that's normal, because I am here as a foreigner, so I have to obey the rules, whether I like it or not. The other reason is that the community itself was better than I expected. People here, that's my opinion, as a foreigner, people here are kind, they really try to help, although most of them whom I met outside the university don't speak good English, but they really were eager to help. Where I rented, where I spend some of my time, my leisure activities, blah, blah, most of the people were really kind. And after getting into the basics with the Hungarian language, I guess, you know, how hard it is, I could express myself a little bit better, and they were much more interested in having a conversation, (R11)

To be honest, relatively not. So if you if you say, from one percentage, I can say 60% of Hungarians are not open and 40 are open. Why. Again, in my small experience, basically, it's

for because of the language. I could see and feel that some of my Hungarian colleagues who are who were PhD students like me, did not interact with me enough. Not because they don't like me, not because of my background, religion, origin, blah, blah. No was mainly because of the language, they were afraid, or they had in mind somehow, that I cannot be good enough in English like him. (R11)

Yes, I saw that some Hungarians are closed. Maybe by my means of ethnicity or religion. I don't know. But I always told myself that which community isn't. Where can you find a community that 100% of people in that community are open. I think there is no, even in the best part of the the galaxy, which in my in my, in my own estimation, which is the Scandinavian part. So even though they there you can find, I guess, some people who are a little bit closed to their community, and I always try to put myself in the situation, what if I am living back there in [home country]. And some Hungarian guy or lady start trying to make in close connection with me. Would I be really open with him. Or maybe I will ask myself some questions or ask him or her some questions. So I can understand this. (R11)

I have veggies and fruits for next to the in the corner and the lady is Very nice. But then I have a prima also kind of near. And sometimes, they are like not so nice. When they speak something in Hungarian and then so they kind of like to like not they don't smile. You know. But I think the maybe it's not. It's not because they're like kind of mad. It's only because they they don't smile with [home country]an people smile all time. Like me (R24) I can't say now because I think it's too early to say that. Like, for example, I want to leave because people not nice. Um, but yes, I think at some point will affect my life. (R24)

I think so. Absolutely. Absolutely Open. Obviously, t is different, kind of you're different people with different background. Older people might have more prejudice than young, younger people, young people might speak different languages with older peopleNo, but in general, if I, if I would say, I never seen any issue and never encounter any issues. Why I assume everybody's okay with it. (R4)

People have changed., not towards foreigners, because I don't think it is foreigner, but towards each others. So when I, it happens to me many times, like when I go shopping, or when I go somewhere, I noticed that people are rude to each other. Okay, like, for example, you're somebody who's rude to the, to the cashier, the supermarket is rude to the waiter, waiter at the restaurant, or even there and I cannot stand these things. So this is something and I've actually had friends with problems with this, as well. And my wife also thinks the same that there's something in this country sometimes that people are so the word I always use bunko. Okay, I don't know what kind of parASZT I don't know what kind of word we can use in English. But there's a high number of these people in this country. I don't know, you know, percentage wise is higher than other countries. But I have never experienced any of this in the UK or any of the 50-60 countries that I visited in my life. Only here. And this is this is bothering more is bothering me more and more and more. And also my my my wife also.(R4)

So when I came here being somebody of color, I saw a lot of stares I maybe it's just in my head. My boyfriend does not agree with this. He says now it's just me thinking like that, but I've spoken to other colleagues of color and they have also seen this this is something that bothers me sometimes (R19)

And when you when you you cannot really converse with them in Hungarian sometimes they're a little hostile. Yeah, and when when I recently came here I felt people were very cold or maybe it's just a it's just their style. But people were very cold so I do not really see myself bonding with people here be it simple simple things like at the at the local bakery you go to to buy sweets, etc. Things like this bother me. (R19)

Oh, regularly I usually shop at Spar, but the staff is mostly Hungarian, mostly middle aged women. And I have things like loyalty cards, etc. I like collecting them. And I know how to use them because you can find translating options on internet. But if you would have questions, or you would not understand anything simple things like them asking you, if you want a bag or something like that, obviously, they see you're a foreigner, obviously, you don't speak the language, but they would still go about and speak to me in that language. And when I would look at their face, they would be like, so irritated. (R19)

Also, most of the landlords are Hungarian. So so they are not really welcome to the idea of dealing with a foreigner to get this flat. It was very difficult. We saw over 100 flats before finding somebody who would be okay with a foreigner living in their property (R19)

In the areas, for example, where I live, which is more traditional, more close knit, it's it's more Hungarian people, and they don't really want to mingle. But in other areas also have seen that you could be walking on the street with I don't know what, but they people don't really care. They don't really want to forge relationships. (R19)

I would say depends where you are going. But I will. To be fair, let's say 50%. (open) (R19)

Not really just just for example, if you are in that in a tram, and the tram is full of white people, sorry, sorry for the expression. You would just sit there and I would just be minding my own business, I would pop up my head, and I would see people staring at me, it's not really comfortable. For whatever reason they were staring is not really comfortable. The area where I live in, I would say from the supermarket to go into the park, etc. I am the only person of color. So yeah. (R19)

And I will I will add that people here are more xenophobic concentration Budapest is not a critic. xenophobic doesn't mean old style. It means that they are cold and rest a bit. In defensive with foreigners (R1)

You have also some very simpatico people. But in proportion, it's the rare thing to meet people who are curious and interested. We're both interested about me because I'm a foreigner. Most of people just don't want to bother. (R1)

We hear some things about racism on Hungarian and I think it's wrong because I have a few black and Arabic friends here. One are our big friends, which he treats way he looks likearabic because he is a really Brown, so you cannot confuse him with white people. He really doesn't look like a European type one. And he has actually no problem. At all because he managed to be appreciated by every locals. So when we go together to buy something at the Coop, I see that if we look hunagrian, people recognize him. And they really appreciate him, even if he didn't make the effort to learn Hungarian. So he is really well integrated and there is no problem of racism against him. So I would say that hunagrian are more defensive than [home country nationals] people. But there is no fundamental difference after with the acceptance in general. So maybe on a first approach, there are more cold, it takes more effort to break the ice at the end Hungarians we cannot find my English word. At the end, it doesn't make difference. And they are very welcoming. I was searching for this for welcoming. (R1)

The mentality of Hungarians is not a problm, because they are a bit cold people, but I am also cold person. So I think there is a compatibility with this. (R1)

Um, I personally never experienced anything. I mean, I feel like we're just living here anyways, it was never a problem, you know, I didn't have any issue with anyone. So I'm not sure about them being open to others. (R16)

I just hate the fact that there are so many homeless people outside in this street because you wouldn't see such a thing in Arab countries, because people try to help each other a lot. But here is just, it's so terrible to see this huge number here in a capital city, which is like a major destination and the face of the country, basically. And I think it's like somehow, like this in most of Europe (R16)

Some people tend to be open. (R16)

It's easy to break the ice because it's already sort of this unique attraction that I can speak a little bit of Hungarian. So now it's an initial conversation starter in a bar or in a park or really anywhere and then that becomes a conduit towards Hungarian people (R8)

Yes and no, yes and no, for sure. Sometimes I think Hungarians get this stereotype of being a little bit introverted. And that can be I think, a linguistic barrier, maybe not as comfortable. But then you have this other layer where like, once you break that, or you're introduced to them by someone like you pass that initial approval, for instance, the people that I met through [girlfriend] Originally, it was as welcoming as I've experienced anywhere. And I think there is a tradition of hospitality in hungary, that sometimes gets overlooked, because maybe it doesn't have the best reputation for customer service, but say, but in terms of personal relationships, very welcoming. I think it also depends what kind of foreigner you are, you know, I'm a white male from America, which, for better or for worse, people feel more comfortable with then perhaps a Palestinian girl or so I don't, you know, that's not me talking. But that's what I perceive to be the case, particularly in a place like Hungary, which

has had a lot of media about the border crisis and the migrant surge, and even historically, a phobia of people from the Orient sometimes, but again, not everyone, you have a lot of Hungarians, that couldn't be more welcoming. So yeah, it's it's really a mix. But then again, Budapest is such an international city, that I would say on the whole, you kind of don't really have a choice. And I think most people, whether they would like to be or not have to be at least accommodating, if not the friendliest in the world. But then the Hungarians that are friendly, are like extra friendly. (R8)

If you asked me if Hungarians are racist. Yes, they are. (R6)

It depends. It really depends on the people you cannot generalize one person there are a lot of ideologies also in Hungary in Budapest, it's obviously a capital and multinational city so people it's a bit more used and open minded to see to see people foreigners around but there are people who is much more closed to foreigners or to other races or to differences than them i think you know that pretty well, I mean, just to see how his political political situation in Hungary but yeah, there is little bit of everything I can tell but I can see that there is what is pretty much everywhere, there are places where there is more tolerated and less worries less tolerated. (R6)

So I when I would say more positives in my in my in my days, because me I never felt any kind of issues or problems facing like that. Maybe sometimes what guy just asked me to speak in Hungarian and you know, because you're in Hungary or these kind of things, but nothing, nothing major issues, I'll send more advantage because you know, like, as a foreigner with people, there's always more curiosity, why did you end up in Hungary whatsoever, and they just want to hear your story and it's yours t.... To know girls love the foreigerns, there's somehow. So it is being a good advantage, let's say also to get more social life. (R6)

Yes, I really liked the people in this district. And it actually changed my perspective of, or my experience with with Hungarians. A lot. So you would think that people may be doing annoying those city center or would be more welcoming And here I felt the opposite. You know, like, I felt like, Oh, my God, like people are really nice. Yeah. People like greets, you know, and they want to talk to you (R14)

Well, yes, I will say the reason being is approved because the initially when I was going to the shops here, people will hesitant to talk to me, or, initially, what I felt was like, unlike [home country] or Dubai, they were kind of like staring, you know, till I went out of the shop, they kept on looking at me. So initially, I felt like, okay, maybe they want to know more about me, this is why, they are looking at me, but then I like, felt like this is this has nothing to do with the respect or disrespect, basically, they just want to know, like, who you are. And then the aspect of the respect is, which is quite rarely, like, how will, should I be respected. Like, nobody comes up to me say anything bad to me. And they don't, I don't hear anything from other people talking bad about me. This is what the, what he call that the explanation of the respect would be for myself. So I don't have any sort of that problem. I feel like they're,

they do their do respect. And I don't think they like, because I don't speak Hungarian. I've never heard anybody talking bad about it. Or showing me some bad attitude. I've never experienced that. I heard a lot. In city center, I heard a lot that people are facing these things, but never seen it in person. (R10)

Well definitely, if you talk about the villages side, I see Turkish I see Arab style, the way they dress they cover themselves up the they cover the head too. So it is quite familiar with no doubt. If you talk about the city here, they are as social as it can get like because in Dubai also there are over 200 nationalities. So same I don't find anything different. Everybody's wearing like jeans, shirt. They don't bother about, like which religion you're from, or what sort of beliefs you have. They respect everybody. So yes, so this is what it is. I see villages very different (R10)

I'm the only dark person here in this whole districts. So so I don't know, maybe for that reason, they were not initially even my neighbors were like, okay, let's introduce ourselves. So when I used to tell them, I'm from [home country] and [home country], so Oh, yes. Because they have been to Dubai, most of them then I have Chinese people living in here. So they also used to mingle with me a little bit. Initially, they were a little bit hesitant, but now all of my neighbors almost everybody knows me. And we're like a family. So now I feel like very like within these years, and they even share their family things with me which I don't understand Hungarian but but you know, they try to explain me and especially the elderly people, they like they're really entertaining like they like grandparents here and they come with a case and you know, they sort of like they make Hungarian sweet dishes is they share with us very welcoming, unlike Dubai, because most of the time people come from different part of the world and then they go away. Here. This is not the case people live here. I think like since generations. So this is what they want everybody to feel like you know, like a part of them. This is what I made the differences. Yes. It is good. No doubt. (R10)

I also own a farmhouse over here in Holloko. side. And you wouldn't believe like, they are like a big family, even for the first day when I went over there. And I don't speak Hungarian, but a little bit, but they were treating me like a son. And I will like shocked like how can you. You know, I'm like, I look different. And how can we you so like friendly and like this. And they were like offering their Whatever they have, like, you know, fruits and vegetable in the side of the village. So it's a very good experience for me till now. (R10)

They are 100% familiar and they are okay with foreigners. Because it is like the party district a lot of tourists come to this district mainly. And even international students everybody likes to stay like me, I mean, around this district or in it. So probably most of the Hungarians living there are in contact direct contact with foreigners. So I think they are very, very okay with us. it depends like when we go further from the center, it will become like they are not used to us anymore. Like they are not used to the foreigners like everything near touristic places is very okay. But also with outside that will be like a little bit like you will feel like you are a foreigner and they are like that that's my point. (R5)

Yeah, I think the new generation is okay with us. They treat us fine. They don't have a problem with us. At least that what they show to us, but I don't trust it anyways. But the older generation, I think they still don't like us. And they showed that they don't like us, for example, in a supermarket or something they want smile for us. Not all of them, but it will happen (R5)

Even like in Hungary, expats group, I don't know if you, I think you're there. But like this, I mean, in every post, where there is some, somebody complaining or whatever, there will be like somebody who is like just popping out and just saying, Okay, leave this country and go to your country. That's like, why. So you could find such people everywhere. Yeah, but in my situation, like me as a person, I never never had like, very bad experience with any body, like, okay, maybe twice or three times in the tram or something, but it's okay. I mean, I can live with that. (R5)

Once now what came to my mind once I was like, in the tram 4-6 which crowded and I was standing near a chair and somebody was sitting there. And he just wanted to move away. So he just stand up. And he started insulting me. So I didn't understand. What is he saying. But somebody was near me. I mean, my girlfriend, ex girlfriend was there. And she was like, very angry. I was like, why you're angry. She was just, he was like, insulting us very bad. And I was like, What the fuck. You know. So this is one experience. I haven't like, it's not very nice, huh. (R5)

So the mother of my ex was putting my photo and her daughter photo on her phone. And once she was at work, and her colleague in a hospital, she saw the the profile, and she was like, oh, aren't you afraid of this person. She was like, Why. She was like, because he's arab. So this is not very nice. I mean, so it happens. I know it exists. But yeah, that's what we are living with. That's fine. I mean, we are okay. What can we do. It's everywhere, not only in Hungary. (R5)

And I like that somehow the people are, are being more open. I mean, the new generation i think is getting better, they are more open (R5)

# Migrants portrayal in media

But it just people that listen to something or some news. (R17)

I used to hear many negative things to, like, you know, people don't treat you well, and these sort of like in the news. But I don't know, somehow things are very different for me here (R10)

Depends the young generation. Yeah, it is but couldn't be sometime you have like some event that could describe you know, that, like, not like a verbal or physical abuse, but somehow you

can sense that you know, that somebody is not really comfortable around you. Maybe that could be just because of the language, maybe just because of that closeness of culture. And that could be because of the media. That could be anything but yeah, you can sense it at some stages, but it's not something very extreme. (R9)

I had different thinking of Hungary from the media from which from what I saw from what some people write, etc, from what some people are still writing, I guess you are familiar with this. Yes, there are still some obstacles, I cannot say no (R11)

But that's what I perceive to be the case, particularly in a place like Hungary, which has had a lot of media about the border crisis and the migrant surge, and even historically, a phobia of people from the Orient sometimes, but again, not everyone, you have a lot of Hungarians, that couldn't be more welcoming. (R8)

You know, this is something that I haven't experienced, because I don't watch watch Hungarian news at all, unfortunately. So this is something that when we are in a community of friends, and we are discussing stuffings, and then as a joke or something, you know, that comes up because that is because of the media because the media is portraying that image of certain region of the world, and the people coming from that region wouldn be perceived, like the way the media is portraying that. So that is part of the I won't say that's the first hand discussion, I would be biased. If I would say that, I would say that the secondary information that I've been talking about. (R9)

That all depends on mass media hysteria and political pressure. I do see people just for no reason, cursing, Roma gypsies for, you know how that goes. They they blaming for something that they didn't do, or it's not their fault, but just blame. They don't have problem with races, as long as they are not pressured by political factors and mass media to hate them. So that in the back of the head, they're constantly listening on radio and TV, the migrants, migrants, and when they see an Arab downtown in Tesco, which is, by the way, doctor in the local hospital, they are looking at them like, you know, migrants, that's just mass media hysteria. But other than that, they don't they don't have problems with foreigners, I don't think at least they do. Because they don't tell to me so. (laughs) (R12)

#### **Political situation in Hungary**

I am planning to stay here as long as the government does not fully turn into a dictatorship. So when I feel that my liberty, my freedom, it's been a bit contoured, then I think III move for the time being, I'm seeing I'm seeing that the path we are going is not what I would have wanted. But I really hope that that young people Hungarian people at the end with enough in numbers with elections and try to turn things around (R4)

I mean, just to see how his political political situation in Hungary (R6)

And I see that Fidesz lost Budapest townhall, so they had like an opposition as a mayor. So things are going, things are changing. But we see you can see that the propaganda here in Hungary is very strong. And the main think, the main the main topic during the election in 2018, was the anti immigration. So like a, again, like a George Soros his in everywhere in the world being like, called as the creator of the virus, and I could see I could see with my own eyes like propaganda posters against him. So and Orban was reelected. So I assume as it was his major ad advertisement, his major goal, I assume that the people that voted for him agree complies with his decisions. (R20)

I also benefit a lot from like a selfish perspective is like being a foreigner and a hungary is a lot better than I think growing up in Hungary sometimes because you don't you get to be a little bit more ignorant of some of the negative political situations and things of That nature whether I shouldn't be or not, I don't know. But I think it's inevitable that as a foreigner, you do get the skim over some of the less savory sides of life in Hungary that I hear about all the time and experienced perhaps peripherally, but I'm not as knowledgeable about them (R8)

I would say no (residents are not open to foreigners), I think I can I can talk about three different places where I spend time to experience and I think it's not, it's related to the fact that the vas megye supposed to have the strongest score for the fidesz. (R1)

So when I go out to work at 6am, at least I see the streets are clean. So people who were working with the government are doing their thing with a municipality or whatever. Now it's up to people then. (R16)

So I personally have a lot of friends from the LGBT community from [home country]. So I am very open to that. And while this is not a legal thing in [home country], but it is very popular and people are much freer to live, I would say. But here often I read things on the internet people narrating the experiences, which seem a little bit negative. And honestly, since I am here, I have not seen a queer person on the streets. I don't know if they hide or they don't manifest or things like that. I don't know. I have not seen and we've the constitution being amended to say something like this, I would say does not have any impact on my direct life. But it's not something I agree with. Because people should be free to live, especially in a country where tax is so high we pay social security and everything we have tax on everything. So so we should be free to live how we want. (R19)

I do not like the overall situation also it's a it's a Catholic country the Constitution is based on Catholic values for example recently the constitution was was modified to say that parents should be male and female which I did not like I thought it's a homophobic country. (R19)

Because when I was when I was when I arrived here, I was the minority foreginers we were the minority or so I will not even a foreigner somebody will call speaking will speak Hungarian that well. We will always treated nicely. We were always treated with respect. And so I don't feel any more yhis I feel that if many people don't speak Hungarian properly, they are laughed at by by Hungarians for being less than what they are and being rude to them and being aggressive to them. Especially I think, I think I noticed once to some Chinese people being being aggressive, aggressive to be someone else, were aggressive to some Chinese or Asian people because they couldn't speak Hungarian. That well and so on. So one thing I noticed this and and maybe we'll think thing that many people within my group of friends is because of the government putting this kind of message that migrants or people are not great Hungarians are not consider good enough to be here. unfortunately (R4)

We were talking about politics. And we, we couldn't go deeper on the topic. But it's always it's something that I always ask you Hungarian people in general, like, you complain a lot about the government, for example, and everything, but you are not doing something to change it in some point. So I understand because obviously, it's not easy. In my country, we are also kind of a similar situation. But I think the difference we are more open to show that we are not agree with the government. And we are like doing something like claiming (R24)

Someone I know that this is this is what he said, I know that this what the political analysts talk about the local government and also the sixth district government and then everything but I never never seen it. (R2)

Recently, I have noticed the increase the amount of propaganda, which is from the governmental side, which I wouldn't say too healthy. I went away from this in [home country], because probably, you know that in my home country. Now, there is a big tendency to blame everything on the foreigners or whatever happens in the country. The foreigners are guilty. So our politicians are saints and they work a lot. And of course, its always the United States of America or Brussels, which are, I don't know. So whatever happens, these are theforeigners. COVID is brought, foreigners. Taxes are not paid by foreigners. And so on and so forth. So that's a little bit unpleasant. Yeah, yeah. Well, it doesn't go through me because you can see I'm white skinned. But my Chinese friends already suffered from this. They For instance, we're not allowed into the universities remember, at the beginning, it was a pandemic, that ridiculous. And yeah, that that I think of some another minus. But again, it really depends on the level of education of people, the more people are educated, the less they tend to believe in this kind of nonsense. (R18)

So to try to get more acquainted and be involved in the Hungarian political life, though, of course, you understand that I cannot vote (R18)

Like socially and politically that nothing is going to change overnight. So despite everything, whatever, whatever is decided still it is going to be discussed. For it is going to be discussed for some time. And yeah, so and the courts are working. And as far as I know, so the courts decisions, can overthe decisions of governmental organizations such as BAH. Yeah, some of my friends, they won cases over BAH in court in the court. That kind of atmosphere where you're not ignored, but you are protected. You can fight for yourself. And not necessarily the Lord will be against you because you're foreigner. So laws are laws. And even if you're a foreigner if you're on the right side of the law, so the court will be on Your side. (R18)

And also I think the political view that that country's going towards too does not align with the my own political view the decisions at the higher level like government level does, I do not agree 100% and how things are done here. So that's one of the decisions that's it helped a lot, especially during the pandemic. We could see a bit more of how the government think about how they act towards the people. So it helped me to come over to come up with this decision as well. (R20)

I know that, the West, suffered a bit with this mass migration, as we could see with a lot of terrorist attacks. But I think it's not everybody that's seeking for as asylum is a terrorist. So I think we should help the others and we should help the people. And also the way for example, it was like it was a law like two years ago, that homeless should not live in the streets anymore. So, and many people doesn't want to go to the shelter because of many regulations. And they do want to follow the rules. So it's not up to the government to decide whether or you can stay on the street. It's a bit. It's a bit tricky, saying that, because the government's trying to help the people, but at the same time, it's taking over the power of the people making their own decisions. And also recently we have a decision against the LGBTQ adoptions. So, I am not, but I support the cause. Because I have a lot of friends and they were directly affected and impacted by this, this decision. So this and the during the pandemic, this human side it grew up a lot in myself. In the past, I tried to understand like, okay, Hungary wants to preserve its culture. And Hungary suffered a lot in the past, Hungary suffered a lot of attacks. That's why they are afraid of a new one from different people different culture. But after leaving this pandemic, and even talking with the people from Hungary that think different from the majority, that's to support the current immigration positions, they I started to open my eyes to the whole crisis that we are living (R20)

I really am passionate by history. So we read through the history of Hungary and they've seen like the main invasions it happened here. So I tried to understand why the people are afraid of the difference and I think Hungary is more like it's opening slowly but the communist left Hungary like less than 30 years ago first you everything really reset to have like a totally wide open country. So I see that his problems are still it is it will take a long while to go away like it is this fear of what's new. I think that's the that's what I can say like the fear of what's different than the fear of what's new. And if you will take a while to this thing is overcome. (R20)

First one being the overall I wouldn't say politics, but yeah, the, the political climate in the country. It somehow doesn't agree with my personal beliefs, and with with what I think is important, or with my values, so a lot of times, something happens, the government does something which frustrates me, makes me you know, no I don't want to live here anymore, is the literal reaction. That's, I think, the most important reason (R13)

Experience is good. perhapds not as Good as I was expecting, because politically, things have changed a bit from what it was in the beginning, not to my liking because I came from a country that is politically unstable. (R12)

What's called political politically looking. So-So stability instability goes like, I guess in any other country (R12)

My personal political orientation is more more liberal, partly social social socialist, whatever you want to call it. I do come from a country that was socialist country and I grew up in a system that was more socialist oriented, not communist socialist, and politically, Hungary has changed and went the right way. And People followed that political orientation. That's one thing that bothers me that has changed bothering current political elite is doing lots of stuff that I find extremely, extremely unfair, criminal and dislike that like that. And even though it's not affecting me personally, not directly, it bothers me because of my understanding of, of how society should work (R12)

#### Noise, air pollution

You have a clean environment. You don't have a lot of pollutions, in China, you know, like noise pollution is overpopulated. But here is this better environment (R17)

The first to think about is air pollution. Like there is a lot of cars, there is a lot of traffic. And Hungary is also kind of industry. I mean, there is a lot of industries there. And it is like a low place in Europe. So basically all the pollution will just come here and it won't go away until there is like a windy storm coming over Hungary to just wipe everything from there. So just like pollution will stick here until a windstorm will come. That's my feeling. (R5)

It's the noise, Budapest is noisy. (R5)

# **Physical well-being**

#### Healthcare

Quality is good, I would say quality is always been happy about the fact that either I find a foreign doctor also English is okay. What I find Hungarian doctors who have started in the in the US, so their English is very good or in general, even old Hungarian doctors that speak English well enough for us to understand each other prices. Well, it's doffcilt because I get reimbursed so I don't really care much but I noticed that it is expensive, it is getting more expensive it used to be before I used to be able to have a doctor visit for like 19-20,000 front. Now, last time I paid was 35,000. It is quite quite expensive. He compared to I always try to compare to European prices or Italian prices. And I say that in [home country], if I would pay 120-30 euro, I would probably get like luminar like somebody who has like 30 years experience in a super fancy office and so on. Otherwise normal normal price for a doctor easily. private doctor is like 80-90 euro. So is cheaper than here. (R4)

Well, healthcare, I think it has a room to improve a lot and lots of room to improve. I'm not only talking about the building itself, but the communication, communication, new staff will

help new technology will help. But I think the government is working on it as per my understanding, they are introducing new machineries and they also need to introducing some new medication, , which I see. But it has a room of improvement, no doubt, and and we need it really, really bad. (R10)

I was surprised that the buildings are really, really, really, really old. And, and the room there is like six beds. And the nurses are a little bit rude. And then the whole on the whole corridor, there is only two nurses. And they are rude. They don't speak English and they don't care. (R5)

They told me to go to pay, I had to walk like 10 minutes in order to find and figure out where can I pay, which was like a hidden place anyway, then I did this, then they told me go to the lab. I mean, the lab itself. And after that they took a blood sample from me. And they told me take my sample to the lab. And they had to, like imagine me walking with my blood sample in the hospital for like 15 minutes, just trying to find the laboratories to give it the so it was like, come on, where's the customer service at least like I shouldn't do this. So this wasn't expected. I mean, it worked. In the end, it was fine. Just I don't know. It's just very old. And I think it needs a lot of efforts and work. (R5)

But once I checked, like the prices of the surgery and things, it was pretty expensive. So I don't think it's easy, and it's affordable. I mean, the private health care here is not affordable for me. (R5)

You need to give a phone call before because they don't accept anymore that you come in person. And for foreigners. It's quite complicated. Because if you get someone in the phone who don't speak English, so I do this thing in Hungarian. But it's it can be complicated to manage these things in Hungarian by phone. So it's not an easy situation. If I want to take any meeting any appointment for anything for the doctor. The doctor is what do you think sympathic he likes to he likes to see him. Because I'm [home country nationals] actually. So he is a bit curious. And he is the kind of people who completely adapt itself to my Hungarian limitations. There are not so many people who do that actually who were slow down and the filter of their vocabulary. Make easier the communication (R1)

It's difficult. Because sometimes, the doctors don't understand me. They need my wife to be with me to translate properly. But because I've been there numerous time, they already know me like they I don't even need to talk anymore. So when it comes to the overall if you say, the environment, the cleanliness and everything. Now, it's better. It's improving. But as compared to Dubai, in [home country], like, initially, I was like, very, very surprised. Like they could have done better you At least the the tiles and stuff. So when you enter some premises, you feel okay, I'm in a good place where I will be treated well, but the now I think they are I've seen some of the hospitals and medical facilities are being upgraded. Hopefully, let's see. private part is fine. They speak English. They have nice buildings. everything, that's fine. They understand. And the most of the doctors are like, very communicative. They're fine. You can absoulety access appropriate healthcare at a reasonable cost (R10)

Oh, my goodness, it's one of the lowest in Europe statistacilly. I was actually taking screenshots not long ago about the numbers. And it usually falls in the last 2-3-4 countries in Europe for many categories. You know, there's no funding going from the, from the from, from the government, you know, to public health care. They're underfunded. They're also under staffed Is that a word. Like, there's not enough Doctors, nurses, you know, personnel. Definitely under under. What was the word they use for. Like, there's not enough resources.. Gosh, you don't even get toilet paper. Hello. Yeah, you have to take you know, I mean, I think this symbolizes how bad is the healthcare system. Yes. There is no toilet paper in public hospitals in Hungary. (R14)

And so they treated me pretty well, that was my only experience so far in hospital. And once I have two goals for my, I had a problem in my eye. And both of the times they were really helpful, and they cured me. Luckily, nothing, nothing else had happened. So I gotta say that not only those occasions where I needed I was, well assisted. (R6)

I don't think I would like to have any sort of sort of operations, or anything in the Hungarian hospitals. I have been there a couple of times, and it's not really the best equipments or whatsoever, although the doctors are very prepared. But in terms of infrastructure, and you know, systems or whatsoever, it's not really the best. So depending on what you're having, will be comfortable or less to do to be cured hungary. (R6)

For the public ones, it's kind of hard to actually find where the where the hospital, or where is the doctor that you that your billing is signed up with, I mean, whoever your doctor is, based on your address card. That's also that's a struggle. And I always find myself, I have to talk to my Hungarian classmates to help me about it. And the fact that they don't speak English is just so annoying. I mean, I know they're old people at the time for looking at me. 60s 70s English is not that popular. They places they're not really the best. I mean, I would expect though from in Europe, it's going to be much better than the public hospitals that we have at home. Almost the same thing, like completely the same thing. Of course, I'm not gonna say about the private one, because it's much, much better. (R16)

dDentist I cannot judge because I had one excellent dentist and very bad So incentives don't This was very, very bad. Here is quite good. He is a private dentist quite expensive for the Austrian people. For my doctor, he could give me any time what I wanted. So very basic stuff that anyone can can need sometimes. So I don't need to complain about the quality of health care. I never was into the hospital or so it was only very superficial things. (R1)

Now even going through this public hospitals or whatever. It's just a pain sometimes (R16)

The most brutal thing I had here was my bolcsesseg kihuzas was so extraction of I had this twice. First, it was expensive. I complained a bit and I say to my dentist, why it's a bit expensive, you know I am here, I have a local on your Hungarian salary. I don't have n

austrian on salary. And on the second time he made a cut, he made a ddiscount So I really appreciate it. So no, I don't have to complain, I am actually lazy to figure out how I could get health care insurance here. So I have this taj kartya. But I have no idea about which advantage I could have, for example, when I go to the dentist to limit the cost of the higher surgery, high cost intervention. So I am very With this I have no idea how to set up a good healthcare insurance for by your situation. (R1)

And it goes towards with social security which is to me absolutely Horrible, because you go to a doctor. they prescribe you things and you have to pay for everything else. Which is stupid. Because back in my country healthcare is free. You can barge in in a hospital whenever you want. here No. So yeah, sorry about that. If I go to the doctor, I say I have this problem, they will give me a prescription and I have to go to the pharmacy to get medicines. From where I come from. No you go to the hospital, you tell them you have this problem, you go to the hospitals pharmacy for free, things like that. And, and, for example, I wanted to go to an endocrinologist. But you cannot do this without going to your family doctor. And the family doctor tells you, as per their diagnostic, you do not need to go to an endocrinologist, so they're not going to recommend it. So you see. (R19)

And I have not really used a lot of it. I've gone to my family doctor a few times. Yeah, she just did a general test told me that I had iron deficiency prescribed pills, I by iron I drink it. And that's all. That's all. So so because, for example, the endocrinologist thing, since I am here, I took a lot of weight. I don't know why might be something to do with hormones or food, or I don't know what so so I wanted to get it to have a diagnostic by a professional by specialists. But it's not possible because she does not want to recommend it. So not really possible unless I want to pay I don't know how much to get it done in a private service, for work I have gone to private doctors to have the medical certificate for work, but they just look at you ask you a few questions. And they say, okay, you're fit to work for a year. No, no, no real tests. So it's it's not really I would say it's not a ferral, no pleasant experience (R19)

It was a really difficult I think it was the worst experience that I had so far here in Hungary. Will the process was a little bit confused. Because in my country's kind of different than in West mostly because people who work in the in the public health insurance, they're like, oh, and they don't like speaking English. Even if they can speak English. They don't like sometimes they're rude. very rude. I think they're they have really good installation. Like every time that I go to doctor I think the the GP doctor have a really nice office. And, and also when I go to the Medical Center, I think it's possible maybe look a little bit a lot older, but it's always clean. And I think Yeah, they think they're very in good condition. (R24)

I've always done I've always gone to a private clinic, and it's been cheap. And I usually take [girlfriend] with me. So it's, even though I can speak someone Hungarian and you know, when you go into a medical place, it's better if you have someone who can speak fluently. So price cheaper than America for sure. Much Cheaper than America. And quality. It's only been like consulting, or like advisory stuff never had to do any procedure or anything of that

nature. So I would say, good, but like, honestly, I'm not experienced enough to really know (R8)

Medically, it was fine. lingually it was bad. And no one could speak even one word in English. So they started translating. I started translating or translating. I arrived to my point where I should be anywhere super kind, super nice. But we not even one word in English. They were capable. They did what, what, what the doctor wanted and they said, it's fine. Okay, now you can go back to your doctor. And that was the experience. So it was not awful. But just the the language thing was was some kind of tricky. (R11)

I was having this healthcare insurance offered by a private healthcare company called MediCover and they, they offer really good service. So there were a couple of times where I had to go there and it was really convenient (R22)

It's it's pretty okay from my point of view well I I'm lucky I'm in I'm located close to a pretty good hospital (R2)

What I really what is really a burden is that it's it's everything in the big structure like you don't have a corner you don't have the corner private one malpractice that you know you know like your family doctor at the corner like you if you go public if you don't have a big it's like whether you go to a big medical or whether you go to a big hospital where you will wait fill seven paper wayfind anonymous doctor and for any little here infection like oh, I have pain Okay, there's this really everything is like this like you go to the giant hospital wait an hour and you do your you do your stuff there. And no I have no complaint doctors Okay, not the not the desk area but the doctors usually speak English the level of of knowledge and and I've been I've been treated well every time so I have now I have now private private clinic cards because of work which is like still a very interesting concept for me as a as a Western Western Europe person that says really like use our cards off of a private clinic as a gift from a company is a complete weird concept if you're [home country nationals] but it's and I'm a bit more skeptical with this because I feel some time Well, I mean no no surprises money driven and it's the quality of the smile and welcome is here but it's I don't know. I don't take them seriously. In terms of if you have to ask something which cost or whatever then it's money driven like I think I need a radio thing here. I think I need to oh I don't know well is it on your card. Okay, I will pay for it if needed like that they I don't know it's this this. Then you go to the pubic hospital if they treat you the to their cost, cost is cost is a big surprise for me. There are some specific topic. There is one specific topic that that's that's really shocked me. I had to for some reason I had to find and next day abortion pills once in in Budapest for my girlfriend. And it's really you need to go to a doctor for this you need to pay for this and the doctor is really asking you why are you taking it. Are you sure and that was like what's a man personally for me as a Western European that was really like you're mixing ethics and or your own believing with the practice of medicine just just give the pill and so yeah, on some some time yeah it's it's a bit like this they love to give lots of things like creams going to the patikaba, now quality quality is there I think quality of the structure and

not always I feel some hospital will fall on my head while I'm walking the corridor, but quality of service is Okay. (R2)

That's what I don't like about Hungary. I think that Hungarian health system lacks doctors, like lacks even medium level personnel. And I'm afraid that the best of them already somewhere in Canada or UK. I for a long time as I was with the international organization, I had to be insured with medicover. And I rate their services as poorly. They have nice call center. I have to give them their due. But that's it. Everything else was medium or below average. And then I would my own TAJ number. But yeah, so I never subscribed to haziorvos. I didn't need it. So whenever I had like a little problem, I still went to one of the private doctors. So for us the for obstetrician checkup, yearly checkup For me it was easier to pay once in a year than Well, anyway, so I don't pay too much. And even for my dental services, I used to travel back to [home country]. Mm hmm. (R18)

Depends on your income. But I think in comparison with other countries in Europe, they are moderate. They are not low anymore. They used to be lower, but they are not high so they are moderate, or probably It's still not their price quality ratio is too small. That's what I observed so far. Again, it's my experience observed so far. So the doctors will save your life, but they don't care what will be your future life. And then what will be the future quality of life. For instance, boom, one of my friends, she was pregnant, and she started to give birth. And her doctor was away the ambulance to her to an average hospital. So in that average hospital, they did make a couple of very grave mistakes, which was then even taken to court and the hospital had to pay a compensation for this woman. But they saved both her and the baby despite their mistakes. But after that, she had to recover. And she still has to recover for eight years. So that that's it. So that's that's the approach, I'm afraid here, both for people and for cats. For cats I go more often the doctor that would myself. Yeah, I think that probably it's a wrong approach, and probably more should be put onto prevention, and probably more for annual checkups than for saving life when it comes to real crisis. But that is it. That's how the system works. (R18)

Bad, Honestly, bad because I had, I would say three instances which I felt that this could be done in a very easy, fast and cheaper way. Oh my God. I don't know if it was just my bad experiences. Wrong time when the doctor had to be super angry or she was having a bad day. But yeah, I didn't have a good experience. (R23)

[I want to go where] they have a good healthcare facility for sure (R23)

Firstly, it's free, what is a great, generally is the people, the nurse, the doctor and the people who are there are quite competent. It's really okay. As we equipment, as well as BKV is old and funny funny and some time unpleaseant but generally it works. after what I have to say that's the healthcare in Hungary is the same as the rest of the population of Hungary. Most of them are underpaid and there is not enough people. So it has surely a consequences on the quality of the healthcare. So I guess the issue is, yes, equipment, facilities by themselves

because generally, it's quite old it's quite yeah it's quite old let's say that and generally people healing you who are caring take care of you. They are thinking about who to make these next two jobs they will have after work in order to have a little more money so that's a problem. The second problem is that I know some doctor it was friend and all of them move on abroad to another country in order to have a better life and better money and better condition of work. So it's sure that there is a lot of Dr. quitting and HunGary because about money mainly, I guess. (R3)

A few times. Not so because whenever I go in [home country] back in [home country], because my family is connected with medical, Like my sister in law, we have a hospital. So I get all my yearly or bi yearly examinations from there. So that's why I didn't have to, but I never had any emergency in five years. Thanks, God. And I hope not but for example, I went to get medical examination for my driving license, which went very smooth. I went to hazi like the my, like my personal medical officer, and he could speak English and it went very fine. And I was able to get that easily. The other point where I go to and that was Dr. Rose, but that was connected with my company. So I won't say that is very Hungarian medical service that was exceptional. Apart from that, yeah, I did the sky diving for that. I had to get some examination, but I have done that privately. Other than that, yeah, like so personally, I didn't have any experience with medical officers. Now maybe even I'm going to get a shot. That couldn't be the one for the COVID shot. And the other point that I got connected with medical not it's not directly but a friend of mine, she gave birth. So I was very close to that friend. So I've been in the hospital around and so yeah, going with them during the checkups, too. So that was the closest encounter to Hungarianmedical system. But they were very nice. All the things that you hear in news, you know about the medical structure of hungary. A, I was expecting it much worse. But maybe the childcare is very, very good. So maybe would be biased. I just experienced the childcare and it was very good. Yeah. (R9)

And not the public, but because they don't speak English, the general practioners Gp. So whatever I had that you go to the doctor, because in the company, we have the Medicoverhealth insurance, so whatever it has to go like for an annual checkup, or a Doctor, I used to go to Medicover and see a doctor that speaks English. But I find that the quality of the services is lower than what they have in [home country]. So and it's not only me thinking that my boss is Hungarian. He lived in US He said the same. So for example, if you go to the optimologist in [home country], you needed to someone have to go with you because they will put some drops in your eyes and you will not be able to see for like two hours. So they really do like a deep checkup in your eyes. And also for example, the gynocologist, that the women's doctor, if you go to [home country], sometimes you feel embarrassed because of the many questions you will or he'll he will ask about your sexual life because she needs to know because she needs to look after your health.. Here., I was like a doctor, I would like to do like a checkup. But in my blood, it's like the labor exam. For example, I would like to check up if my vitamin D level with Okay. And then he looked at me and said, but why do you need an exam to tell you that you have lack of vitamin D. If you feel like you have lack of vitamin D, take the Pills of vitamin D, isn't it in the exam to tell you this. I was like what. So it was like

really frustrating hearing this from a doctor. But I understand that it's like a private health care. And whatever exam he asks you, you have is like a, mainly sponsored by the medicover and not the I don't think is like really profitable when the person has health insurance for them. So they avoided the exams, the more they can. So and then like the exams, So I feel like in [home country], I am better examined that I am here. Like I didn't go deep just to really understand what's your problem. (R20)

A lot. Yeah. My case because my company covers the price. But but also I just recently vaccinated so my ideas about the system is a bit better, because at this age being vaccinated is great. I'm lucky because I have a good 'haziorvos' who speaks English. I heard so many stories though, I have the TAJ szam, but I have friend who do not have it and it makes a big big problem for the system, they don't get anything without paying. Yes, most of the time. Yeah, like some things are not covered. But I still have the discount. So I don't bother going to a state hospital. Because it's like, you don't even get easily What's that. Either appointment and, you know, I pay a little and go to the private most of the time also, they speak English for sure. But many times I went to state hospitals too. (R21)

Yeah, like, obviously private with one's more accessible, like you can get appointment easily. Probably more hygienic in because I know the next state hospitals condition. Most of them are, are in bad condition. But like doctors in general, I cannot say the difference. I think they are, like really trying to help you. And so far, I didn't have any bad experiences with them. And they're like, pretty straightforward, unlike Turkish ones, because Turkish ones are like, more, like, I think approaching more personally, patients, but he is like, okay, you have this problem, this won't get these bills and bye. So you have to just get used to it, but it's fine. Its fixing the problem. (R21)

Occasionally, I'm doing these health checkups for different reasons job abroad, or driving licence or similar stuff. That's a that's a, that's a normal stuff, with regular checkups, and that there was absolutely no problems with it. A year ago, I had a smaller accident that I got badly cut two fingers, and emergency services took care of it in the relatively good time. So that experience was pretty good too. And follow up, checkups and stuff was okay to. However, nowadays, I'm listening to a different story that Hunagrian healthcare system is missing, since I didn't have contact for for a while just few weeks ago with COVID test, and that was out almost on the street. So that was quite fast. The problem is that they don't have staff, but they have facilities, and not enough for staff to maintain a proper level of health care. And other things with Hungarian system that is bothering me is this family doctors that is quite disorganized. You have to pick one. You sign up with one you can change, of course. But for example, the doctor that we have, she speaks English too. And that's the primary reason I'm still hanging with her. She has government allowed her this hectic schedule, and everything outside of schedule, it's impossible to get in touch with a doctor. And it's a family doctor that I can call for three hours a day. And that's it. So I have to time when am I sick to her schedule.(laughs) But Hunagrian healthcare system is pretty good, but could be much better. (R12)

Yes. Both positive and negatively. The bureaucracy around it, for me is really weird. The fact that you need to pay a doctor or a nurse or a surgeon in order to get a better treatment is still something I just don't understand it. I've never done it, I didn't feel the need to do that either. But I'm still hearing it over from the neighbors here. My house, but they also were talking about it that the pay when they give birth, and then they give some extra money, which is typically 10%. Tats a lot, we use huge amounts of debt that for me is a strange concept that is still expected for you to do. The other though, is that whenever I was anywhere, I felt that I was always treated with respect and people took the time to that was good. For me, it's even in even the fact that you say like, like doctor 'ur' doctor or a title, it's like professor 'ur' the title, the fact that you're so keen on the title for me is also still strange, even after all these years, I have to remind myself always out to call them thinking, Okay, okay, But on the other hand, I had very good experiences as well. So the fact that in the when, when she had to go to the hospital, just recently, and then, you know, we I call the ambulance in the middle of the night, pick them up, and then I had a discussion about it afterwards with my [home country] nationals] boyfriend in the [home country]. And he said, okay, but how much is that going to cost you. And I said nothing. I said, Yeah, but you know, the ambulance and I said, No, this is no, it's, it's, it's the state funds to the state this, paying for this and not seeing any bill. I don't have to pay in advance, you don't need to get it back. It's it's just as if it's a free service. So that aspect is I think, really, really nice. I like that. But I am hoping that COVID is now going to open things up a bit. So the fact that all of a sudden, now it is possible to get your like your like your recurring medication, all of a sudden, you don't have to go to the doctor anymore, and they can put it straight to the pharmacy. Now if they keep on doing that, I think that's going to be a big improvement. Because for me, that was also a big difference that the [home country] are able to do that you call the assistant, you don't even talk to the doctor you want to Okay, good, okay, then it's going to be that after four in the pharmacy, now they're able to do the same here. So if they keep that up, then I think that's going to be a nice addition to it. So I do also see very difference between you know, the hospitals I was only in the children's hospital with her. And Budapest it was looked really in modern, nice, good quality of and the doctors and the communication but also of the building. But I also remember going to another hospital for my ex husband's grandmother and then I think, oh, I don't even want to touch the wall because it seems to be falling apart. Not dirty necessarily just falling apart this old. That's that's what they can say. So there I do see that. For instance, here in the sixth district. They're paying attention to it a lot. So they get they get money to get it make it better. You can see that they're actually renovating a lot of places but yet it's not that (R15)

I don't really like Hungarian hospital or health care or even GP, they don't have like, English knowledge in all right, I don't understand this. Yeah. (R17)

It's very good. Yeah, with a TAJ card and everything. The system here is like is not fast, because you have to make an appointment. But there's at most of the doctors quite care about the patient. But if I want to call something that more serious I have an insurance on hom (R17)

The doctors are really trying their best. But the facilities. Well, at least the ones that I've been to are outdated, a little bit. Really, like really old and not in good condition. But the doctors are themselves that looked like they're doing their best, but they just don't have the the equipment to do it. (R7)

#### Personal health (food)

Yeah, yes, sometimes it's a little bit more expensive compared to, for example, even in Austria, like if I have to do it, I do travel to Austria quite often during normal days. So sometimes I'll do shopping from there. But yes, you can literally get everything even in Budapest now. And if I say five years back, there were things that was not so easily. available. But now definitely, I would say the things have been changed. There are more and more international stores. Mediterranean food, Middle Eastern [home country]n, and yeah, even American, not the food, but the things you know, that that you see in movies and TV shows you can get those here too. (R9)

And some of them Yes, Auchan, I think, is the biggest supermarket if I had to buy, and they had like a section only with the imported food. Not really [home country]ian, but Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish. They are different among them, but still similar. So for example, what the [home country]ians eat every day is like beans, and rice and meat. So for example, when I see that the restaurants menu, they have babgulyas.. It's my favorite, because it's the beans. So I mix them with rice. And every Hungarian see me eating that. They look at me with a really disgusting face, like, Oh, my fucking God you do that. So that's what we eat every day in [home country]. But what I feel like the hardest to find here, I think it's a good fresh meat. Because [home country] is one of the biggest exporter of beef in the world. So I could go whatever day in the week to the supermarketit that would have fresh meat there. So here, it's not so easy, reachable. But other than that, it's completely fine. And if I get sorry, if I cannot find it in [countryside city], I can ins Budapest easily. So it's really easy. then it's really more expensive, especially the meat. So for example, the meat that I sort of used to eat in [home country], like a kilogram of the cow meat is like 4000 forints 3400 forint a kilo. So it's sort of expensive. If you compare like, with the other things, I got one kilo 4000. And then you come, for example, you see the chicken breast, it's 1500ish. So it's like a three, almost three times the price of the chicken.(R20)

Oh, my God. Oh, my God. That's the first thing, actually. Yeah, I don't eat meat. First of all, so goodbye 80% of all the food here. I mean there are International places. And ordering from Wolt iss super expensive. (R21)

I would say yes. Mainly. I have a bit of trouble with flour, I don't know how to recognize which flour is for what. And then I always have to call my mom and send her pictures because I don't understand the types. There are so many, actually more types of flour here than in [home country], as far as I know. So it's hard for me to pick the right one. And yeah, I mean, of course, every person will find some specific dish that they can't find in another country. I can also do it for [home country], but it's it's really a specific thing (R13)

Yeah, you can get anything you want, any way you want. The restaurants are serving just about any kind of food that you can. You can think of cheap restaurants Of course, they're based on fast food and much greasier food inhungary is typically much much spicier in receipt than what we are eating at home, but I got used to it at the restaurants. Of course when they are working, then there is no Corona. They're offering just about anything so that there is absolutely no problems and the food in Hungary is more or less now globalized. So I remember many years ago when I first started, food was more closer to traditional than what it is now. Now it's just globalized. So. (R12)

Yeah, it's interesting, because I love for instance, [home country]n food a lot. And they don't order out to the 16th. District. So I'm suffering now. Because I'm not at the city center to go pick something up anymore.

I do know, for instance, a lot of places where you can buy the stuff. Fair enough. Also some [home country nationals] but for instance, there isn't. also, to my surprise, there isn't any [home country nationals] shop in Budapest, there are quite a few shops in Hungary. But that's where the, like the [home country nationals] retired people live. They live in the countryside. And they have shops there. So they have it around the Pecs and some other place can't remember when it was and I'm thinking, Okay, I have to drive two hours to get down. No, that's not worth it. But you can order you can order. And then if you're lucky on that day they go through Budapest actually can pick something up. But if I've haven't done that, it's not worth that time. But, yeah, it's I think they're a matter of knowing, knowing the foreigners, where they go, they will know where to find it. (R15)

Here. They don't have any asian store. No. So actually, if I want to have Asian food, I have to ask my friends to send me here, or, yeah, it's very hard when it's come to food. But um, and we don't really eat that much Hungarian food here (R17)

Oh, yes. Yes, Budapest has a lot of Asians or Vietnamese, Chinese. Even Turkish and everything, (R17)

Well, I'm not the one that keeps on healthier menu. But I believe it wouldn't be a problem because I have like, vegan vegetarian friends and I see that they have have no issues like to find the to find themselves like food, but in other places in Budapest I think it is a problem. You know, I think in Hungary in general, they are not so aware of eating healthy and stuff. But in Budapest, I think it's a little bit different (R7)

Yes, we have. We have few super kosher supermarkets with a lot of things from from [home country], also with a kosher butcher. So basically there is everything that you need. I know he wants to keep like kosher or keep [home country]i things. But it's it might be more expensive than then in [home country] itself because of import and stuff. But yeah, it's it's an option. It's not a problem. I know some people that keep all the other things. And it's it's not a big deal for for them only that it cost. It cost more than to buy in the Aldi or Lidl. (R7)

Food it's still strange for me, but it's okay. I don't really enjoy the taste. food is a pleasure. If you don't have pleasure with food you don't have no pleasure as well. (R3)

Because Hungarian food is strange. You know, I'm [home country nationals]. (R3)

Yeah, totally. So I am vegetarian but finding vegetarian food was a task before in Hungary for me, but I don't know if Is it because I'm here now I know the options which I can eat easily available outside and it's vegetarian. It's just that the restaurants are become a lot Having vegetarian options, although there are not much but it's obviously good. And on the other part I do not eat like just [home country]n food so I like to have the Italian pastasand the other risottos and stuff and also the Mexican was the tacos and all. So I think it's easy to find it. That's not a problem. (R23)

I come from a from a I would say a country which has a diverse culture, food etc things that I do not find here. (R19)

Absolutely. Oh, let's put like that. I don't like very much Hungarian food in the restaurants. I think that many foreigners complain that there is too much fat and salt. And too much fried things about home cooking, I think it's very healthy. And Hungarian kitchen, home kitchen home cooking is very nice. So I acquire recipes from my acquaintance. And yeah, I love to cook for myself. Sometimes international dishes. And hungary is more and more open to the international food market. So especially in Budapest, and especially with all the real shops and webshops. You can get British food you can [home country nationals],, you can get Greek, Italian, there is Culinaris. There are nice farmer markets nowadays, the farmers deliver to your place if you want. So yes, it's easy. What No, I cannot say that it's easy, easy, because then you have to follow where the farmer markets happen. You have to go there, you have to take care, but still even at the supermarket, fruits and vegetables. Probably not all of them, which I would like to have but the majority of them. And rather good quality. That's important for me. (R18)

I was born a Muslim, and Muslims don't eat, they eat meat, but only the meat that is provided or the so the cow or a sheep that is slaughtered should be should be slaughtered in a way that Muslims do it in order for the meat to be what they call 'halal' so that they can eat. But given that I don't eat meat, and I haven't really eaten meat for for two three years now. So this was never an issue for me. I don't eat pork, because I'm really not because of again, religious reasons because we don't eat pork in my country because it's not allowed. So my stomach was never really used to pork meat and I, when I came here and I and I tried pork, I realized that my stomach is is acting weird. So I just never really ate it again. But if I want to cook something that is a traditional dish in my own country, I can find ingredients here in Asian shops. So there are some Asian supermarkets or meat or shops, what they call the butcher shops are things that you can find proper, proper meat For Muslims, I also the ingredients for different cultures and countries. (R22) I am very easy to satisfy in food things. Basically, I describe myself like I can eat anything, anytime, it doesn't matter except for what Hungarians really like the spicy food I can never cope with something spicy, I I find everything here I find it relatively cheap. Not not a like the Hungarians but I find it cheap somehow I can get anything I want even things that is not available here. I can buy it online for example from Germany, you know, there there are that huge number of [home country]ns now there and some of them started some business whatsoever, and I can buy online things that is not known here in Hungary. Other than that, I could find maybe 80% of what I needed. So that was never a problem for me, nor will be (R11)

Oh, I think mostly Yes. of all of them. Yes. Oh, always. We can miss that is not a main issue for me. Like kind of adapt the situation (R24)

Yeah, it's very easy. I have I have a tesco maybe like, two kilometres away and then I have culinaris in in about 20 minutes. So I can find most of the things that I need within a certain short car ride. (R4)

It was very difficult for me at first to adapt to the food scene here because I come from [home country], the vegetables are different, a lot of sea foods etc. And I land in a country where the main vegetables are cauliflowers, tomatoes, broccolis and a lot of a lot of pork. I don't eat pork. I don't I eat only chicken and seafood. I could say that I bought seafood three times in one and a half years since I am here. So because it's very expensive. (R19)

The sweet food scene is good. Okay, so cakes, pastries, etc, which is good. (R19)

I can stay here in a good mental health because except job wise and the cold people everything else is an advantage to really (R1)

No, I got my I am actually quite lazy when I when it's about cooking my food. So I use the cantin of the company to try to eat very healthy at the container and when I am at home to optimize my free time I eat not bad, but minimum likes very often to sandwich or teszta pasta pasta with sonkas h I'm sorry, sometimes Hungarian word coming tesztas sonkas sajtos all. So very not not bad. But the most simplistic tools to have the most of free time. So I eat right I have no trouble to find my food in being such a simplistic. (R1)

I like the food, but it's not a bigger big deal. We also have a fantastic food in [home country] (R1)

Food is like a disaster for me here. I've tried almost all of the places the expensive one, the cheapest one, whatever you could think of like not only in Budapest, I've been around 20 cities, I think in Hungary, and I've been like to villages, hometowns, whatever. It's still like no. The international brands they will not just the Hungarian and what I mean food in [home country] is just incredible (R16)

It's not my thing. That's all even though that these are good things. They are just not my thing. I'm not what I'm used to. And no, I wouldn't favor that. And yeah, I just didn't like it. I mean, especially that most of the things are made with pork here and I don't eat pork and yeah. Yeah, food is not like the best part. For here (R16)

And I was checking the categories of the of the restaurants like they that there are many, but actually there are not many fewer restaurants and few cuisines here. So it's not also that they were most of this stuff or like, the not the real Turkish ones, because gyros whatever, some are not really Turkish and, and that's not there. But while and I don't know, like a few other Thai Vietnamese restaurants, not not much No. (R16)

I think it's a little bit more difficult than in America. I mean, our supermarkets are like obscene in a sense, but just the amount of variety and selection that you have, in particularly, there's been the Health Food Revolution hit America 20 years ago, whereas in Hungary, it's really been the past five years, I think so we have, especially in the healthy stores. They're very expensive sometimes, but you can find like a cornucopia of ingredients and things. So it's again, like comparing to America, it's not quite as bountiful (plentiful). But then at the same time, you really can find everything here. You don't have any problems with them (R8)

I can eat pretty well. And I can buy almost everything. It's not like [home country].(laughs) I do miss the products but but he's still like, you know, I have a balanced diet I can buy almost everything I want. I cook a lot. So it's pretty good. In terms of exercise, I, you know, I go to basketball, I have a team to actually and now in COVID I go to the park where I work out at home, but otherwise I was going to the gym, I always manage it.. So that's absolutely fine (R6)

Well, lactose was a big problem. So I only use lactose free products and gluten free products. though they're available all over the place. Like for example, Nutella is not available in lactose free, but I do get from DM specificly men because we you know, when you have children, you need to have these chocolates and almost like every five minutes. So for these things happen, otherwise, we usually cook at home, we rarely go out and eat. So most of the time it's made at home. And as per our requirements. Meat little bit. Sometimes not fan of meat that much. But yes, we still do it. (R10)

Oh, yes, I can. I can buy whatever I want just the thing. I don't have the time to cook everything I want. That's why I was saying like, everybody is living very fast. (R5)

I don't like also too much the Hungarian cuisine Okay, I like chicken paprikash. But in general, the cuisine here is really poor. Like, it's mostly soup and pork. I came from [home country]. And, you know, our cuisine is very, very, very, very, very, very, very big. (R5)

#### Live free from societal, religious pressures in home country

And so one of my main thing is to Yeah, to live independently, and regardless of that kind of societal pressure to so that was one of the reason to, I would say, one of the very main reasons. Oh, yeah, one of the thing is, yeah, independence, like the one I mentioned, and more like, religious freedom is the thing (R9)

Say first freedom. Like living without the pressure, obviously compared with [home country] (R21)

So the second reason that I'm staying is that I don't want to have to go back to live in [home country] because for an artist so for for a normal person living in [home country] is difficult for an artist it's just extra difficult (R22)

Like the freedom that that people have here is also a major reason that I chose not to go back to my country so that the living quality here is also something that I don't want to give up. But I'm only talking about going back, I know that maybe this this quality of life is is just as good in, in another country, in Europe or not in Europe. But I am just mainly mainly focused in why I'm not going back to my country right now. So yeah, the other reason is that I, I was kind of running away from all those restrictions in my own country, and I found myself I found freedom in a country where I wasn't even born in so it's kind of I kind of consider Hungary more more like a home than my own country. (R22)

I'm considering staying here because I really love the country. I didn't expect it to be this much of relief to me at least I could somehow cope cope with the country cope with the people,. Personally, I am relieved here. (R11)

## Visa

And I also want to come to Europe because my sister was here. So I can Budapest. I apply for the visa (R24)

It's not because I particularly enjoy this position that I am here. It's just it's the only company that's, that's allowing me to be in Hungary with work permit. (R19)

I'm not really because to be honest, Hungary is one of the worst countries in giving like residence, permanent residence permit or, or this stuff is really, really hard. So to be honest, I never thought about having such thing here. Because I don't think it's easy. And in other countries I it's easier. For example, in Germany, I could get a permanent residence permanent permit in 23 months, and hungry. I need three years for that. I mean, why. So just like, it's not my plan, honestly. And I'm not very interested in like, you know, having his paperwork and stuff here. Because I think other countries give better opportunities. (R5)

I'm thinking that I should get the nationality of the country cause I have been here, I've been here so long as I speak the language. I think if I if I would change my nationality if I goot Hungarian nationality, my work possibility would be different. Other more choice, my choice

of work within the organization, I could move it can move to higher higher positions being Hungarian. Because yes, there are limitations for me being foreigners, foreigner in Hungary within my work. If I will be Hungarian. I will then have them much more possibilities (R4)

Oh, we are looking for new people, you know, but the only problem is that they don't provide a work permit. So, in that moment, I really like, Oh, okay. Maybe I just have to wait a little bit longer like I don't know, like, three years I think and then maybe I can have to get residents more. Can I say, Well, our residents and then I can have any type of job. (24)

The good thing is the company provided a work permit the word residence permit residents. So I started this job in March, last year, in June, after three months, I passed the three like to prove, period, then we could start with the process (R24)

I should go through a whole process of getting visas and things like that (R22)

It's not up to me because you know, when you're working in the international organization, you don't like earn credits for your migration history. And the credits towards my stay in Hungary started from 2017 from second half of 2017. And I still need like, two years to be able to apply for permanent residency, but at the moment, I've got temporary residency. But as long as it does concern me, I would like to continue and to get the permanent residenseship and who knows, after another 10 years, probably I can apply for citizenship, you know, you know, in 10 years, it's a long time to grow is a long time to consider my like say short term goal is permanent residence (R18)

I think the easiest one, which I could get applied is with Australia and Canada. I can directly apply even if I'm not staying and they'll give me permanent residents. So and yeah, I can still apply for Hungary. I'm not sure if I want to apply, I don't know. It's just since I've been here I do not feel that (R23)

On personal view, I think of first if I can get permanent resident, for sure, because now I'm tired of like, just, you know, trying to go and find something which is just a temporary, I want to go with something permanent, so it safer for my future (R23)

Yeah (stay), like I have now a permanent residence in Hungary (R9)

But yeah, I'm a permanent resident, which is a relief. Yeah. So I don't need to renew my card every second year. So that's a relief. Yeah. (R9)

So I applied for the position. I was approved, I was hired, and the company took care for all of the paperwork, the visa immigration offices (R20)

So what what inspired me was like this chance of having an international experience, because well, I'm not probably here is different the thinking but in [home country], we have like this idea of Wow, it's Europe. Wow, it's USA. So why not have a chance of going to Europe

legally, and having all the paperwork took care by the company. Like I didn't have to spend a single penny to come over like the company sponsored everything. And then by that time it even sponsored my ex-boyfriends visa. So so like, how could I do not accept this offer. (R20)

Like, the only thing that holds me back, it's because lets say I'm a third world, country citizen, I need a company sponsoring my visa. And because of the pandemic, because of the higher unemployment rates, a lot of countries and it's sort of, Okay, they only hire European citizens. So it might force me to stay here in Hungary for a bit longer. But it's not a problem. (R20)

But then I had the paper issue. Like, I didn't have a job, I didn't have a school. So we were not flexible to move somewhere else. And we married here actually. (R21)

But I'm actually going to apply for Hungarian citizenship. So that's my plan. (R21)

If the COVID is gooooone (laughs) I am I plan to get a business visa this year. My business visa and open maybe like small business here. (R17)

Well, one thing is like it's pretty easy to stay, you know, I mean, okay, Budapest is international, right. With the visa. It's quite flexible. (R17)

## Stability, being settled

I feel like I have a stability here. I feel like and we are not in a very good moment to to take risks. (R24)

I feel like I'm, I don't I don't have this sense of like frustration of I should be somewhere else, because I'm missing out on opportunities or chances or things like that (R8)

And it seemed just good, you know, for some stability. (R16)

I like it here. You know, it's very nice, a beautiful house, I have I have My life is set up here, you know, I'm 19 years so you can imagine you I have friendship, I have property, I have things here and walk off. Obviously, I want to stay here. I would say habits also you know I got used to be here. (R4)

Hungary gives you the feeling of happiness and stability.(R18)

The other thing is that I moved here once and it wasn't very easy to, to settle down. So every time that I think about it, that I have to do it all over again in in another country, and it doesn't freak me out, but it's something that I and that doesn't motivate me to, to do this migration one more time you know. So I'm kind of being lazy, I guess, here. (R22)

But then I, I got settled down and like, found a stable job, I managed to open up a little business and I also started teaching so now I'm, I'm reconsidering my plans. That's why I'm, I don't see myself moving anywhere, at least now. Or for in a couple of years (R22)

So I'm stable here unless my life stances change or because of family commitment or whatsoever (R9)

But I was already too settled, (R21)

I am pretty integrated. So it's easier to stay here than going somewhere or going back to [home country] and start over with everything. So you know, I have a base, a system where I can rely on as of now which I already know, know for four to five years. So that's one thing which I would like it where there is a risk and to go into another country because now I would have to start everything again (R21)

#### My life is here (R15)

Since I already know this area, I know this people not know the culture, but already, I am very much aware of my surroundings, like how this city works, how the country works, what is the system what you need to apply for, or go for an emergency (R23)

Right. Now, basically, you have all the luggage, it's already too heavy to move. And I most you know, from country to country, I've been living in UK, I've been living in Germany, and I know how much it takes to go to another country. Even if it's [home country], for me, it will be like re immigration because I left in 96 and a half the life from the past and that. And of course, moving to [home country] will be like more useful in your country. So you'll get your habits with age. That's why I would like to stay in Hungary (R18)

## Linked lives

The one that is more applicable for now is staying because I recently started a relationship with with the Hungarian lady. And if everything goes well, then most probably I'm staying here at least for for the upcoming years. Then when you have a partner then you have to to think and you both of us has to the has to decide not just me (R11)

I am in a relationship with a Hungarian. (R19)

Maybe it will find some Hungarian girl and get married with it, and then the plans will move to reconsider. (R7)

So there is a platform for my children to stay in hungry in future to and grow (R10)

Because my wife also wants to be here with the parents (R10)

I love Hungary, it has given me my, my family and my children and my husband, and my base. You know, my parents in law. They're amazing, wonderful people (R14)

I do not see myself raising children here. (R19)

No, before it was just me, right. If anything happens, it's just to me. Now, it's like, gosh, now, I don't want anything to happen to my children. But I also don't want anything to happen to me, because I have children (laughs) everything falls back on them. Definitely (respondent on healthcare) (R14)

I would love to be out in one more year. so it's probably, I don't know, I don't want to say this too loud. For my husband (R14)

The school system. And especially, you know, the primary school years and secondary, not so much preschool or nursery. I think there's, there's good nurseries and good preschools but the publicc primary school and secondary school system doesn't really seem good to me. (R14)

My main motivation at the time was to be closer to my family, to my, to my family in [home country]. So I was in Asia at the time. And I have been in Asia for seven years. My mother, my grandmother, who is was like a mother to me, I grew up with her passed away. And that made me kind of have, like, a lot of reflection in me. And then I thought, okay, so far, and for too long (R14)

So let's see how it goes.. I find a girlfriend or wife and I'm here forever (R6)

I was in love of a Hungarian girl. And we were not together at the time. So I thought that in order to have her back, I would come to Budapest and try my chances. (R6)

We've always wanted to go spend more time in the USA I would like to be closer to family is the main reason (R8)

I ended up staying for a variety of reasons. But mainly, mostly because I met my girlfriend who's Hungarian. (R8)

So being at 800 kilometres from my family, I decided to go back to Hungary because in terms of distance, it was almost the same as taking a flight from Hungary or taking a train from the north of [home country]. Doesn't make so much difference (R1)

Something around between Hungary and [home country], because I want to stay close to my family. (R1)

I already have a sister, and she was in [home country] at the time. She still is in [home country] now. But back then, I decided to apply for countries in Europe, so to be able to see to visit my sister from time to time as well. (R22)

Have I have a daughter she goes to school here not not public school. Still she goes to school here (R4)

And also it's a it's also a bit . frustrating for me that's we're in this situation which is a bit hard to say which is not very equilibrated.. So I'm abroad for years, especially in COVID time I'm locked down and my girlfriend is local very local She's like from Budapest from this neighborhoo, . So we really like just just really good there she's enjoying she's, she's just looking around, she can buy she can see our old friends and I'm.. so sometime I'm feeling like, you know, after a few years, it's also good to turn the table a bit. And then the reequilibarated, realign. (R2)

I have not taken this possibility so far, because my family comes before anything (R4)

To join my girlfriend. Actually, she's Hungarian. She was already living there. So we had to find a common point to stay and not travel all the time. And we which is to move to Hungary. (R2)

Yeah, I think that the situation is pretty different because my girlfriend so as I said she's local is living here after always living here so for for her it's that's that's really a decision making and like it's it's do she continue as she is or does she have really a breaking point in our life (R2)

So I'm stable here unless my life stances change or because of family commitment or whatsoever (R9)

I know for sure that they don't want to stay here for much longer. Because for now, I only have a job here. I mean, I didn't have a family, I didn't have a husband, boyfriend, children, even dogs or cats, I have just my job. So I am sort of free to go, whatever I want (R20)

And I had the boyfriend. But I it was not a problem for me like a decision to come or to come over to Hungary (R20)

Then my relationship. Actually, I had a boyfriend. And actually, we were planning to move somewhere, like Southern Europe together. (R21)

Yeah, I met my current boyfriend. Right, two months after I started studying. And, yeah. So in at the end of summer, we were already 9 months in a relationship, 10 maybe it was starting to be serious. And I was. Yeah, I it was one of the important factors why I pushed a bit to find a job in Hungary, and to come back to Hungary. Because after, after that summer job, I really didn't have any, you know, jobs in sight. So I figured I will just move to Hungary live with

him for a couple of months to see whether I can find a job in Budapest, if not, I will just go wherever, or come back home or something. (R13)

I was not planning to move. That is until I met my wife, and we got our first child. At that point, it was simple decision, whether we live in [home country], or we live in Hungary, whichever country is offering more, and at that time, hungary, looked a lot more as a better prospect for excuse me a better prospect for a child and for common life. The primary primary reason for my moving is child and the marriage itself. And that Hungary at that time, was offering much better conditions for both. (R12)

More important thing, but both of my kids are Hungarian genetically, they are half [home country]s but they are Hungarian. So it would be kind of difficult for them to, you know, readjust. So that's, that's part of it. (R12)

So I had a boyfriend at the time. And then you know, once you start a relationship, you make decisions. And my decision was okay, I have a job, I can come back next year. Oh, and I have a boyfriend to have a place to live. So let's stay. (R15)

The only term for me to go back to somewhere else is is my long distance relationship which I do have which is with my [home country nationals] boyfriend (R15)

Yeah, of course, I guess if I had a girlfriend that time, I don't know if I would, if I would do it, but since I was, I was single. And they had no no commitments. I thought to myself, Yeah, why not. I can, I can try it. (R7)

This is a big debate between my wife and me. Now I can feel it the time to come back to [home country] but my my wife will prefer stay in Hungary so it's still in discussion. But if I was alone, you know without my wife without my kids. Yeah, I will come back I guess maybe within five years and in [home country] you know. (R3).

They are in the Hungarian school system. So for them, they need to be out to go to [home country] to the [home country nationals] one, what is not really the same (R3)

I stayed here with my husband, my ex husband, because he was doing his PhD. And so he applied for a PhD. And I stayed one more year in Hungary. So the 99, I also celebrated in Hungary. Yeah, so. And I was just looking around trying to figure out what to do next. So on supporting my husband and his studies, you don't just talk because he also did the survey that time (R18)

# Culture

I really wonder why. Especially old people, they're so close, like, very difficult Get inside. So I feel like they don't like that, you know, like, I understand that that they feel fear to lose, for

example, the language. Maybe the thing that will come here speaking English, and we don't want to learn Hungarian. I don't know. Maybe they don't like that. I don't know (R24)

It's it' the culture. The way people connect with each other. Being a foreigner Of course, you know, The customer Oh, by the way, customer service is a big thing. Also, because I'm all about a relationship. I'm all about, you know, connecting with new people I'm all about, you know, the nice sort of thing you don't want to not being friends or being extra nice. I'm looking for a good way of so much. But yes, so I struggled a lot with customer service. And it's not a language thing, because often have the same kind of experiences with my husband, you know, leaving the conversation and just talking with people and kind of things. So actually, customer service is also a big thing for me. So, yes, culturally, you know, I'm not used to walking in the street or walking to a place that people don't even look at you. They may reply, some parents or people look at you. I feel like often people here are unhappy or grumpy, grumpy, or. (R14) -social aspect

And I think also, I didn't really have any issues with people. I mean, Hungarians or internationals here. But still, it just feels too cold. In the sense not on the weather, of course, but it's just yeah, it's so cold with people like I come from a collectivist country, but where people are always gathering, not talking about this period, of course. But still people gather people socialize a lot people have more fun somehow (R16)

When we have this sort of gatherings, it just seems too vivid. And too maybe the atmosphere just so nice. And people would be spontaneously I don't know dancing laughing talking, speaking out loud and whatever. And these are the things maybe that I'm used to, but here we would just see people, okay, gathering the huge number, but still everyone sitting in a corner, maybe talking two together, like it still would be talking together not really the whole group discussing and everyone is speaking just so low. And you know, like not really that spontaneous and not that much fun about it. And I don't know there's I'm not sure it was I can't really explain this, but there is some some spark about maybe Arabs gatherings and not Africans in general. That's a bit different from how things are. I mean, all right here. I don't know I i or maybe because, I mean, we were internationals though there were of course, common traits. Between us, but I'm not sure about the things with Hungarians in particular, but I just always noticed them that they are the calmest one the, I believe the most quiet one, the non talkative ones. And this is how I could explain it somehow. (laughs) (R16)

Plus, I like that. There is a lot of smart people hear, unfortunately, they are leaving, but there is a lot of potentials in Hungary, like my professors, but I see they are really good. And I really respect a lot. So I have a lot of kind of ideas here. And this is very, very good thing I think. Plus, I think you know how many Nobel winners are from Hungary from Hungary, and that's alone, like a big thing (R5)

Come on, just do something even like in Hungarian politics. I I'm not Honestly, I'm not into the Hungarian politics. I don't know. Much. Just like I know, people who like and people who

don't like a party. I think you know what I mean. Yeah, but I don't see any anybody doing any thing. In reality on the ground, nobody is doing anything. They just say like, oh, they're stealing us. Oh, they are doing this, or they're doing that. But okay, what are you doing. You are just saying, Oh, you don't you do nothing. Why. So. I don't like this too much. Because, okay, and our countries, we are corrupt as hell as well. But you can always see people like, trying to do something trying to change something. But yeah, like, I don't see, like, people are willing to change. The current situation, they just choose to leave. They just go to Western countries. I think that's, that's common here in the culture out there mentality. (R5)

That's, that's the question. Well, to start with the good things. I think the good things is like people give enough space for each other. Like, they don't just like dig too much and other life. I don't know. I mean, that's what I see. I don't know. If, in practice, I mean, you're on getting, you know, it's probably better. But what I saw is not like our country because in our country, we don't have secrets kind of, because everybody know everything. (laughs) So here, I think you can have secrets inside your house, not everybody's like digging, they give you space for yourself and everything. (R5) – social aspect

I see that people here appreciate too much like the holidays like Christmas. And these these things, which is nice, I mean, in our place. Okay, we appreciate our celebrations just we don't really put too much effort in it. And in order to make it really this nice, for example, like, I like to hear that. People try to show that they are happy. For example, they put these decorations everywhere in the streets, and everybody tried to show happiness. So yeah, I think this is nice. It's in the culture here, which is which I like (R5)

Things I don't like, is also related to the social life because I think most of the Hungarians are a little bit lonely, because they don't interact with others too much like, Okay, everybody gives the space for every, I mean, they give space for each other, but they don't even try to communicate much. So I think they have problems in communication between each other. Like, to be honest, I never saw took two children from different families playing with each other in the playground without I mean, just like this, I never saw which is just like, it's very strange for me, because we are very, we were raised in a place that we just go and play with any kid we want in the street. I mean, I didn't even see a kid on the streets here. So it's just like, I think everybody's like at home, they are not in contact too much with others when they are small. And that's how they are raised(R5) – social aspect

I think people here nag like a lot. And they don't try to change. Sorry for this. Everybody say that. People who are pessimistic, pessimistic. And I think it's true. Because, okay, I was a little bit inside the Hungarian family. And there was some troubles but they weren't really trying to fix this problem. They were just like, oh, there is a problem. There is a problem, but Okay, come on. (R5)

It's hard for me for me Hungary has been the toughest country to adjusting. And I thought in my head, I was coming back to Europe, you know. This is Europe and [home country] was way easier. I felt [home country]n many times. You know, I you know, [home country] really

doesn't frighten me who feels [home country]n. After five years there. I swear. And with Hungary uff, I they're like, in my womb. That is Hungarian. But I can't say I'm Hungarian. (R14)

Culturally, Hungary is so interesting, like, I find this country to be so interesting from a historical perspective, from, you know, the way people have mixed with, you know, with the surrounding countries and tribes at the time. And the traditions I like to tradition, Hungaria traditions, for the most part (R14)

Hungarians should be more open, because they are really much more better people than what they look. That's my opinion. (R11)

I come from a from a I would say a country which has a diverse culture, food etc things that I do not find here. (R19)

For example, we were we were I lived. The system of visiting the system, the relationship among neighbors and friends is different from here, very different. So it doesn't matter which one is better, I'm saying it's different. So that was something I needed to think it over. Because nor neither I can do what I used to do back there, because the community is not used to this, nor I can just, oh, I will stay inside these four walls, I don't want to live their way bla bla bla bla. So I had to go with this.(R11)

I can find whatever I want about cultural life it's more difficult when I was in [home country], I was really kind of artistic cinema I don't know how to translate it even in English but in [home country nationals] we we say les films d'art et d'essai means I don't know I would let's say independent movies. Until now I didn't find a good cinema with this kind of movies and now Okay, now Netflix whatever you want you can replace it easily but in 10 years or something like that it was it I miss it a lot what I miss what he missed me as well this is all this kind of thing performance or whatever you can add been following language. Especially 20 years ago, it was absolutely no things it wasn't even Hungarian now It's better for sure. Because because of the world where we are living now. But yeah. culturallyt wasn't easy to satisfy. (R3)

It's kind of a big block of references you have in your life. It could be political, or it could be from the media, you knows the kind of TV show you used to watch when you were younger. And then you can share this kind of reference easily with people as the movies or books. And as well as the way you thinkfor sure (R3)

Like the, let's say, the warmth we are warm and the Hungarians are no colder (R7)

And cultural culturally, I like the way my personalities like I feel. I adopted to the, like the culture here, and I felt comfortable here rather than where I was living before. So that is one of the main thing (R9)

Like let's say that Hungarians are not as friendly as [home country]i, like. There are a lot of cultural differences. And for me from a Middle Eastern country, I find it like really hard to I try to explain it like, it's it's not the same. Like, I think we are more open than Hungarians. Hungarians are more like, let's say closed. (R7)

The diversity that we have in Budapest, you go on the street, and you would see the people like you if you walk on Andrassy Or if you walk on kiraly Street on one of the Friday evenings, you will listen to at least 20 different languages, people talking into that and you can everybody get in get connected very easily. And so that's what I've been talking about when I'm talking about the culture because it's very diversified here in Budapest. (R9)

I like that it is kind of diverse. I mean, in the center, there is a lot of tourists, there is a lot of international people. It's kind of attracting a lot of students. So it's nice. (R5)

But if we compare it to [home country] or something, it's like way better because it's not so mixed. And this is one of the things that I really like here. (Paris) is no different from where I come from, like, well, I traveled somewhere else, I'm living somewhere else to experience that difference not to be in the same situation. So that's why I guess I mean, at least it feels this cleaner somehow not like environmentally clean or whatever. Because there are like shitty places here as well. But it's at least Yeah, not that mixed. But we just don't see them that much around.(R16)

I think I've been around 25 different cities in Hungary. And yeah, I never had a problem. Or I would say, like, I had a language barrier in the beginning. But even now I can manage my way around because I know the basics. So. (R9)

Depends the young generation. Yeah, it is but couldn't be sometime you have like some event that could describe you know, that, like, not like a verbal or physical abuse, but somehow you can sense that you know, that somebody is not really comfortable around you. Maybe that could be just because of the language, maybe just because of that closeness of culture. And that could be because of the media. That could be anything but yeah, you can sense it at some stages, but it's not something very extreme. (R9)

And I've been accepted as a family member in there. So. So I think, yeah, the people in Budapest do take their time to get to know someone. And once they know it, here, they are open, but maybe it takes some time, more time than the Americans do. So yeah. (R9)

So I have nothing against the people here are nothing against living here, or my work is just like a cultural background differences. It's quite different. So I can see myself living [home country] or [home country], Portugal, that their Latin countries so that we have like a more, where people very smiling all the time. So we enjoy a bit more life. So this, this depressing side from Hungary is also another factor to be considered. (R20)

In the past, I tried to understand like, okay, Hungary wants to preserve its culture. And Hungary suffered a lot in the past, Hungary suffered a lot of attacks. That's why they are afraid of a new one from different people different culture. (R20)

So first of all, this is not so different here in Hungary. But we are very close to our friends to our family. So every day I call my mother and if I don't call her she thinks that I am dead. If I if I don't call her twice a day, she would think that something happened to me and I am lying in bed die. So we are really close with the family. And I can see here that people are also really close to the family. But for example, I can see that people are close for for example, you get married, have child so you're closer to this part of your family. But regarding your parents, your auntie your cousins. You don't see them that often. So It's not, for example, when I told in the office that I call my mom, my mother twice a day, they were like, seriously, my mother would be so happy if I did the same, because it's not like, at least in the people that I talked about that they are not in touch with what their parents or whatever, relatives, as often as we are. (R20)

And then other thing is like, we are tend to look at the bright side of the life. So if there is, like 50% of things are going right, we will think there's like a, as the glass is full,not that like, the glass is empty. And I could see here, like, if there is 1% of chance, so thing is going bad. People will rely on that 1% these are my experience with the people that works with me. So like, anytime there was like an unexpected meeting, you were like, Oh, my God, they would close the factory like no, like, it's like a meeting is just a leadership meeting. Why. Why are you worrying that much. (R20)

And then of course, when you are in [home country] to travel in Europe is really expensive. So when you're in Europe, just travel within Europe is is quite cheap, to be honest. So when you moved we wanted to enjoy this opportunity, and we are always also going to restaurants at least once, once a week. And people around us, we're like, seriously, I never been to that restaurant, I only go to the restaurants when I have like a celebration. Like as a, as a birthday, someone is getting married. So and and for us, it was like a sort of normal, we go into the restaurant, many times, we go in like two, three times a week. And if people were like, Oh, I never been here and never been there. So I and I think that this comes and also regarding traveling, like we were traveling and the people around us, they were like, oh, but it's a really expensive country. So I'm like, so why do you work for like I work to be happy to enjoy my life. Not that. Oh, so what I'm trying to say is like, I could see that the people here they are saving everything they can for the future for buying the car buying the house, and I'm doing the same but I'm not saving 100% of my liquid profit for and not living the present, not to go into the restaurant buying what I want one day, or like going only once a year. So and also, this is another difference. (R20)

And it's such a small thing. But people here they don't smile, though people here are more serious. And if you go whatever, for example, you probably been in [home country], you've been in [home country]. People are laughing all the time and speaking out loud. So many times we were like in the restaurants a group of [home country]ians everybody was like

looking at those like what the fuck guys are you speak so loud. So and so this thing is combining individually is like a small thing. But when you combine them together, it becomes like a quite a different thing. (R20)

First thing comes to mind is I find Hungarian so rational, and not that emotional. Things are functioning they're fine, but they're not financially upset but still something so like a function get up shopping, you know, like the daily routine is completed and checked for like two cultural differences. Yeah. So they talk about what happened that day but not how they feel. (R21)

I hear just as in the city center, at least, and just as much here foreign languages, as I hear Hungarian. And I think it changed the mindset of a lot of hungarian at least Budapesters that it's good to know what other countries and other cultures and doing and not everything that's not Hungarian is frightening. And you need to be afraid of that. And I think the multinationals personally played a big role into that as well, because this is where the mixture of all the cultures come (R15)

Okay, as you say a lot People very close mind here Yeah. And that is due to the history due to like, you know, environments and stuff, the way that they brought up by the parents (R17)

Even if you speak fluently the language if you know what culture to do is still a foreign culture you know, there is something you don't get it. I will give you if you want to clear example, I speak Hungarian. I live surrounded by Hungarian people and quite well infusing Hungarian culture. For me it's not it's not a challenge, you know to be that even if you're 20 year in Hungary I can really feel there is something thing you know that I'm not Hungarian because there is stuff I don't immediately culturally understand. I was vaccinated last week. And for all my collegeus it was clear away it will, it will goes, you know, they know how to do how to behave, how to act. For me, it was completely strange. And I have always to ask questions, with, with people say, I have to go here to go there and for Hbudapestungarian it was so natural, you know, just follow the flow answer to several question with this kind of answer. For me, it was brand new, so I have to, to adapt myself, you know, literally second after second. So, there is something, you know, we still far from me, (R3)

They are definitely went out from the communism style, there are more European you know, in the way they are looking not into into head what they are thinking but the way they are looking. Yeah, they look like German people you know them. Like European people in general (R3)

## Language

Was also a little bit difficult because obviously the language barrier but after one year now I'm obviously more familiar side with the with the language (R24)

I learned a language so I speak Hungarian (R4)

Very important for me to be able to speak in my mother tongue (R14)

I always like start and I'm like, why I would invest in this language. And you know, it's always a questionable, will it be useful. I mean, will I use it here or not. I don't know. Hungarian is used only in Hungary and not, not not everywhere. if I learned German, I don't work on in Germany, I can compete in Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, almost everywhere and every branch of German company all over the world. But with Hungarian language, I don't think I can do that. So it's like, it's not the same value. (R5)

The language is so freaking really hard, but it's so beautiful as well, and so rich (R14)

I didn't even know that Hungarian speak Hungarian. I thought they speak German, honestly (R5)

Trying my best (laughs) just but whenever I start to talk to someone they like they don't get it because I you know, my accent. It just doesn't they don't get it. But I'm trying hard (R10)

Then the next layer is that there's a lot of just interesting, cool things that you don't see anywhere else, starting with the Hungarian language (R8)

Currently with the B1, I don't think I have the opportunity. I wouldn't be able to work in Hungarian, of course. But it's, I thought it's one of the things one of my goals that I put in myself is to learn properly Hungarian. And then. even more opportunities will be okay (R6)

Hungarian is a constant battle. But really, I can make myself more than understood and have complex conversations, it's difficult for me to understand sometimes I would say it's more difficult to understand when people are talking to me than it is to speak on my own terms. But definitely, for the past year or so. increasing levels of communication and talking to people in the streets. And I would say in terms of needing it to get by, you don't need it at all. Honestly, it depends on what you're willing to suffer. Like, it's easy to speak just English, in most cases, because Budapest, especially as a city that's built around tourism. So even in the shops, if people don't like, or the restaurants people don't, some people don't like to speak English, most people are fine with it. But some of the older generation, maybe not so comfortable. But you can still usually get to the thing you need, because they're so used to dealing with people who don't speak, we don't even make an effort. Because of that you have so many tourists and a lot of tourists are very arrogant and rude. So if you even make a tiny bit of effort just to show like, I'm sorry, I don't speak Hungarian and talk slowly and work might take a little longer, but you can usually get to it. Now if you speak Hungarian, your life becomes like, infinitely better. Because not only can you actually do things and that are maybe a little bit more difficult than do them with less frustration. But people are so much friendlier to you when you try to speak Hungarian, even when I only spoke like a few words, immediately friendlier and more willing to speak and communicate in English as well.

Because you've sort of made that initial effort to break the ice with some Hungarian. And then yeah, honestly, the better I speak Hungarian, the better my life becomes here.(R8)

now as I'm building more and more relationships with Hungarians and being able to speak the language, it's like you get this constant positive validation of progress in a sense. (R8)

And I started learning Hungarian. So it would be like my fifth language, what it's still really hard kind of. So maybe these are one of the things that are kind of hard. I mean, I always tried to read out the signs outside or like translate whenever I received the manual or whatever. But you just wish that things were easier for you, just so that I mean, once you know the language, you would be able to get around. (R16)

I was just fascinated by the language (R1)

Also in the area that I live a lot of people do not speak English, Hungarian is very hard to learn (R19)

Things like getting a social security card, etc. They say they speak English, they don't. And it happened to us often, (R19)

And everything is in Hungarian here. So initially, I found it very difficult. I had to use my phone when I used to go grocery shopping, etc to translate the staff not being helpful, (R19)

In the city, definitely. Knowing Hungarian has definitely helped me. Although it's very, I think maybe some people told you this, or maybe you have realized this, when I want something to be done quickly, then I speak English. And I noticed that if I speak English, I get a better service. I don't know if people have mentioned this to you. But I noticed that if I go to a place, and I speak English, pretending that I don't speak Hungarian. I do have a better service.(R4)

I'm considering staying here because I really love the country. although you know they not everyone here speaks good English, my Hungarian is super bad but some obstacles like the language or relationship can be defeated in the future (R11)

The other main obstacle, which is still for now is the language, it's really something big, I don't know if you where you live in Hungary in Budapest or in someplace else. But unless you live in Budapest, you can you can see for yourself as a Hungarian how, how hard it is for foreigners, to deal with everyday things. I mean, from lingual point of view in Budapest, it's something different because most of the people at least know the basics. But outside Budapest, I have been here and there I have friends here in there, it's something totally different. And if you cannot express yourself, if you cannot ask for this service, starting from the push through the calling centers, through the contracts of your residency, etc, etc. It's really something which can make you nervous. Because it's not easy to live in a community

even if you like it, like me, I really like the community. But it's not that easy to just, oh, okay, I will go to the mall with my mobile and write in English and show it show the Hungarian translation to the lady, where can I find this. It's not something human. This is something with techno technology, which is super fine, but not in each activity in your life. This is not something easy. So that was, I still think for me, this is the biggest obstacle. And when I tried and I'm trying to progress in the Hungarian language, it's getting harder and harder. Each step you you go up, you find the other step is is more farther than the previous one with the language. It's really hard, super hard. It's not connected to the English. It's not connected to my my language. So this is the biggest challenge. I guess those were the main challenges that that I could order, let's say obstacles, the language and the cultural things.(R11)

As a, as a girl from as a foreign girl in Hungary. And I'm kind of struggling with, with relationship related matters. And, again, I blame this on me not being able to speak Hungarian. But as a girl, in my own country, I never had to look for a relationship. But here, it's this like, if I want to start a relationship, language is always a matter, you know. So maybe this is something that other foreigners are also experiencing in a way that my options are now limited to people to Hungarian people who can speak English as well or who can speak a level of English. And this this kind of restricts your your limits your options (R22)

Even see, Gypsy people here speaking English. So when they, when they come to me, and they are asking me money, I'm just trying to politely say that, sorry Like 'Elnezest angolul beszelek' I'm like, No, this is unbelievable. Like, and they start speaking in English with me like, yes, you say, I'm poor, I need money. And it's really amazing. Even the the Gypsy people here speak English. So sometimes I see like Hungarian people my own age who don't speak any English, but then the Gypsy people can. So it's, yeah, it's I, I am, in my area. I'm going to the supermarket to to DM for I don't know buying things for the house, and to the restaurants that are around me, and they all speak English. So as at least someone in there speaks English in case I need something more than that I cannot express myself in Hungarian, then there's always someone who can understand. (R22)

I'm still struggling with the Hungarian language. Not that it's, it's difficult or anything I just didn't, maybe I just couldn't put much effort and time into learning Hungarian because at the back of my mind, I always thought that, well, what's the point of learning Hungarian when I know that I would want to apply for my Master's in an English speaking country. So I was kind of seeing Hungary as as a country that I will spend a few years in and then I will move somewhere else (R22)

The issue of Hungarian is and No offense like if you if you learn Spanish you can still think Okay, anyway I keep it for later (R2)

It would really help of course in Budapest you can do everything in English at medicover and be in any expat circle emotionally How to say like you will be limited and yes some profession will be will be limited in my in my job it is it will be required (R2)

So sometimes people shy because they cannot speak English. And I'm shy because I cannot speak Hungarian Well. And so the communication sometimes doesn't go on very well, because of this language barrier, which I'm trying to overcome. I'm really studying. Trying to learn Hungarian in the past three years, though, iys a difficult language, I should say (R18)

Language is just another barrier. Because there are some some people that don't speak English. And then even if the person is like, if you think is like a nice person, you want to like communicate with them. But But you can't. You can just say hello, and that's it. (R7)

But you know, 20 years ago, not so many people speak English. So it was more difficult, you know, to have connection with people. But yeah, no, no, it was okay. It was okay. I wasn't able to speak Hungarian and I don't really speak German. And mainly when I meet people, and I try to have a communication with them, they tend to answer to me in German. What was the language I don't really speak. And, you know, really, when I was trying to speak in relation with my beautiful [home country nationals] accent, it was a nightmare. So it was my fault, you know, somehow because I was not speaking Hungarian so. (R3)

[I would have more... if I spoke the language] I don't know if opportunities, but maybe more friends. (R7)

Is gonna open my own business here in the future, maybe like, you know, this year and the end of the year. Even it start from the very small one, I have to learn some Hungarian to at least you know, to be able to talk to the clients simple conversation. Well, actually, I lived in China for six years. And my Chinese is just like kindergarten. (laughs) But the Hungarian language is very difficult. But at least I can I can try, you know, because it's Latin alphabet.. In China can't even read I have to memorize everything. Yeah, but here at least you know that I can guess and so actually, I can get by from from my common sense knowledge, right. But to study language is different thing. Well, I can I can try a bit of you knows, a little conversation and stuff. Koszonom szepen. Nem jo, nem jo, you know, but, but you know, but I mean, but in Budapest, or if I start my own life, you know, like, business for a while. I mean, I can hire some Hungarian to work part time and stuff. And right now, and you know, we have Google Translate. convenience, you know. (R17)

The major problem here is language that is very few people that can communicate in any foreign language. My native language is literallt impossible to find that a few people that I heard may be here like Croats and Serbs, but it's very, very, very few people speak my native language. English There are some people that I meet every now and then some friends even family, friends that speak English, but not on on long conversational level. For short conversations. It's okay my Hungarian is more passive than active, I can understand lots of stuff. But when it comes to talking, nobody seems to understand me.. But my accents and the endings are all in the wrong places. So that's, that's different things. (R12)

Yeah, for example, the language could be one of the I know, Hungarian a bit. And I've been reluctant to learn that in first three years, I would say, but, yeah, then I took a formal course.

And I felt the need that yeah, if I'm staying here a bit longer. That is something that will not help me professionally at all, but it will help me culturally. (R9)

depends the young generation. Yeah, it is but couldn't be sometime you have like some event that could describe you know, that, like, not like a verbal or physical abuse, but somehow you can sense that you know, that somebody is not really comfortable around you. Maybe that could be just because of the language, maybe just because of that closeness of culture. And that could be because of the media. That could be anything but yeah, you can sense it at some stages, but it's not something very extreme (R9)

Not everybody speaks English. And I don't speak Hungarian only the basic, I could get along well, like at the teacher she didn't was she was not fluent, the Swimming class teacher, but she could somehow manage to understand each other, and the same in the gym. (R20)

I would say yes, but I would say not in this company that I am working nowadays, because it's a it's a factory, I work in the controlling department in this factory. So many people that I would have to deal with on a daily basis, they don't speak English. And if I would have to achieve this goal in my current company, I would definitely have to learn Hungarian fluently. And others, I know the basic, so and I can catch some phrases in the conversation. So I think the the language is the big barrier here. (R20)

And I used it I speak Hungarian more than the every foreigner around me. So I have an interest also like learning the language learning the culture (R21)

The difficulty with the language also, Hungarian is really not easy to learn. And it's not that we tried, it's our fault. But I, I don't think that I would ever start and, and succeed in learning Hungarian to the point where I would be, you know, fully functional in the society that I could talk to everyone (R13)

Because for you Hungarians, Hungarian is not difficult for us foreigners. It's like alien language from a different planet (laugs). So now, the bottom line is that Yeah, we would like to move to English speaking like Canada, US, more or less Britain, or Australia or similar country where English is the primary language (R12)

Apart from Budapest, other regions and areas are not really open to foreigners, unless it's a physical, physical job, you know, like, munkas and stuff like that. Other other levels are mainly to Hungarians and for Hungarians because of the language exclusively because of the language. (R12)

At this stage in life, social interaction, just like my wife says, comes with a family, meaning it's a group with another group of people, family with a family. And if one member is not able to fully communicate and adapt, like myself, then that presents the problem. It's like a break. Of course, they're Hungarians and that's the primary language. They speak some level

my own native language, but my daughter is also almost fluent in English. My son is picking up faster pace. So in English environment, English working environment. Technically, apart from my son, we can all participate fully and without problems in conversation, social interactions, especially in the countries that had that has a high number of foreigners and immigrants such as Canada or UK or us and stuff like that. That's that's, you know, the biggest problem is that not not entirely fitting in society because of language barrier. But it's not that terrible as it sounds after I explain it. (R12)

The only downside is that Hungarians are not too familiar with foreign languages. And that's, that's that's a big problem. (R12)

People actually speaking for instance, languages. Now, it's not a question if the person speaks English they do, at least in Budapest and surroundings. And it's not always, you know, a very high level if they don't need to work with it. But it's more common, which I think helps this international feel or mindsets maybe mindset. That's the word I'm looking for (R15)

And because I don't speak the language, of course, I have a lot less options (R7)

## Budapest (beauty of the city, architecture, history )

For for a city like Budapest and for a country like Hungary with so many international people living in it, I think, if there are more events that foreign people can find each other. It's really amazing. (R22)

I love those big, big fan of, you know, Budapest the architecture of the building with the patios inside. And even, like, kind of falling apart. Yes. Because some of them are literally falling apart. But they are so beautiful. And I keep thinking is in this one, it was built. It must have been like, you know, it must have been beautiful. And I can see the beauty. You know, in them. I actually like things that are, you know, not so perfect and not so polish. (R14)

I mean just the beauty of the city I really really love to walk to Budapest to in the old buildings just in love you know the bridges and I'm really beauty lover you know in all his forums this go outside of walk in Budapest just to see that beauty it's gives me a good feeling I really really enjoyed this I think the most beautiful cities in the world so as really means a lot for me as well (R6)

I was more interested when there was a eastern european in the history (R1)

Budapest, the city is just so nice (R16)

The pace of the life. Budapest is obviously a hustle.. Budapest is obviously a fast pace of life compared to the rest of Hungary. But still compared to American cities it's much more mellow and chilled and laid back I love the Hungarian summertime especially is very idyllic in my in my mind (R8)

The city was very attractive from the outset. Because of its sort of dynamic and vibrant energy. There's so many people coming in from around the world, which obviously has its downsides as well. But the fact of the matter is that it's just like this little bustling European capital. And then the other layer of it that that was always attractive to me was just the the idiosyncratic city of the city. It's very unique compared to other cities. I mean, there's some people compare it to Prague, but for me, Budapest is just in terms of being two cities in one. Obviously, a lot of cities have two sides of the river. But Budapest is really two cities in one that was kind of smashed together. And then just the scope of the history here, you have so many different arrows and so many different styles of architecture, and then things that are really uniquely Hungarian that you wouldn't see anywhere else like heroes square, for instance, that's a very unique place. I don't really know when equivalent in any other city in Europe, or the Budapest parliament building. I mean, obviously, it's based on Westminster, but it's just that spectacular looking across the river. Even fishermen's bastion I mean, these are all very generic trademark, tourist things, but they have a sort of unique attractiveness to me. (R8)

Mix between East and West. And that's one of the reasons I love Budapest. And then the second part of the thing that I wanted to say, was that after the Coronavirus, I've enjoyed Budapest in a different way. And definitely in a in a less like one of the things that I love before Coronavirus, as well, and maybe less so as I got a little bit older, but especially when I first visited as a 24 year old was like, wow, this is just amazing nightlife, you have great clubs, great bars, very cheap compared to other capitals in Europe. And now that's obviously evaporated. But you get to rediscover this whole extension of Budapest into the Hungarian countryside. and beyond (R8)

I always loved Budapest, but sort of from the perspective of like, wow, it's such a cool city. It's cool to be a foreigner here (R8)

It's a beautiful country. Despite, Everything else it's a beautiful country (R19)

I remember when I came to Budapest for the first time, and I have no idea about the city. And I was like just I was the same in university. So I the train to the city and then I start walking. And then some point is this was like in front of the Parliament and the river and the castle and everything and I was like talking about and I was standing really like it was so amazing for me and and also like I could walk in the street and just feel like there's a lot of history here. And I want to know about about this. Yeah, that was really amazing (R24)

I can say some positive ones which I would say that never lived in the city where there is a river or a major water source passing which really shows it up and you know, seeing being around that whole lane of the bridges and looking into the water. It's just super beautiful city to be in, especially during the summers during the night and when they were always like before the COVID they were always activities where the bridge was closed where there were activities of people dancing, having concerts into the park near the parliament, gardens and

you know, all those things which I think which are really good to live and happy. So I think people really they live in summer so it is super good..(R23)

The downtown is now beautiful (R3)

So the mountain the Gellerthegy I guess. And on behind of my side, it's the castle. So it's like I would say it's a beautiful place, like finest place to live and will drag that. (R9)

It's it's beautiful. Most of the buildings here are old ones. There are a few new ones too. I live in a relatively old building. And very classic one. And in front of that. It's a very beautiful classic building to which I'd like to live in. And I prefer to live in classic building that represent who did this when somebody told me about Budapest and I will have to explain someone about Budapest architecturally, I would say about the classic buildings. That's the .... of Budapest, that that's a good thing about Budapest that we have restored it and they are in their original position. And okay, some need renovation and some are getting renovated. So, but we don't have so much more grand buildings coming up in downtown and in that area, which I like. (R9)

And it's a really beautiful city is like the city of the kings. And if you go to the city center, you feel in love. Because really, it really looks like it is stopped in time in a medieval way. There are a castle that guy that was in love for his wife built for her. Can you imagine a guide making building a castle for you. I was like, Oh my god, it's so romantic. So let's say it's a romantic city. A beautiful city. And yes, I would say that definitely worth a visit to live there (R20) Szfhvar

Budapest fit me in a way that it's like, it's a city, but it's not a big city. It's Europe, but it's not like harsh Western Europe. You know, challenges that you can face, you know, like, but there are different challenges, obviously. But, you know, it's like not a scary destination for work. As a first one (R21)

We have a lot of culture in the city (R15).

I see is, is there at least good efforts to keep the keep the culture I like, I like that a lot. So when something is for instance, like rebuilt, or you build something new, I like it when you build it in that style. And what I don't like in the [home country], is that you have this beautiful architecture. And there is this really, for me personal opinion, ugly, modern glass thing, which doesn't seem to fit in the environments, but it's what people want nowadays. And if you can, you know, build a five kilometers to decide somewhere. So it doesn't necessarily disturb the view. And here I feel that that is more considered. Not always, of course, it depends on who is the one one building it and paying for it. But I can see that it's more especially in Budapest, it's more aligned. So to say and I lived in Veresegyhaz before and I see the same that they are building a lot. They build a lot on EU money, but they build it in the same type of style. So that looks one whole. That's another thing that I that I noticed a lot (R15)

#### Geographical location of Hungary/Budapest/location of respondent

The only reason that I'm staying is that I would like to be in Europe to be able to visit my sister. If I live I don't know in America or in Canada, things will be a little bit more difficult if I want to visit my sister and I should go through a whole process of getting visas and things like that. So I just prefer staying Hungary so that I would still be in Europe. (R22)

I like the proportion of the country (R1)

Yes, it was a big one.(big factor, that Hungary is part of the EU) (R5)

I still prefer to be living in Europe and not really in Asia or the Americas just because of the distance and some other factors (R16)

I will buy a house in the center of Hungary because you see where is dunaujvaros So I don't like especially you know that in this area approximately. I think it's a perfect place because you are one hour from balaton one hour from the airport one hour from kecskement one and a half an hour from szeged and my best friends. So basically you are one on one and a half away from everything and I want to have a property on this area. So I will put this flat for renting and buy a house in the center (R1)

The second thing could be it could be that the central location can move around easily within Europe (R9)

Like if I have to rank and if I have to value the central location, I would say it's based on Europe. Rather than Yeah, the world Yeah. (R9)

So and also, because it's really close to Budapest and to the lake, both lakes, I was between three spots all the time. (R20)

Budapest. I mean, it's a very compact city, like everything is easily accessible, affordable. And I don't know, like even finding an apartment. I don't know. Like, it's not a difficult one to start your life in a couple of weeks. Like most, like in more dense and popular, big cities of Europe, you have so many challenges to start. I think most of the people prefer Budapest for this reason. With a suitcase and the next day, you got to have like, many things. (R21)

It's difficult to find and usually is linked to Budapest or one or two major cities, that but mainly to Budapest, I am not willing to relocate to Budapest because I'm just not fond of big city life, it's always hectic, and so on, so forth. (R12)

I really had a love for the city and, and I think this city Loves Me too. (R6)

Apart from Budapest, other regions and areas are not really open to foreigners, unless it's a physical, physical job, you know, like, munkas and stuff like that. Other other levels are mainly to Hungarians and for Hungarians because of the language exclusively because of the language. (R12)

Maybe it will find some Hungarian girl and get married with it, and then the plans will move to reconsider. (R7)

## Weather

It's also not that bad to relocate to a place which I Mediterranean warm beach but the weather it's usually nice and straight (R2)

The weather of [countryside city], is the best I have known him for my entire life. I never was before in a place where he was so stable and nice weather. So it's important to mention this kind of thing. Never too hot in summer Never Too cold in winter, very rarely precipitation raining.(R1)

I think it's it's a good country to experience the seasons with the flowers etc. Spring (R19)

The second one is good climate. I'm from St. Petersburg. And you can imagine they still have snow in St. Petersburg, you know. And so excellent climate. (R18)

But later when I started living here for like, longer time, I realized that you know, sun is very important when you don't see it for a longer time in winter (R23)

And yeah, I like it, the weather is quite fine. It's not too extreme. You get all the 4 season in here. So I can, which is very close to the weather where I was born and raised. So that is one of the factor. (R9)

I don't like the climate (R21)

So I got this link or Hungary sunny. I now knowit's not like that. Because I'm fed up with Hungary for the same reason I was fed up with with the UK. I mean, we are now for 19th of April and I'm still wearing my winter coat. Okay, so I have may June July August four months have some nice weather as well so it's what is if I'm leaving this country is this the reason why the weather. (R4)

The weather. I must admit that that's a big impact. No, but I think seriously. I had a joke. I mean, the weather. Okay, it's not the nicest at this particular moment. But normally, April is already, you know, not too bad. And then maybe you can count on 20 plus degrees. when my mom is saying that. Why are you in shorts because we have the heater on and I go. I submit that that's an impact (R15)

You don't want to retire in a cold country. I'm sorry. Want to retire in a tropical country (R17)

## Landscape of the country

And it's hilly, I like the fact that is hilly. So our house is also on a little bit of a slope. (R4)

But definitely in a place where there is a sea. Definitely (R4)

If you're going to south you have some nice landscape. Nice, nice natural, very open landscape. So you have sports swimming pools, and you have the blaton Lake not so far you are the austrian and montane not so far (R1)

These are also one of the things I definitely miss, living by the seaside..(R16)

I I wish we had a sea here. That would be perfect world. But let's say we have a sea. Balaton. Let's assume that's a sea for us (laugs), then it's perfect wor;d after that. So here, I like it. Yeah. (R9)

Plus, I just love this I love I love the country. So the fact that we have a lot of different types of scenery within one country, we have a lot of culture in the city where you have add the 'Puszta' and you have 'Balaton' and you have this small little, you know, pearls, which I know exists as well. And that I learned differently. That's definitely a plus. (R15)

I enjoy the scenery, so we'd like to see more of it (R15)

Landscape, that is limited here (R2)

## Access to home country

That could be one of the reason like there is no direct flight from here to there. And that is a little bit bothering. But I hope in future we're gonna get one but apart from that. All right. Yeah. For the from UK, we have a direct flight. There were some flights from Austria, but not anymore. But if we get from Austria, then I'm fine to that going to Vienna is easy new flying from there directly. (R9)

Because there is no direct flights to [home country] from here. So whatever I'm going home and if I need at least one day to go to the airport, the lay over and then take another flight (R20)

COVID-19

That's something that coronavirus pandemic helps a lot if you decide that don't think I'm gonna stay here for much longer (R20)

So it was a very interesting social life. And I think that again, the pandemic made me realize that, and maybe I really don't want to leave. It's just I don't have my social life. So whatever I go, I have no social life. So before this, it was not really a big problem for me, because I had other things to distract my mind. But nowadays, maybe these things are bothering me because of this. Because I'm locked at home. Everyday with no contact with anyone. Hmm. So it might be that in a normal life, I would not be willing to leave hungry, huh. (R20)

Oh, I will tell my social life before the epidemic because nowadays, I have nothing. (R20)

Now under the pandemic, it might be a bit more risky to lose the job. Before the pandemic, I could say that losing a job here makes no problem because I could find one more in within two or three months. Now is a pandemic, I prefer to stay in this one still. And we'll think about it one year later to see how it is in one year. (R1)

Well, for now. Yeah. Especially during the pandemic like here. Not my view to change. No. (R21)

And those reason is mainly about the pandemic and working from home and being away from the colleagues its making everything so, this tall isolation, for the job is like giving me a feeling of being alone all the time because you know, you've worked with people but they're not necessarily here and you totally lose the social benefits of being in an office. (R21)

So if we talk about short term plans, for example, for this year, I mean, the times are uncertain for everyone, I think, and nobody knows what they will do or what the situation will be (R13)

So, to be honest, I've been applying to jobs outside for a year I would say, but with the COVID, etc, you know, companies would be less willing to give a work permit so yeah (R19)

Being global pandemic right now, there is no stability anywhere. I mean, it's it, this corona is blanketed the world in pretty much same way. Everywhere you look, it doesn't matter. Even African countries, or Western countries, or European countries are the same level affected. So right now, And that eventually is going to phase out just like any other disease, and things will start working back to normal. At that point, we're going to reconsider what we're going to do with a try to move stay in Hungary. But at this moment, it's like status quo, really, just trying to ride this out just like everybody else in the world. (R12)

If the COVID is gooooone (laughs) I am I plan to get a business visa this year (R17)

I feel like I have a stability here. I feel like and we are not in a very good moment to to take risks.(R24)

But for now, because of the COVID. and stuff, I really don't know what what I will do. I'm thinking about it all the time to go back. Because it's like my main my main income was from

from Airbnb. And now when there is no Airbnb, then my income is, is not secured. And of course, it went dramatically, dramatically down. So I really need to think about it. (R7)

## Hungary is the stepping stone for Western Europe

I will say that this the opportunity, if I stay in Hungary, I have the possibility to in the future, to migrate to another country (R24)

I'm still struggling with the Hungarian language. Not that it's, it's difficult or anything I just didn't, maybe I just couldn't put much effort and time into learning Hungarian because at the back of my mind, I always thought that, well, what's the point of learning Hungarian when I know that I would want to apply for my Master's in an English speaking country. So I was kind of seeing Hungary as as a country that I will spend a few years in and then I will move somewhere else (R22)

And as I said, it was really enough for me to have two years here I've been everywhere I've seen everything I say I kind of had enough not in a negative sense but that's if they want to see something different so yeah, I might I might just not want to be and everyone wants to look for something better in their life. So I mean, I for me, Europe after I've seen like all of the European countries for me Europe is the Scandinavia is a totally like, Denmark or Norway or Switzerland. And yeah, I wouldn't want to be maybe somewhere else to live for for living. No, I think that's why (R16)

The first year of my studies here because the plan in my mind was theoretically to finish studying in Hungary getting my PhD and then leaving to some other place that can that were where the main or the spoken language is English because I didn't want to learn a new language. And I wanted to focus on my life, start a job to start life a family etc, etc (R11)

I'm still struggling with the Hungarian language. Not that it's, it's difficult or anything I just didn't, maybe I just couldn't put much effort and time into learning Hungarian because at the back of my mind, I always thought that, well, what's the point of learning Hungarian when I know that I would want to apply for my Master's in an English speaking country. So I was kind of seeing Hungary as as a country that I will spend a few years in and then I will move somewhere else (R22)

## Customer service, supermarkets, bureaucracy and instututions

Even when you go to renew your lakcim Katya or the immigrant office, it looks like they're really notlike to to meet foreigner when you're there, we're really not sympathetic. If I go to the administration, and if I, even if I speak Hungarian, if I ask, please, can you repeat this they get nervous and they actually speak faster because they are nervous of the situation. And they really don't know how to handle situations with foreignere and so even foifspeak Hungarian, it's, they are not always they're easy (R1)

But that being said, if something's undercooked in America, or you want to send it back, they'll bend over backwards to make you happy, whereas I think in hungary, they'll sometimes do it, but they might give you a little bit of attitude. So it is, on occasion, there's times in Hungary where people aren't extra accommodating. (R8)

But cashiers, shopkeepers, they're like, super upset about their life and situation or socioeconomical status.. So, you feel it. I mean, they don't want to be there, they want to get rid with you. But it's not exactly to like most of the time when I go to a shop I feel like I have anxiety. So yeah, sometimes I avoid some shops, because I know that person is going to be really upset again. So I know I'm not the only one saying yeah. (R21)

And also as a third country national if I wanted to buy property, I would need a special a special kind of authorization, something like that. So I don't want to get into these these complications. (R19)

Oh, regularly I usually shop at Spar, but the staff is mostly Hungarian, mostly middle aged women. And I have things like loyalty cards, etc. I like collecting them. And I know how to use them because you can find translating options on internet. But if you would have questions, or you would not understand anything simple things like them asking you, if you want a bag or something like that, obviously, they see you're a foreigner, obviously, you don't speak the language, but they would still go about and speak to me in that language. And when I would look at their face, they would be like, so irritated. (R19)

I encountered some problems with the with the immigration office, that that was extremely frustrating. It was hard for me to so I am a EU citizen, my procedure of getting the address card should be the simplest one, like really shouldn't be a big deal. But somehow it got complicated. It's, it's involved a lot of your calling and worrying about that, though. I also didn't really I wasn't doing the best I could, because I didn't want to deal with it. But yeah, I encountered some problems with the immigration office, not big problems. But you know, it's like slip ups with some details (R13)

And for example, I have a big problem with [telecommunication company]. We are big enemies, even in private and in my in my job because I deal with [telecommunication company] at work.. They're cool customer service and and their policies. One person is saying one thing the other person is saying another thing, it's just extremely frustrating. It's some some stories are unbelievable. If you say to a third person, it's like, no, it's impossible that this is happening, that internet nowadays, the fact that you can't choose internet providers, that is a bit frustrating, and overall, not in my personal experience, but I hear stories from from people from work from acquaintances that everybody has a problem with something with, I don't know OFI, the translation services or I don't know, public administration, district administration, there are several examples. But it's just the overall feeling that that some things are not really Working. (R13)

whatever you need, you can get in the two, three days, whatever. Apart from changing internet providers, I guess that's a little bit of a drug deal between the big companies but it's okay. That one is okay, too. (R12)

Let's see, well, the obvious explanation is a supermarket. If I'm too slow, then the cashier is like can do hsss inside your face. And for me, it's like, I'm not saying in sirael when we have like good service. But here it's like, I was really shocked from it. And they can tell you like bad the words, if you are too slow, or if you have like questions that they think is stupid questions or something, or you can't understand something because you're a foreigner. And people can get like mad or do like faces or do like noises and this is like the main but there are some some more. (R7)

I just wanted to donate blood once. And I couldn't. So I made. That was that was one of the examples Why, why the why why certain institutions are not workin (R13)

Education. I mean, yes, of course. The school system. And especially, you know, the primary school years and secondary, not so much preschool or nursery. I think there's, there's good nurseries and good preschools but the public primary school and secondary school system doesn't really seem good to me as an educator. (R14)

#### Hierarchy of elements of well-being

STAY Yeah, the number one, I would say the living standard, I can enjoy the highest living standard mean, in a very reasonable price, to be honest. It's like the amount that I pay for that if I paid the same. In the Western Europe, it would be very different. I get the same. Like, yeah. facilities here to compare to they're never lived there. But I traveled there, I think, for one month in [home country], and I've been in other European countries, too. So I don't see the major difference in the living standard, or the community where I live. So I'm comfortable with that. That would be the first thing, which is important. For me. The second thing is community and friendships around. And the third thing would be here, like financially and career wise, I'm stable at the moment, I feel that I'm gonna be fine. (R9)

LEAVE I think that the most important it's the there are no direct flights to [home country]. The second that I would say I don't know. It's not like that I really wants to leave the country but if I have to consider I would say like the oh well, I'd say the second would be the the back the cultural background. Because for example if I want and I wanted to start a family one day and I cannot picture myself starting a family in such a different cultural background. So it would I think I will have a lot of problems with my future family and I think the third would be the political view because it it does not impact me directly on my daily activities, or whatever I do. But somehow it's some more human side of the living living I would say these are the top three (R20)

STAY Okay, say first freedom. Like living without the pressure, obviously compared with [home country]. second. Again, like personal connections, including my dog at connections, three, three, I am pretty integrated. So it's easier to stay here than going somewhere or going back to [home country] and start over with everything. (R21)

LEAVE I would still say the government because there are a lot of countries that are not working properly. But if the government is the way it is, if if your personal beliefs don't agree with with the actions and beliefs of the government, then everything else it's not really that important. For me, it's important to feel like I live somewhere where the government where I agree with the actions of the government. So that would be number one, actually. Maybe even a so now probably I'm influenced by by this COVID situation and what it came out of it, but the second one then would be lack of social circle. And the third one would be frustration with the institution's overall. Yeah. Okay, and the language would be the fourth. (R13)

LEAVE First two reasons to leave, I would have put them in number one, both of those number one and two are difficult to say which one is more important is opportunity, job opportunity in other Western countries is much greater than here. And social interactions. For me and my family, a little bit wider than here. The third reason, I would like to provide opportunity for both of my kids to success for success to their own hard work or school. And afterwards. So forth reason reasons. Those are reasons to leave. This is not really the reason but the problem here is that you have to be networked, you have to be connected, to move forward in many areas, meaning if you are not connected to people, then it's it's difficult to move forward that that connects to this third reason that I would like to provide a better future for my kids. (R12)

STAY Reasons to stay in Hungary is it's a safe country, very safe country. That's, that's number one. That is very low crime that is very low natural disasters, very low threats and stuff like that. Reason number two, is I got really comfortable living here. Reason number three is that it's also connected to reason Three, two, first part, my kids are Hungarian. So I don't really know, I kind of how move to foreign country would affect them. I same time, I would like to take them to a better place to provide them with the possibility to grow. And same time, I would like to stay at them to stay here because this is their home to families. Friends And so that's the stuff. (R12)

STAY I think currently especially considering you know the fact that I'm a single mom some alone providing for my daughter is actually that I can make for now a better living here than I could in the [home country]. I'm not sure whether I would I would react the same if she wouldn't be here, but the fact that I have this niche job here and I've earned my credits makes a big a big difference. Because now I can say that okay, as a foreigner living here, I earn more than Hungarians do what people typically do I can use the skills that I like, you know, using if I were to go back to the [home country], I would be a no one, a Nobody. here I can kind of like make demands and say okay, I'm a single mom you want me Okay fine, but I can only work seven hours not eight I'm going to work from home not from the office. And that comes with the fact that people know me I earned the credits, in the [home country] I would

not be able to do that. So probably in the [home country] I would earn the same amount of salary as I do now. Basically means I'm actually doing a good job here. So that I think that's my top my top reason because I was thinking for a second okay friends, but I think Yeah, no, but it's that's it friends are your friends you know, they will stay your friends even afterwards, you will always find new friends wherever you go. You know what comes to my mind. Happy year according to the weather. I must admit that that's a big impact. No, but I think seriously. I had a joke. I mean, the weather. Okay, it's not the nicest at this particular moment. But normally, April is already, you know, not too bad. And then maybe you can count on 20 plus degrees. when my mom is saying that. Why are you in shorts because we have the heater on and I go. I submit that that's an impact. That's my number two. And then and then three. The three is that friends. Three is friends. Okay, friends. Yeah. (R15)

STAY hmm, business, business opportunity, yeah, So actually, like, you know, I feel like okay, like right now is something that I have to consider life is where to settle down. But we'll set up the business where I can make my own business and expand it. Yeah. Well, one is another one is socialize. Yeah. Because I don't have many friends. So the best in Hungary is it's very easy to make connections to people. Because a lot of people don't speak English. So people that speak English or expats the trying to find connections to each other.. the cost of living, you know, cost of living. Because the I mean, I don't consider [home country] (laughs) even Indonesia is pretty hard, sometimes to I don't want to be just a tourist. Actually, like, yeah, I found a cost of living is quite good, you know, to consider. And, so it's easy to move in around us

LEAVE Of course, is the income. Income social life, the third. To think about it. It's mainly these Well, these two and of course, the, you know, it's far, far from my family far from far from my family and friends. So it's basically Yeah, this this three. (R7)

LEAVE To be with my family in [home country]. family friends and let's say people, okay. Secondly understand everything what is around me. Third thing food, food. (R3)

LEAVE I think the first one I would go with how I feel being here. So I wouldn't say it's a friendly to international people, like super friendly. So that would be one thing, because if I want to leave somewhere in the future, for longer term, I want to feel happy and belong where I live I not into like super 100%, or at least 50%. That which I feel that I cannot, no matter what I try, I cannot reach even 50% over here. Second thing is the healthcare for sure that if something happens with me, like I'm into 40s and 50s, then I would want to rely my money on the healthcare system where I live. And I don't think I can do that while I'm staying here. So those would be two things. And the third would be I don't know, it's just you when you stay the same place right now. You start knowing a lot of things which you know that they are not going to help you. Just a gut feeling, you know, when you start to know a lot of things where you stay you just know that you do not and this is I think there's my personal preference that I do not want to stay. It's like a 50-50 because this is what I've experienced. And I feel that I should move from which place to a growth place or to a better place where I can learn what I want. (R23)

STAY generally speaking, Hungary is a nice country with very good and kind people lets put it like that, right, that and is good. And, you know, better is always an enemy of and better always an enemy of good. And since I found good, so why look for something else. Yeah, so that's because the country is great and people are great, not because you're Hungarian. And just the general general feeling. Well, there are exceptions, but they can be overlooked easily. The second one is good climate. I'm from St. Petersburg. And you can imagine they still have snow in St. Petersburg, you know. And so excellent climate. And the third, so that's for small, self employed. People are enterpreneurs the business climate is welcoming. Okay, I don't know about big investors. But for the small ones, it's convenient. It's straightforward. And it's helpful. (R18.)

LEAVE Yeah, I think one of the first for me, maybe it's it's environments. I mean, yeah, like, having, like, mountains, see everything next to, like, new Yeah, let's go with new landscape, that is limited here. I think the second one, but as as strong, as we mentioned, that there are before, but it was the fact. That's my my relation is like the not balanced like someone being local, and someone being foreigner, and I really feel it's often, and that is, as the language follows more precise, it's how the language blocked me. Because I say even if I have a good language, yes, I, I have a flat I cannot go to the owner meeting monthly thing. You know, it's like, I'm, I feel that I'm limited and if I wanted to do another job, I mean, I live my life but yet, honestly, limited. And it would be really limited waiting for a long time, like before. So yeah, I think this this limitation in life is really number two and I think new landscape because I like to change and, and the differences in my couple that sometime a bit interfere, it's not equal a number one equal. (R2)

STAY Number one is that I'm, I feel it now difficult to give up everything that I built here. Number two, is that if I would want to leave Hungary, I have two options where one of them is going back to my country, which is not an option. The other one is to go to another country, which is difficult, because I have to go through this whole immigration thing one more time. So this is the second one. And the third one is that I feel already in love with the country and with the city and I don't feel like a foreigner no more. although it's still not my city, but I find it to be home. So I don't feel like I can stranger anymore. And this is also something that makes me want to stay. (R22)

STAY definitely the self satisfaction that With all the obstacles or the tasks or tests that I saw that I, that I might face, I still feel that I belong in here, somehow. So this is definitely the first thing. The second thing is the career. Because if you ask about my dream job, it was always teaching in a university or researching or both. And I just feel now I can see, I can see that somehow I can achieve this thing here in Hungary. So this is this second. And the third one, guess why not the financial situation. I feel myself enough secured financially here. So why would I, so I don't care what the situation is in [home country], I don't care how much money I will get if I get back to [home country], that that doesn't, that is irrelevant to me. So I, I it's really this order first and most important, the self satisfaction the community that I can

deal with, with what I like, the second one is the career. Yes, I might be able and I can achieve what I want. And financial stability. Yes, I can achieve it here in Hungary. (R11)

STAY I think one of the reason that I am still here, and I want to live here, and I want to stay here, because I want to take the challenge. To experience living different, so different country. And obviously, you know, get deeper, in the cultural way. After that, I will say that Hungary has the best opportunities for me, in a career, for example, that's also very attractive to me, like I told you I am kind of being right what I can do for the rest of my life. Like that. I also, I also know that there's chances for me here, for example, to study something else. And those also, are really important points. And then I will say that this the opportunity, if I stay in Hungary, I have the possibility to in the future, to migrate to another country. (R24)

STAY work Make me stay here, the compensation package I have. I mean, to certain sense friends, also, what I made I made in the last 19 years and security because I you know I have a house, I feel there is a place where I can be safe walking around, physical safety. Yeah, I feel that I you know, going around, I know that nothing is going to happen. You know, to me Obviously, if I pay a little bit of attention, but it's not like the US where you go where to the supermarket, somebody can shoot at you or these things. So that's kind of physical safety is very, is very important to me. So these are the I think the three things. (R4)

LEAVE It's the money. The second one would be real estate. The third one, I would say, would be the culture. culture here would encompass things like raising children, the constitutional state and things like food, etc. diversity.(R19)

LEAVE I would put money in the first place. Okay. And then also food, and then maybe like health, or like language (R16)

STAY I think creative inspiration would be the number one reason I mean, my girlfriend, being Hungarian would be the number one reason but if it's, it's not really a reason, because if we leave she, I don't have to make that choice, you know what I mean. So it's not like, but but that is also a reason in the sense that her family is here. And if I were to stay, that would be a big reason why. And then also just yet, I think, the I have a sense of adventure here, there's a there's a real sense of adventure. And a Hungarians probably think I'm crazy when I say that. But uh, the that, for me, Hungary is a very adventurous place and a very creatively inspiring place. So I think those are the two main reasons. And I, you know, I, I don't know, this is necessarily specific to Budapest, but um, relationships, I've had good relationship everywhere. So I don't know that this is like necessarily a Hungarian thing. And that would make me want to stay here. But maybe, in that vein, a level of stability and comfort and stability, stability and comfort, I feel comfortabe and stable now. So that would be a reason to stay. (R8)

STAY well I mean obviously the lifestyle was the main thing because some of the way I'm living. So what what can i what i can afford with my salary in the lifestyle you know what, I can go out to restaurants every time I want I can live in a fancy flat city center I can buy

clothes I can travel every time I want you know these kind of things. That's how it's somewhat like a lifestyle. then the social relationships of course that was bring a good part of my life and and the third one I think the city himself like what he can offers the opportunities I have in the city the beauty of the city what and who is in the city (R6)

LEAVE I think I would say, I think social interactions is very much with healthcare, but I;m gonna put healthcare first, okay. Because it's something that does worry me a lot. And it does worry me even more since the pandemic. And it's something that I just recently experienced, like, I've gone through it, you know, I've gone through the yeah...Second is social interaction Because even the education system, you know, my husband has been in that system and he is okay.. Okay. Support here and there and being the international family that we are, we could definitely go find a way to make it work. And by social interactions I mean Different things, you know, it's not just the customer service. It's my connection. You know, I, this is no blame me, you know, it's my connection the way I connect, or don't connect with, with Hungarians in general. But for me, you know, life is built up of little things, you know, it's like going to the store and being greeted by going to a, you know, drop your child off at nursery and have a quick, you know, half a minute conversation with, with the teacher is then going to give, you know, my, my needs, and, you know, whatever, whatever, you know, whatever, having a chat with that person, being able to have a coffee with mothers or mother give then, you know, so it's a bit of a bit of a bit of an end in general, you know, as far as you know, Hungarians are very closed off in knowing these kind of interactions. (R14)

STAY More first will be the family. Second will be the environment. And third will be the security. Like the in terms of the pollution and stuff, it's less pollution in overall, like, as I mentioned, like the people are calm, that's also very important aspect,, when they are calm and open to listen to you. And when you you can easily adjust in them. Like in the environment. It's a very important factor, no matter how good you are at your work. But if you don't get a proper environment, you cannot proceed like you cannot. So it's a it's a very important factor. It is like the physical security. It's not financial, it's a physical one, overall, not much happening in this part of the world. So which is excellent. So far, so good, the diversity is happening, but in a very positive way. Very good. People are new people are coming in, and they are very much understanding each other. And they are even the students and the older generation out accepting them. And as I mentioned previously, they're becoming a part of the family. And this is what the security you need to have in the like, in society. Yeah. (R10)

LEAVE If I get a better opportunity outside first. Second is if I felt that I'm not welcomed in the country anymore. And third is something bad happened in my home country, and I have to be there. I just leave. (R5)

STAY my thermal bath project, my two best friends and they will actually if I if I had not this two best friends probably in 2016 I will have not come back actually. So there were very strong factor which made my decision to come back in Hungary and number three I have nothing which came to my head which comes to my mind actually so I think it's an honest

reaction. So my project my two best friends and in further no I don't see actually. Overall I like Hungarian by like the proportion of the country, whether the mentality of Hungarians is not a problem, because they are a bit cold people, but I am also cold person. So I think there is a compatibility with this. So, no, I don't have a fourth factor which coming by, I like the food, but it's not a bigger big deal. We also have a fantastic food in [home country] So (R1)