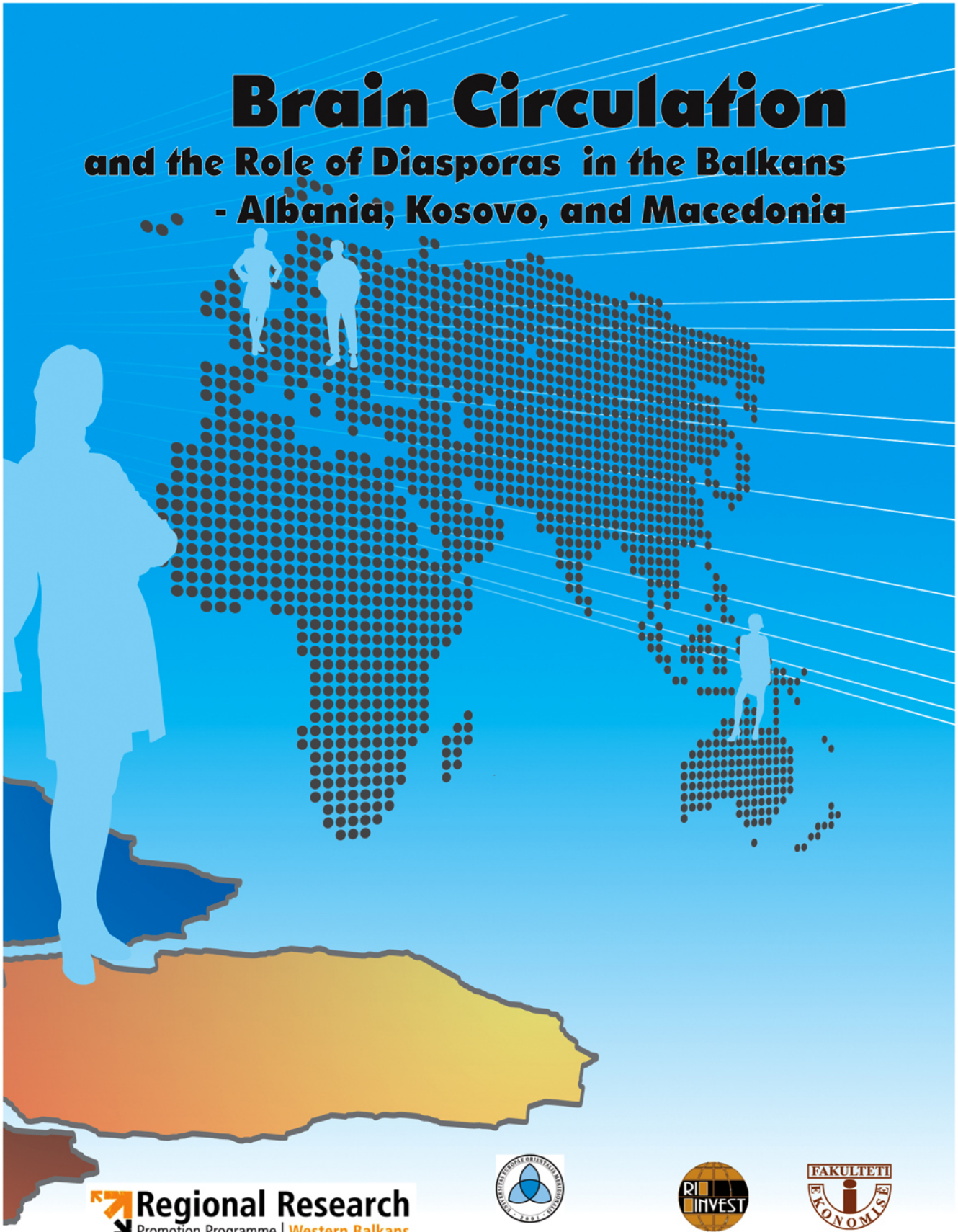
Brain Circulation

and the Role of Diasporas in the Balkans - Albania, Kosovo, and Macedonia



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Brain Circulation and the Role of Diasporas in the Balkans – Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia

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PART ONE

PART TWO

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We believe that this research has made a significant contribution to our understanding of the evolving processes of brain circulation in the Western Balkans - OECD corridor. While, it answers many questions, the results also raise some issues that deserve additional investigation and we hope that this research will pave the way for similar and more in-depth research in the region.

Project Manager and Editor

Abdulmenaf Sejdini

Foreword

Migration research in and about the Balkan region has so far primarily focused on labour and refugee migration movements, often with limited concern for the skills of the migrants concerned or educational purposes in mobility. In the same vein, the literature on the migration-development nexus, which has considerably increased since the turn of the millennium, has primarily riveted on the role of remittances and sometimes on knowledge networks. The project team of the present study should be lauded for the innovative choice of topic providing a link between student mobility (intentions), brain circulation and broader migration issues. While the specialised literature presents evidence that intentions to migrate are often correlated with subsequent real moves, the topic remains under-researched. Understanding such intentions to migrate and the motivation leading to (temporary) emigration, however, is undoubtedly a promising research strategy. For this reason, there was no hesitation, when the Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies of the University of Neuchâtel (SFM) was approached by the Regional Research Promotion Programme – Western Balkans (RRPP) and the project leader to join the team for the purpose of external mentoring.

The subsequent exchanges and collaboration, especially during the three workshops bringing together the project teams of Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia, in several respects proved to be most interesting and rewarding: certainly in empirical and methodological terms, but equally concerning the dynamics of the research process with team members from different countries and backgrounds and finally, as aforementioned, with regard to the under-researched topic.

To start with the last point and picking only one finding, the high propensity of students who consider emigration primarily as a temporary move for educational purposes seems to be the most striking result. It is striking because the result is so clear, and it is striking because it contrasts with the

widespread view that young people from the Balkan region are mainly driven by dissatisfaction at home and lured by unrealistic expectations of a better life abroad. In stark contrast to this view, the study shows that the rationale and intentions of students are closely linked to the lack of educational opportunities – especially at graduate level. Moreover, the reputation of foreign universities is another driving force for students to seek further education abroad: in order to improve their job prospects upon return. Beyond providing expertise and know-how, studying abroad is widely considered a marker of success in itself. Recent studies in other transition or developing countries produced similar findings. The same holds true for preferred countries of destination, where an increased interest for more distant countries is observed, such as the USA and Canada, whereas the United Kingdom is favoured over the countries that dominated (labour) migration from the Balkans, countries such as Germany, Switzerland or Italy.

Another interesting, if not counter-intuitive, result concerns the absence of gender differences in intentions to migrate for educational purposes, in all three countries researched. Female students, who form a majority among the respondents, may be less prone to emigrate for employment or to live abroad permanently, but when it comes to improving their human capital, the intentions of female students do not differ from those of male colleagues. For both groups, marital status, socio-economic level and ethnicity are much more influential in this respect than gender.

An undeniable strength of the present research consists in its multi-faceted design and methods: First, the mixed methods combining a component of guidelines-based, semi-structured interviews with experts and several hundred returnees and a large-scale questionnaire survey among 3,400 students. This double-layered approach permits confronting statistically representative results with more qualitative explanations of the collected findings. Second, there is a considerable advantage in examining the

research topic from the prospective stance of the intentions to migrate among students as well as from the retrospective experience-based feedbacks from returnees. Confronting both angles leads to interesting insights, such as the finding that the average planned stay abroad by student respondents is five years, consistent with the actual average stay of the returnees in all three countries. It would of course be interesting to enrich the findings further with opinions of migrants still living abroad. This step was initially planned, but had to be abandoned since the complexity of the research design would have exceeded available resources. Third, the research design allowed a comparative approach, which leads the authors to state that "While the similarities across countries greatly outweigh the differences, the inter-country differences are important enough to warrant analysis." Throughout the literature there is a large consensus that systematic comparison takes knowledge forward.

The issues which were continuously raised around the orientation of the study lead to a fruitful research dynamic, within the team, through many debates about theoretical and empirical priorities in the lines of enquiry. Given the political context in the region, the varying scientific background of the stakeholders and inevitable time constraints, it was sometimes difficult to find agreement on a common focus for the undertaken research. However, it was not least these controversial discussions which helped all the stakeholders involved to disentangle theoretical assumptions, normative connotations and policy implications starting from common interpretation of empirical data collected.

Denise Efionayi and Didier Ruedin

Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies (SFM) of the University of Neuchâtel

PART ONE

Brain Circulation and the Role of Diasporas in the Balkans – Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia

Comparative Regional Report

Abdul Ghaffar Mughal, Abdulmenaf Sejdini, Esmeralda Shehaj, Sokol Havolli

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Context and Significance of the Research

1.1.1 Labor migration in the Selected Countries –Historical Trends

Countries of the Western Balkans[1] constitute an important part of the contemporary system of migration. Three important factors shape the current migration flows in the region: the socialist legacy, existing migrant networks, and migration policies, mainly of the receiving countries. This study focuses on three countries of the Western Balkans: Albania, Macedonia, and Kosovo. Unlike nationals of Albania, whence exit was near impossible, citizens of Macedonia[2] and Kosovo, being constituent parts of the former Yugoslavia, enjoyed relative freedom of movement across Europe and they have traditionally been source countries of labor migration. The collapse of the socio-economic and political order that attended upon the breakup of the former Yugoslavia was accompanied by ethnic conflicts of the 1990s, high unemployment, and general impoverishment of large sections of the population. These factors, coupled with the onset of transition to a market economy, further strengthened the networks of labor migration throughout Europe that were created by nationals of the Western Balkan. The refugee regimes and immigration policies of major destination countries of the OECD played a significant role in this process. Today, many of these countries contain the bulk of the diaspora from the Western Balkans, including the three countries under study (Table 1).

1.1.2 Significance of Labor Export for Small Economies

Given economies of scale in production, small economies must be *open* economies. In the presence of serious handicaps in expanding the size of the market through commodity exports, because of high transportation costs and/or lack of FDI, export of labor tends to emerge as a substitute for export of goods.[3] All three countries included in the project are small economies. Given the limited size of the

[1]The geographic scope of the Western Balkans extends beyond the three countries included in the study to Bosnia Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia.
[2]Wherever "Macedonia" appears in this document, it refers to the Republic of Macedonia.
[3]See Raballand (2006) for a strong theoretical argument and Mughal (2007) for an application to Tajikistan.

market and difficulties in realizing economies of scale, international migration tends to become a structural feature of small economies, *a fortiori*, for the landlocked ones. Geopolitical imperatives may further limit the options open to small countries (Demas 1965, Salvatore et al., 2001). Although geography is not a destiny, and there are examples of small countries that have been able to export their way to growth, in the absence of FDI, high transportation cost of exports, and other countervailing factors, small economies typically tend to be labor exporting economies. This is borne out by the size of the emigrants' stock as a percentage of total population in Albania, Macedonia, and Kosovo: 45, 22, and 25 percent respectively. Table 1 highlights the significance of emigration and remittances for the countries under study.

Table 1. Migration and Remittances in Albania, Macedonia, and Kosovo

	Albania	**Macedonia**	**Kosovo**
Population (2011)	**2,831,741**	**2,057,284**	**1,733,872**
GNI per capita (Atlas method, 2009)	$3,950	$4,400	$3,240
GDP growth rate (avg. ann. % 2005-09)	5	3.6	4
Remittances (2010, $ million)	968.1	414	801
Remittances as a share of GDP (2011)	9.50%	11.8	13.60%
Estimated stock of diaspora	1,438,000	447,100	534,000
Emigrants' stock as % of Pop. (2010)	≈45%	≈22%	≈25%
Skilled Emigration - (2000)*	9.00%	29.10%	Na
Unemployment rate (2008)	15.20%	33.80%	40.00%
Poverty rate ($ 2 a day)	4.00%	5.90%	34%*
Number of university students	116292	≈69000	≈77000
Top Destination Countries (in descending order)	***Greece, Italy, FYR Macedonia, USA, Germany, Canada, Turkey, UK, Australia***	***Italy, Germany, Australia, Switzerland, Turkey, Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, France, Canada***	***Germany, Switzerland, Austria, UK Sweden, USA, Finland, Norway***

Sources: Central Bank of the Respective Countries (2011); World Migration Factbook (2011). *Statistical Office of Kosovo (2009). Poverty and Consumption in the Republic of Kosovo. Skilled migrants are defined as 'tertiary educated population'.

1.1.3 Significance of the Diaspora-Development Nexus for Western Balkans

The impact of the exodus of a large proportion of highly skilled individuals from the developing and transition countries remains controversial. A mass exodus arguably weakens local knowledge networks and reduces social welfare (hence, *brain drain*) and adversely affects institution building so crucial for the transformation into liberal democracies (Elster et al., 1998).

Over the last couple of decades, conventional wisdom about brain drain has been standing on its head; instead, a cottage industry in the so-called "brain gain" literature has emerged. The basic idea can be summarized as follows: in the presence of restrictive immigration policies in the destination countries, prospective emigrants are motivated to enhance their human capital by acquiring the types of skills and training that are in demand in destination countries. This positive stimulus can more than offset the loss of human capital that a sending country may suffer as a result of exodus of its skilled labor force. *This mechanism of brain gain is independent of the brain gain that may result from return migration of skilled nationals.*

Inspired by the successful examples of the Asian countries (mainly Taiwan, Singapore, China, and India), a number of developing and transition countries, including Albania, in cooperation with host countries and international organizations, have initiated activities to tap into the potential of Diasporas for socio-economic development. The World Bank itself has been promoting the idea of mutually beneficial 'circular migration' (Kuznetsov, 2005; 2010).

In anticipation of accession to the European Union, which increasingly appears to be the manifest destiny of the Balkan countries, the migration-development nexus acquires added significance.

1. 2 Objectives and Scope of the Study

The overall objective of this research is to offer interested readers and policymakers an insight into the dynamics of skill migration and brain circulation within the Western Balkans - OCED corridor. The study focuses on three countries of the Western Balkans: Albania, Macedonia, and Kosovo.

To achieve the overall objective, we begin by offering a synopsis of the size, nature, and characteristics of the skilled diaspora from the three countries drawing upon all available information. The study then focuses upon two important subsets of the skilled population of each country: students and skilled returnees. Specifically, we target pre-final and final year students at the tertiary level as they are expected to be highly outwardly mobile and thus ideally suited to study the phenomenon of skill migration, and, *a fortiori*, as the number of students studying outside the countries of

their origin has been increasing rapidly over the last quarter of a century - from less than half a million in the mid-1980s to almost three million by 2011 (Rizvi, 2011). Consequently, international student mobility is increasingly recognized to be the most important vehicle of brain circulation between the developing south and the developed north. Similarly, given the interest of policy-makers in brain gain, the study targets the skilled subset of return migrants. Thus, the study seeks to answer two important research questions:

1. What motivates tertiary level students to migrate from the country of origin and what is the potential of migration from the selected countries of the Western Balkans?
2. Why do some highly skilled members of the Diasporas return home, and what obstacles and opportunities await them upon return?

The study tackles the above questions utilizing all available information, and, more importantly, by collecting primary data using both quantitative and qualitative methods. The study further seeks to contribute to our cumulative knowledge in the field of brain drain/gain/circulation by identifying common patterns among the Albanian, the Macedonian, and the Kosovar skilled returnees and would-be student migrants. Finally, the study aims to discuss the policy implications of the observed patterns of emigration and return migration for leveraging the skilled diaspora for development.

1.3 State of Research

1.3.1 International Student Mobility

The literature on international student mobility can be broadly classified into two groups – neoclassical and structural. The former underscores individual choice of the migrant and the latter tends to accord primacy to the structural and systemic

forces beyond the control of individuals.[4] An important variant of the neoclassical approach is the signaling model of Spence (1971). The choice of destination/location and the institution – even the decision to study abroad in itself – can be understood within the signaling framework of Michael Spence. Accordingly, a foreign degree gives a signal to the potential employers at home that the applicant has 'innate ability'. Studying abroad has become a marker of success and social status (Rizvi, 2011). Factors identified in the neoclassical literature that influence individual choice include the following: income, parental education background, marital status, quality of education, knowledge of the host country's language, and one's network of friends and relatives.

In a framework similar to the one used in our study on the Western Balkans, Maroun et al. (2008) study the phenomenon of international migration of Lebanese medical students and physicians, one of the highest in the world. They survey students of Lebanese medical schools in the pre-final and final years about their intentions to train abroad and their post training plans. They find that the intention to stay abroad indefinitely is associated with being male and having a second citizenship.

Other studies have relied on gravity models to explain the choice of destination country/university. The key insight offered by the gravity model is the idea that distance from the country of origin to the country of destination plays a *deterrent effect*. An early study by Sa et al. (2004) who analyze the determinants of regional demand for higher education in the Netherlands using a gravity model finds that while the behavior of prospective students is governed by a distance deterrence effect, regional/urban amenities provide a positive impetus. Using panel data of bilateral flows, for all countries participating in the Erasmus program, Gonzales et al. (2010) analyze the determinants of student mobility implied by migration theory and gravity models. They find country size, cost of living, distance, educational background, university quality the host country language and climate to be significant

[4]See Massey et al (1993; 1998) for excellent surveys of various theories. See also Castles and Miller (2009),Ch.3.

factors in participation in the Erasmus student exchange program.[5] Bhandari and Blumenthal (2011), Kahane and Kralikova (2011), and Thissen and Ederveen (2006) also emphasize the influence of speaking the host country's language in one's choice of destination. Agasisti and Bianco (2007) analyze the determinants of college student migration in Italy with a view to explaining the choice of a foreign university. Their results confirm the "deterrent" role of distance, but also show that the number of faculties, the resources invested in student aid, and the socio-economic conditions of the area have a positive impact on the attractiveness of a university.

Geography is not a destiny. The deterrent role of distance can be neutralized by countervailing forces, such as one's network of friends and relatives, historical linkages between the country of origin and destination, the quality of the educational program, and the skill stance of host country immigration policy. Applying a gravity model to 19 and 31 European countries in two consecutive studies, Bouwel and Veugelers (2010) find that the quality of a European country's higher education system has a positive impact on the macro-flows of foreign tertiary students. At the graduate level, it is the lack of educational opportunities in the home country which is the driving force for student mobility. Wilkins and Huisman (2011) find that reputation, quality of programs, and rankings exert the strongest influences on student choice of a particular university in the United Kingdom. Focusing on academic mobility between China and Germany, Leung (2011) emphasizes the importance of network in producing and strengthening 'corridors of knowledge production'. Similarly, Findlay et al. (2007) underline the social reproduction of class distinction as a factor influencing the choice of institution.

While intentions to migrate surveys give insight into the motives of individuals and fit well into the neoclassical framework, structural and systemic forces

[5]The Erasmus (a backronym for *European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students*) Program is a student exchange program established in 1987 for students from the member countries of the European Union. Students who join the Erasmus Programme typically do an internship for a period of at least 3 months to an academic year. The Program is seen as a unique opportunity to EU students to acquire intellectual and social capital by studying in any of the 33 member countries. There is only a limited number of places available.

and/or supply side constraints and opportunities have been emphasized by many studies. Rizvi (2011) argues that international student mobility is both an expression of, and a response to the contemporary cultural and political dynamics of globalization. Destination country scholarship and financial aid programs are an important enabling factor identified in the literature (Kralikova, 2011). According to Europe 2020 (the strategic document of the European Commission), each EU member must ensure that by 2020, 20% college graduates pass through mobility programs of study (Mujić et al., 2012). Some scholars draw attention to a growing tendency towards commercialization of higher education and aggressive recruitment strategies and intensive competition for international students among Western universities (Vogl and Kell, 2012; Rizvi, 2011).

1.3.2 Dynamics of Return

The neoclassical perspective which considers migration as an individual decision to invest in human capital, offers a dual explanation for return migration: either it is an optimal strategy, pre-planned by the individual and integral to his work plan over a lifecycle, the migrant having accumulated the desired level of intellectual and material wealth, *or*, it is triggered by *ex post facto* realization that the decision to migrate was made by the returnee in a state of uncertainty (Borjas and Bratsberg, 1996). In fact, the first generation of empirical studies tends to view all return migration as part of an optimal work plan over the life-cycle. Thus, corroborating the former, Ghosh (2000) and Cassarino (2004) show that initial motivation for emigration is positively associated with the prospect of return migration. The latter may arise as a result of worse-than-expected outcome in the destination country, either due to bad luck, or error in overestimating the net benefits at the time of the initial decision to migrate under imperfect information and uncertainty. Saarelaa and Roothb (2012) are among the first to provide empirical evidence about the role of uncertainty in the decision to return by migrants who were observed in the country of origin *before* emigration and in the country of destination *after* migration. Retirement from work has been noted by several scholars as an additional motivating factor in the decision to return – this may be pre-planned or may be triggered by favorable conditions prevailing in the country of origin (Biondo, 2012). Thus, analyzing

evidence on migrants from Slovakia who returned from UK, Williams (2005) explores differences in the behavior of three types of returnees: professionals and managers, students, and au pairs. He finds soft skills and self-confidence/social recognition to be positively associated with return migration. Cassarino (2004) also emphasizes the 'preparedness' of prospective returnees in understanding why and how returnees may contribute to the development of the country of origin. Preparedness refers to the ability to mobilize tangible and intangible resources upon returning autonomously. Such mobilization of resources is facilitated by social networks.

The question one must ask is what prevents some migrants from returning and why others return home, and what obstacles, if any, they face upon return? There is a twin mirror relationship between the obstacles in return migration and the opportunities offered by host countries. Thus, length of stay abroad, as a proxy for opportunities abroad, is negatively associated with return migration (King, 2002; Williams, 2005; Cassarino, 2004). Economics may not be the prime mover for many returnees. Employing the metaphor of brain circulation, Lee and Kim (2009) explore the reasons for the reverse mobility patterns of Korean doctoral recipients in the U.S. They find that family ties and culture outweigh economic mobility as the reasons for return. While noting the presence of both brain gain and brain circulation, they emphasize 'brain adaptation' as a noteworthy evolving phenomenon.

1.3.3 Contributions of the Study

Despite the recent attention on the emigration of the highly skilled, to the best of our knowledge, there have been few studies that systematically examine the role of the skilled diasporas from the Western Balkans in promoting political, social and economic reforms in the region. As regards rigorous empirical work on the phenomenon of diaspora and brain drain in the Balkans, the following studies can be cited: Albania: Gadeshi, Dhirmitri, and Krisafi (1999), Memaj (2000); Kosovo: Riinvest (2007); Macedonia: Mughal et al., (2009). Although these contain many insights, the gap in the literature on diaspora and brain drain remains significant.

Most studies take it for granted that aspiring student migrants only intend to study abroad to the exclusion of other motives (Park, 2009; Rizvi, 2011). Many empirical studies survey international students already studying in host countries and

thus suffer from the well-known selection bias. While some previous studies have delved into the motivational diversity of prospective student emigrants (Findlay et al., 2007; Observatory, 2007), few attempt to empirically estimate the number by type of primary motive. This study explores the meanings and motivations of young prospective emigrants who are currently in the final or pre-final years of their studies. A unique aspect of the research is its analytical framework that incorporates studying abroad and other life-course aspirations (work and permanent residency) of prospective graduates of universities. The study seeks to make a significant contribution to the literature on the international mobility of students from and to the Balkans in that it clearly distinguishes among three main goals of international migration of students: education, work, and permanent residency abroad.[6]

Although both the dynamics of emigration and return have been studied in the literature, the Balkans has largely been neglected in the literature. The amount of research focusing on labor migration in Macedonia and Kosovo is considerably smaller than the research on migration from Albania. This scarcity of data is mainly due, in case of Macedonia, to the relative lack of enthusiasm in the subject on the part of Macedonian government and the near total absence of officially sponsored surveys of migrants (Mughal et al., 2009), and in case of Kosovo, due to the fact that Kosovo has had the shortest history as an independent state of all successor states of former Yugoslavia. Furthermore, migration research on Kosovo tends to be difficult given the prolonged and bloody divorce from Serbia. This study is an attempt to fill this gap in the literature. In addition to the scarcity of available data, data on labor migration often contain systematic errors arising from national legislations that foresee exemptions from the work permit obligation for certain categories of labor migrants (Kupiszewski et al., 2009).

A caveat is in order here. While different motives have been incorporated in

[6]We recognize that these are not mutually exclusive goals, and/or these may be sought sequentially – it is possible for someone to emigrate for the purpose of seeking higher education, then stay for few years to gain work experience in the country of destination before returning home, or decide to seek permanent residency. Indeed, such a process is facilitated by the immigration policies of the major destination countries which are increasingly biased in favor of skilled migrants.

the analytical framework, we do not suggest that these motives constitute disjoint sets. There is no necessary conflict among these motives. In fact, it is more likely that they are pursued sequentially. Using panel data for 78 countries of origin on migration patterns in the United States over the 1971–2001, Dreher and Poutvaara (2011) find that the stock of foreign students is an important predictor of subsequent migration. Thissen and Ederveen (2006) find that student mobility is a precursor of migration for work. Liu-Farrer (2009) shows how graduate students in science and engineering from China are absorbed in the labor markets of Japan. The empirically observed pattern of sequential pursuit of education and migration by international students speaks to the methodological soundness of targeting would-be university graduates to study the triple phenomena of brain drain, brain circulation, and brain gain.

1.4 Data and Methodological Framework

Primary data for the study came from three surveys: *Interviews with Stakeholders and Experts*, *Intentions to Migrate Survey* of pre-final and final year students at the tertiary level of education, and, a *Survey of Returnees* involving highly skilled professionals who returned home having lived/worked abroad. Exploratory qualitative interviews with stakeholders and experts informed the quantitative surveys of students and of highly skilled returned migrants.

1.4.1 Survey of Experts and Stakeholders

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with selected experts and stakeholders, including entrepreneurs. The questions were largely focused on the economic potential of the Kosovar diaspora. Experts and stakeholders were asked to comment on the actions, measures and steps taken by the respective government to leverage the highly skilled members of the diaspora for national development. Questions were open ended and were tailored to the specific area of expertise and interest of each interviewer.

The experience of researchers in each country varied. Both Albania and Macedonia reported a high response rate. In Kosovo, several stakeholders did not fill in the questionnaire; instead, they sent internet links and other materials.

1.4.2 Intentions to Migrate Survey

The Intentions to Migrate survey addresses the first research question: What motivates tertiary level students to migrate from the country of origin and what is the potential of migration from the selected countries of the Western Balkans? The future prospective diaspora of highly skilled nationals were considered to be the appropriate population to address this issue. The empirical findings on the propensity of tertiary level students to migrate is based on a representative *Intentions to Migrate survey* of students in pre-final and final year at both the bachelor's and/or master's levels.

The survey was designed to identify both the micro and macro determinants of students' propensity for international mobility to seek higher education, employment, or permanent residence in the destination country. Students were asked questions on the intentions to migrate and return focusing on a wide range of individual characteristics and the relative significance of different push and pull factors. These factors include individual and family characteristics such as, age, gender, family income, migration experience and networks, destination countries, as well as aims, incentives and barriers to international migration. Students were selected from all major public and private institutions representing all major fields of study in social and natural sciences, and humanities.

Although researchers were often present during the administration of the survey questionnaires, the survey was self-administered. A two stage sampling procedure was employed. At the first stage, researchers in each country selected the major public and private institutions representing a wide spectrum. At the second stage, quota sampling (PPS - probability proportional to size in case of Albania) was used to interview students from all faculties of the institutions. Basic information about the survey is provided in Appendix Table 1.

As indicated in Appendix Table 1, there is some variation in the degree of randomness and representativeness across countries. The Albanian sample is representative at both the national and the institutional levels. It is also representative at the level of field of study. The Macedonian and Kosovo samples are representative at the institutional levels and under the assumption that excluded institutions exhibit a similar pattern, may be considered to be representative at the national level as well.

The number of students interviewed in each university is proportional to the respective number of students.

Using these data, we constructed a detailed profile of pre-final and final year students at the bachelor's and the master's levels. Additionally, econometric models are used to predict the stated intention to migrate using Logit procedures. Separate models were estimated to predict the probability of the propensity to migrate for education, for employment, and for permanent residence in another country respectively.

1.4.3 Survey of Returnees

To fully understand the dynamics of future emigration from the less developed new member states to the more developed ones, it is necessary to probe into the dynamics of return migration as well (Kahanec, 2012). Thus, the survey of returnees aimed at addressing the second important research question: Of those who leave the country, why do some return, and, what obstacles, if any, do actual or would-be returnees face. It delves into the reasons to migrate and then return home and attempts to assess future plans. The survey of returnees involved semi-structured interviews with researchers, academics, and other highly skilled members of the diaspora who had returned to the country of origin having acquired education and work experience abroad.

The selection of the individuals was based on non-probability methods, including snowball and judgment sampling. Most of them were selected through social networks of the main investigators of the study and are predominantly of academic background.

The sample size ranged from 72 in Macedonia to 83 in Kosovo and 108 in Albania. The Albanian sample consisted of 27 full-time staff members of public or private universities. The others were employed in governmental or state institutions, such as Ministries and the Central Bank, as well as in private national and international organizations/businesses. The Macedonian sample consisted of 72 returnees out of which 30 were academics from different universities and 6 of them were highly successful entrepreneurs. The Kosovo team had the survey self-administered: it sent out electronic questionnaire to 273 Kosovars through Survey

Monkey (www.surveymonkey.com) during April and May 2011. The response rate was 30% (N=83); of the 83 returned questionnaires, 27 were partially completed.[7]

Table 2 below gives the sample size of various surveys for each country. Readers interested in detailed basic information should turn to Appendix Table 1:

Table 2. Sample Size of Surveys

Country / Survey Type	Albania	Kosovo	Macedonia
Expert interviews	20	18	14
Students	1210	1186	1040
Returnees	108	83	72

An important point about the methodology is in order here. Economists have traditionally been wary of 'intentions' and 'attitude' surveys. While motives are not reasons and propensities may not be actualized, understanding these different motives gives insight into the dominant 'trends' and helps gauge the approximate annual potential increase in the stock of skilled emigrants from, and the flow of return migrants to, each country.[8] The gap between intentions and actual migration may be narrowing in a world where information travels fast and is available at relatively low cost. Thus, many recent studies have shown that migration intentions are good predictors of actual migration. For instance, Liebig and Souza-Poza (2004) support this thesis for EEC and EU countries. Similarly, drawing upon evidence on migration pressures into the European Union from Albania, Egypt, Moldova and Tunisia, Avato (2008) finds that "where superior information is present, intentions do better predict migration behavior."

[7]Although the questionnaire had skipping logic to adapt participant profile, it is estimated that 20 participants dropped out from the survey in the second and third section of the survey.

[8] On the distinction between motives and reasons, see Hollis, Martin and Smith, Steve. *Explaining and Understanding International Relations*. Oxford University Press, 1990. For the view that intentions are good predictors of actions, see: Louviere et al. (2000), Böheim and Taylor (2002), Kule et al. (2002), Papapanagos and Sanfey (2001), Sanduand De Jong (1996).

Some observations about the predictive power of the models used in the study are in order here. First, we recognize that the *propensity* to migrate is not synonymous with the *decision* to migrate. However, since information is an important factor in narrowing the gap between intentions and realization thereof, and since the focus of our study is on skilled migrants who can be reasonably expected to have better access to information, we expect the discrepancy to be narrow, ceteris paribus. Again, it may be pointed out by some that even if the models have good predictive power, the migration regime between the countries under study and the European Union has been evolving, and is likely to undergo changes with progress towards accession. We believe that the anticipated future regime of migration between the Western Balkans and the countries of the European Union is likely to be more liberal, and, therefore, we may expect a further narrowing of the gap between intentions and actions.

1.5 Structure of the Report

The report consists of two parts. Part I presents the regional report and includes four chapters. Following this introductory chapter, chapter 2 synthesizes and compares the findings from the country surveys of intentions to migrate *from the Balkans.* Similarly, chapter 3 synthesizes and compares the findings from the country surveys of returnees *to the Balkans.* Chapter 4 highlights the similarities and differences among the three countries, discusses the implications of the findings, and suggests fruitful avenues of future research. Part II consists of three country reports. Each country report consists of three substantive sections: country context, students' intention to migrate, returnees and diaspora. Extensive appendices are provided in each case.

CHAPTER II

STUDENT INTENTIONS TO MIGRATE - *FROM THE BALKANS*

Student mobility is perhaps one of the least researched areas in the South East Europe(SEE)-Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) corridor. Students' intention to migrate has been theorized in the literature in terms of both the push and the pull factors and some combination thereof. The main push factor is 'constrained domestic schooling supply' which explains the student intentions to migrate in terms of *excess of demand over supply of market relevant higher education* which has been characteristic of many ex-socialist countries during the transition to a market/liberal democratic system.[9] The main pull factor is the excess of expected wages abroad relative to expected wages at home:[10] students consider migration primarily for jobs, given the higher expected rewards in other countries (i.e. developed destination countries) given comparable level of skills and education acquired at home. Additional explanations draw upon some combination of the push and the pull factors and/or the sheer desire to live in another country. The desire to live in another country could be simply due to political instability at home. Such instability has been the hallmark of many SEE countries, including the countries under consideration.

The data on students' intention came from surveys of pre-final and final year university students conducted in Albania, Kosovo, and Macedonia.The surveys included a relatively large number of students (1210, 1186 and 1040, respectively) and coverered nearly all of the universities. The intentions to migrate were considered for three main reasons: 1) Education, 2) Work and 3) Living abroad. Those reasons relate relatively well to the constrained domestic schooling theory[11] and to the migration model theory. Figure 2.1 presents the percentage of students who have intentions to migrate and as depicted, mostly students from Kosovo (nearly 50 percent) consider migration for one of the above mentioned reasons, predominantly

[9] See Mark Rosenzweig (2006).
[10] A classical statement of such a theory is the celebrated Harris-Todaro model. See Harris-Todaro (1971).
[11]Rosenzweig, Mark, 2006. Global Wage Differences and International Student Flows. Brookings Trade Forum.

further education and working abroad. Albania and Macedonia on the other hand, also are considered with a significant proportion of students who have intentions to migrate and similarly, education and employment also dominates as the main reason for potential migration.

Students were also asked about the goals they want to achieve while in migration. The data suggest that most of the students, for the three countries, have a similar goal given that majority of the migration reasons are to the professional advancement reasons. For instance, over 40 percent of students in Albania would like to excel professionally while abroad. For Kosovo, majority (53 percent) of students are willing to migrate for professional reasons, as declared by them, excel professionally, while for Macedonia only 26 percent of the students are mainly driven by professional reasons (excel professionally) while 22 percent of the students consider migration for financial reasons (15 percent in Albania and 25 percent in Kosovo). One of the main differences in the findings is that in Macedonia, a significant part of the students (22 percent) also wishes to migrate for long term stability and security compared to 9 percent in Albania and 6 percent in Kosovo. Another important driver or determinant for students' intentions to migrate is the desire to keep open options between working abroad and working in home countries. For instance, in Albania, 25 percent of students would like to keep open options of working abroad or in home country, in Kosovo 8 percent, while in Macedonia 18 percent.

One of the most important findings of the project is that the expectations of the students intending to migrate for the duration of stay abroad correspond very well with the duration of stay of the returned students (see next chapter). This is given that for the three countries, the desired duration of stay is for few years dominating the other categories. For instance, 38 percent of students from Albania prefer to return immediately after they finish the studies, while 25 percent prefer to stay up to five years in order to get some working experience. Similarly, for Kosovo, 51 percent of students prefer returning immediately after finishing their studies, while the second largest category is the students who wish to stay and work up to five years, which is represented by 23 percent of students. Students from Macedonia are dominated by

the category of those who wish to stay up to five years (31 percent of total students), followed by the category which prefers to return immediately after finishing their studies (24 percent of total students).

Generally, students who aim to migrate have also made some preparations for migration. For the three countries, the preparations are rather general, with few exceptions. For instance, the preparations of the students from Albania are mostly general given that they have improved their language skills, which are in most of the cases very important for employment within the country. In addition, preparations included obtaining general information and improving qualifications. Only a small proportion of students made specific preparations for migration, such as application for work permit, application for jobs and searching for a living place. Similarly, Kosovo students' preparations include learning the language of the country they plan to migrate, obtaining general information and less specific preparations such as job application, work permit application and search for place to live. Of all the surveyed students in Macedonia, majority have acquired some kind of information for migration and improved language and performance, which similarly to Kosovo, represent general preparations applicable to home country as well. Regarding the specific preparations, smaller proportions have applied for work abroad, work permit and also searched for a living place.

The information obtained by students is of various sources, however, for the three countries in this analysis, family and friends living abroad are the main source of information which builds students expectations about migration. Important ways of getting informed, applicable for students from the three countries, are the students who previously studied abroad. However, students willing to migrate also build their own expectations based on their own observations, such as their previous migration experience and similar. For many students, media and internet is also an important way of getting informed about different countries, studying opportunities, and migration experiences. In addition to self-obtained information, students are also encouraged to migrate (especially for educational reasons) by other people such as fellow students, academics and university staff. However, this is to a lesser extent

source of information, given that majority of the students are not encouraged by university to migrate (nearly 70 percent in Albania, 75 percent for Kosovo).

Regarding the destination countries that the students prefer in case of migration for any intended purpose, the results indicate that most of their chosen countries are the developed countries of the European Union and the United States of America. For instance, students from Albania and Kosovo mostly prefer United Kingdom and the United States, while students from Macedonia prefer Switzerland as the second most desired country of migration (after the United States).

However, most of the students face barriers to go abroad and for the case of Albania and Macedonia, it is the cost of migration (travel and living cost) which represents the main barrier. On the other hand, given that Kosovo is not yet a visa-free towards most of the countries, over 80 percent of students perceive that obtaining a visa is the main barrier to their migration. Visa also represents a barrier for Albania and Macedonia, but not at a similar level compared to Kosovo. In addition to these barriers, country specific problems such as bureaucracy, corruption and racism, and the personal level of the language, time, their families, and current studies represent an important barrier.

The planned departure for majority of the students is not very decisive. However, of those with a response on the expected departure, their plan is to migrate in the next 2-3 years. On the other hand, regarding the desired duration of stay, majority of the students would not consider migrating permanently.

CHAPTER III

RETURNEES AND DISPORA - TO THE BALKANS

This chapter investigates the main similarities and differences in the reasons, experiences and future prospects of the highly-skilled and educated returnees by using information gathered from the structured surveys conducted in the three countries. The analysis is focused on the exploration of the qualitative aspects of migration of the highly skilled, also known as "brain drain", a topic that has drawn the attention of governments and various international organizations especially in the last decade. Since 1990, Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia have experienced significant changes associated with high levels of highly-skilled migration. Although there has been general recognition on the direct and indirect effects of brain drain, and its possible view as a problem and opportunity, the timing, measures, strategies and reactions of the three respective governments have been different. Furthermore, the research on the brain drain in the three countries has been scarce. For this reason, the main objective of this study is to provide evidence-based findings that would enable policy makers the connections with the reality and trigger policy debate.

3.1 Sample Characteristics

The participants in the returnees' part of the study cover both men and women to roughly equal parts. In Kosovo and Macedonia, the percentage of women is slightly lower. In Albania, the sample consisted of slightly more women than men. In terms of age, the returnees interviewed in the three countries are also similar. The majority of the participating returnees are between 25 and 35 years. Returnees are, on average, about 3 years older in Macedonia than in Kosovo and Albania.

There are significant differences with regard to marital status. In Kosovo and Macedonia, most of the returnees are single, but the opposite is the case in Albania. By contrast, the samples are similar in terms of education level. In Albania and Macedonia, about half of the participants have a master's and one fifth of them a PhD degree, while in the case of Kosovo, the majority of the returnees have a master's degree, but only a few of them have a PhD. The employment rate of the returnees is very high, and many work in higher education institutions. All of the participating returnees speak at least one foreign language and a considerable proportion speaks two or three, of which the most common are English, German, Italian, Spanish and French.

3.2 Migration Experience

Before leaving the country of origin, most of the returnees have undertaken several preparation courses. Levels of preparation to emigrate are higher in Kosovo than in the other two countries. This result indicates that migration in the majority of the cases was a well-thought decision. Learning a foreign language is the most common preparation, and the least common is that of cultural orientation. It is interesting to note that vocational training before migration was undertaken more in Albania, followed by Kosovo and Macedonia. In addition, one fourth of the returnees from Kosovo state that they have attended university studies before migration with the intentions of going abroad, which is a very high proportion compared to Albania and Macedonia.

Language knowledge, vocational training, as well as the (university and post-graduate) studies attended by the returnees indicate a certain degree of positive selection. Given that, an important percentage of returnees have stayed abroad for study. This result was expected because of the strict selection criteria and scholarship competition. In the three countries, a high proportion of returnees received a diploma or certificate for their preparatory training and it is important to note that the studies and trainings were evaluated as highly useful or necessary in finding a job when abroad by most of the returnees. These results are in line with those obtained from the intentions to migrate survey, where language training, getting information and improving qualifications were the most general preparations. Specific and more concrete preparations are less common among both students and returnees.

The average years of migration are similar between the three countries, and in most of the cases the time spent abroad corresponds with the period of respective studies, supporting the view that either they have decided from the beginning to return, or they were obliged by different schemes/programs or supporting institutions through contractual agreements. This argument is also supported by the findings from the students' intentions to migrate survey. As noted in Chapter II, the majority of the students intend to stay abroad for study about 5 years. It is probable that at the time of migration, they had clear intentions of migrating for study purposes

in presence of education quality differentials and then return to the country of origin to take advantage of the reputation of a foreign degree in the home labor market. This argument is further supported by the evidence on the number of countries, where the returnees have lived while abroad, and on the time spent abroad in the first country of destination. The majority of the returnees have lived in one foreign country. Regarding time spent abroad, in general, the difference between the overall time spent abroad and the time spent in the first destination country was less than one year. The clear intentions for study purposes may explain this low difference.

The questions on the main motives behind migration do also provide evidence on the importance of education as one of the main reasons. As a matter of fact, the majority of the returnees in the three countries have chosen migration for study purposes as the main reason. This proportion is higher among Albanian and Kosovar returnees, whilst among Macedonian returnees the figures are somewhat lower. The economic conditions, unemployment and the political situation are also listed among the most important reasons for emigrating. Although the ranking was carried out according to the order of importance of the respective motive in every case, it must be noted that these reasons are not exclusive and they may certainly overlap, which makes it difficult to conclude that on the partial importance of a certain reason. Furthermore, the migration motives may change over time, and exploitation of these motives or concluding that the same reasons may be valid in different conditions and for different groups of individuals, may not be appropriate – although the generic nature of the most common reasons, notably the economic situation, is likely to remain an important factor in most circumstances.

The main destination country of the highly skilled is similar in Kosovo and Macedonia, but this migration pattern is different in the case of Albania. Most returnees from Kosovo and Macedonia have chosen the United Kingdom and United States as their main destination, while migration of the highly skilled from Albania was dominated by the neighboring countries, namely Italy and Greece. These patterns correspond to the general migration of the three countries, so, it is unlikely that the result is due to the specific samples used. As a result, it can be stated that migration of the highly skilled follows the features of the general migration of the country, which

can be expected and highly likely to happen because of migration networks and their effects.

In the three countries, at the time of migration, the majority of the surveyed returnees were single. In the case of Macedonia, only a few of the married travelled abroad with their partners, while in Albania and Kosovo, almost half of them travelled as a family. However, the difference can be attributed more to the small sample size of the married (at the time of migration), rather than to the differences in behavioral aspects of the returnees. The financial situation and the need to care for children are the most important reasons that influenced the decision to travel alone or together in the three countries.

Regarding the financial aspect of the study, there are differences between the countries and the selection of the sampled returnees in Kosovo explains most of these differences. A list of financially supported returnees was selected to be included in the survey in Kosovo. Given this, almost half of the returnees in Kosovo have been financially supported by foreign institutions and others from joint programs of the Kosovar government and foreign institutions. A very low percentage has been supported by the government of Kosovo directly. Although the selection of the sampled returnees has been different in Albania and Macedonia, they resulted in approximately the same level of government support. A further comparison indicates that in Macedonia, the percentage of those who have benefited from national and international support is higher than in Albania. In the three countries, international organizations have supported the majority of those who have benefited from any scheme. For those who did not benefit from any scheme, the main reasons include their field of study/country of destination which was not part of the scholarship programs, the lack of such schemes at the time of migration, and in the case of Albania and Kosovo, the perception of them being corrupted – and thus not worth applying for.

The speed and level of integration in the foreign country depends on the purpose of migration as well as on the personal characteristics, but the contact with the local inhabitants of the receiving country is a very important factor. It may

increase adjustment time, facilitate future jobs, research or business initiatives, language proficiency, and better opportunities for personal development, multi-cultural competence and intercultural maturity. Migration for study purposes, often with contractual obligations for return, is more likely to be related to living in areas dominated by other migrants. However, the majority of the returnees in the three countries under consideration have lived in areas where most of the people were locals and had very frequent contacts with the locals. This can be understood as high levels of integration in the country of destination, although, we cannot say anything about actual micro-level interactions with locals. This percentage is about the same in Kosovo and Macedonia, while it is higher in the case of Albania.

Regarding the contacts with the home country, the answers have been very similar in the three countries. Almost all the respondents have kept frequent contacts with the home country and most of the returnees have travelled back at least once a year. The percentage of those who sent remittances back home is not high, but it is very similar across the countries. The main recipients and the use of remittances are also very similar: remittances were mainly sent to their families with the aim of supporting their everyday living expenses.

The receipt of financial support for studies abroad (that covered living expenses and/or enrollment fees) from different organizations and from the respective families for attending their studies abroad can explain the low proportion among these kind returnees that worked or searched for a job when they were abroad. Some of the students of the three countries that received financial support have also been part-time employed by universities and research bodies. Others have also been employed in private business and the banking sector, but there were cases when the job they did while abroad had no relation with their main profession. The situation shows only few differences among the three countries. The Macedonians and Kosovars had less difficulty in finding a job and lower average periods of unemployment than Albanians who also had longer working hours when employed.

3.3 Return Experience and Future Intentions

Research on return migration has identified several factors of individuals and home country's society that may influence repatriation and the adjustment process. The findings from the surveys in the three countries are in line with the theoretical expectations, but differences exist between the main return motives and reasons. The leading reasons for return are of personal and familial nature and for those who intended studying abroad, only the completion of their studies. In addition, the better employment opportunities and the added value of a foreign diploma in the labor market of the home country are important reasons of return. In Kosovo and Macedonia, an important reason is the contract obligation of the scholarship program, a reason that is less valid in the case of Albania. One possible explanation may be the low number of financially supported students in the case of Albania, or the lack of contractual agreements in the case of such support.

The percentage of returnees that brought money home is similar in Albania and Macedonia, but lower in Kosovo. In the three countries, most of the returnees used the money for living expenses, savings and/or to buy property or furniture. Not surprisingly, those returnees who decided to start up their own new businesses invested nearly all of their remittances.

In Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia, there are several governmental and institutional programs that support the return of the highly skilled/educated. The majority of the returnees in the three surveys were not aware of any return assistance scheme in the respective home country, because they did not require information on the qualification criteria. Of those who knew, only a few received a support, and the main reasons for not benefiting from any support scheme include their profession/country not being covered by the scheme, and the impression of the schemes being corrupt. The listing was similar in the three countries, which indicates that even if such schemes exist, more has to be done in terms of improving their reputation and promoting more generally for increased awareness among the highly educated – particularly those abroad.

More than 93 percent of the returnees are already employed in their respective country. In most of the cases, the initial period of unemployment was less than 6 months and they have found full-time jobs. Except for those who returned to their previous job, the majority of the returnees have found their job by responding to advertisement and by sending CVs to different employers. Although differences exist in the confrontation of expectations with the reality in the labor markets of the home country, around 90 percent of the returnees in the three countries think that their experience abroad has helped them to find a better job. Of these experiences, education and the general experience abroad have been the most important factors.

A self-comparison of the situation before migration and after return revealed that the majority of the returnees in the three countries feel better off after returning. This percentage is somewhat higher in Macedonia and noticeably lower in Kosovo. The differences between Kosovo and the two other countries can be explained by the higher number of returnees that had contractual agreements and returned to the same workplace, and are highly represented in the group of returnees that feel the same. Only a few returnees feel worse than before, and this group comprises – unsurprisingly – the unemployed, as well as those who lack opportunities for self-development, or cannot apply what they studied abroad or the job they are trained for. Disappointment from the political situation, the socio-economic conditions and nepotism are also important determinants of their pessimist feelings.

3.3.1 Future Intentions

The proportion of returnees who are considering moving abroad again is considerable and almost the same in Albania and Macedonia, but substantially higher in Kosovo. In the three countries, the probability of re-migration increases with time, i.e., the returnees who are planning to re-migrate are less likely to do so in the next six months and most of them think that they will re-migrate in the time span of two years. In Albania and Kosovo, the majority of the returnees would like to move abroad to continue their education. The second most important motive to go is that of better living standards, not only in economic, but also in political and social terms. The destination countries in case of re-migration of the returnees from Kosovo and

Macedonia are the same with the first destination country. In the case of Albania, besides the preference for the Western European countries, increased interest is shown towards more distant countries such as USA and Canada. In this case, there is a difference between their first country of emigration and their intended country of destination for future emigration. Again, the main reasons for choosing the destination country are the quality of education, language knowledge, and ease of cultural integration. In the three countries, a high percentage of returnees claim that they can finance their migration abroad and are optimistic in terms of finding a job upon arrival. This last concern draws attention on the potential consequences of brain drain/gain and emphasizes the need to further investigate this issue.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The process of skill flows to and from the selected countries of the Western Balkans, and the nature of impact thereof on their development prospects, has been the focus of the present study. The purpose of the research was to gain an insight into the dynamics of skill flows within the Western Balkans - OECD corridor. The study focused on Albania, Macedonia, and Kosovo, three countries that contain most of the native population of Albanian ethnicity, and, as such, it could be considered to be a study of the phenomenon of brain circulation of South East European Albanians. The fact that majority of the population in one of the countries studied is of Macedonian ethnicity, offered researchers a promising avenue to explore some within-country differences between the people of Albanian and Macedonian ethnicity.[12]

The phenomenon of skill migration in the selected countries was investigated using both qualitative and quantitative methods. Specifically, the study employed three different approaches. First, major stakeholders and experts of the respective countries were interviewed to generate normative and qualitative insights into the phenomenon to underpin the subsequent surveys. Second, combining these insights with the insights from the literature, the study attempted to delve into the meaning of the so-called 'brain drain' by conducting a survey of pre-final and final year university students. The third approach involved a study of the transfer of brain back to these countries by conducting a survey of highly skilled professionals, scholars, and entrepreneurs who had returned having studied, worked, or lived abroad. The three methods and the results of the surveys generated fresh insights into the phenomenon of skill migration in the region with significant implications for leveraging the knowledge and skill diaspora for the future development of these countries.

This concluding chapter draws upon these insights and suggests some policy implications for leveraging the knowledge and skill of Diasporas for the future development of these countries.

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[12]We use the terms Albanian(s) and Macedonian(s) to refer to the countries rather than ethnic groups. Where ethnic groups are referred to, we use the qualifier 'ethnic'. Also, while researchers did some preliminary analysis of ethnic differences in Macedonia, an in-depth analysis of ethnic differences is outside the scope of this report.

4.1. Dynamics of Skill Flows: It Is the Career, Stupid!

Migration, in general, and skill migration, in particular, was already a structural feature of the countries forming part of the Former Yugoslavia Republics. However, exit from Albania during the socialist era was near impossible; consequently, the phenomenon of emigration emerged with a vengeance in Albania with the demise of the old order. The dismantling of the socialist regimes in the Western Balkans was attended upon by political conflicts of the 1990s, high structural unemployment, and general impoverishment of large sections of the population. The post-socialist trauma created a wave of refugees (mainly from Kosovo) and economic migrants that fed upon the existing network of migrants that had emerged during the socialist era in case of the countries of the Former Yugoslavia (FYR). Those initial conditions that triggered the large scale emigration no longer exist. Transition to a liberal democratic system, however imperfect and incomplete it may be, economic growth, however, tepid and unstable it may have been, shift in the immigration regimes of the destination countries, and the looming promise of accession to the European Union have transformed the context of migration from the Western Balkans.

What has changed in the latest phase of the post-socialist transition era as regards the type and motives of skill migration within the Western Balkans - OECD corridor?[13]

While during the initial wave of exodus of talent that attended upon the demise of the socialist order may have been permanent or long term, evidence from the surveys of both potential student migrants and skilled returnees' reveals a weak urge to settle abroad and a strong desire to return to the country of origin. The relative scarcity of highly qualified individuals, well-versed with international standards in their fields of specialization, combined with the contractual obligations to

[13] The report focuses upon the intentions to migrate of final and pre-final year university students and the intentions to *remigrate* of highly skilled members of diaspora who had returned to the countries of origin. It should be kept in mind that remigration here does not imply migration to the same country; it could be migration to a different destination country.

scholarship sponsors, accounts for the shift in the pattern of skill migration revealed by the surveys. If there is one key insight that emerges from the present study, it is the following: ***contemporary skill migration from the three countries of the Western Balkans is motivated primarily by the urge to enhance career prospects by individuals in the country of origin, rather than by the desire to settle permanently abroad***.

This result was internally validated through a variety of questions. Thus, while a significant proportion (ranging from 40 to 49 percent) of the surveyed students in all three countries would consider migration for one of the three reasons, namely, education, employment, and living in another country, for majority of the students, education was reported to be the prime mover. In all three countries, the majority of students who expressed the intent to migrate in the future do not intend to permanently settle in the destination countries. Typically, potential student migrants plan to return home after five years studying and/or working abroad. The figure of around five years of sojourn abroad by would-be student migrants is consistent with the results of the returnees' surveys in all three countries: duration of migration is similar across the three countries and it shows that the return was either decided beforehand, and/or the sponsorship schemes and scholarship programs obliged them to return.

Even when the desire to settle permanently was reported to be the main motive, enhancement of career prospects was expected to be the ultimate outcome of stay abroad. Even the skilled returnees who were interviewed reported enhanced employability made possible by foreign education and international experience, besides personal and familial reasons, as a major incentive to return.

This finding can be explained, largely in terms of two key factors, push (supply side) and pull (demand side) within the changing context of migration during the current phase of post-socialist transition liberal democracy.

First, consider the push factors. The survey results of students and highly-skilled returnees show that the low quality of higher education, in all three countries, remains the main push factor for the migration of highly skilled. The result from the

surveys of students agrees with the findings from the surveys of returnees. Members of skilled Diasporas who had returned home emphasized lack of career development opportunities, low quality education, and bad economic conditions in the home country as the three main factors that pushed them into migration abroad.

A brief theoretical digression should help generate a deeper understanding of the observed phenomenon. Positive selection is a well-established result in the literature on international labor migration for two main reasons. First, highly skilled and qualified members of the labor force are usually the first to emigrate in situations of intense conflict and risky political and economic conditions, mainly because the highly educated can not only afford to exit, but also because they have a stronger network of international contacts to draw upon. Second, the more educated migrants are more likely to settle permanently in destination countries with higher rewards to skill (Hanson et al, 2012). Higher ranked universities appear to act as a magnet for highly qualified immigrants from countries with low-quality education systems (Rosenzweig, 2006). Migration of scholars is a phenomenon that feeds upon itself, but also carries the seeds of its own destruction over the long run. Exodus of highly qualified faculty results in the deterioration of the quality of education in existing institutions, which further intensifies the urge to migrate by those interested in high quality education. A vicious circle is set into motion. The vicious circle is broken only when the shortage of highly qualified personnel results in a skill-biased reward structure in the home country to induce repatriation or to weaken the tendencies to exit.

Transition to a market system had rendered significant part of the existing infrastructure in these countries, redundant and largely irrelevant to the requirements of the market system. The collapse of the socio-economic and political order that attended upon the breakup of the former Yugoslavia was accompanied by ethnic conflicts of the 1990s, high unemployment, and general impoverishment of large sections of the population. This gave rise to large scale exodus of talent, mainly from Albania and Kosovo. The destruction and deterioration of educational infrastructure in Kosovo during the conflict of the 90s “accelerated the the exodus of skill”.Continued exodus created a serious shortage of highly qualified faculty which led

to a shift in the reward structure in the market to rectify the imbalance between demand and supply.

As for the pull factors, the main pull factors reported were a better life, higher income, better quality education and better career development opportunities in the host countries. During the phase of transition to a liberal democratic system, international student mobility was facilitated largely by scholarship programs offered by the advanced countries of OECD, in particular, by the EU and the United States, and it has emerged as the midwife of international migration from these countries. Although, such programs were ostensibly designed to enhance the career development opportunities of the recipients from these countries, such scholarship programs should be viewed within the larger framework of a skill-biased immigration policy pursued by the advanced countries, other humanitarian motives, such as technical assistance and transfer of knowledge notwithstanding. Thus, survey results show that in all three countries, international donors reportedly played a much more active role in comparison to the national governments in sponsoring higher studies of surveyed returnees. It should be noted that most of these scholarship programs obligate the recipients to return to the country of origin, at least for a specific number of years. They also limit the number of years the recipients of scholarship can stay in the destination countries for practical training following the completion of education. The presence of various scholarship schemes explains the low proportions of returnees who reported working or searching for a job while being abroad. While some of the employed returnees reported being employed as part time employees of universities or research centers, others were employed in private businesses, the banking sector and other professionally non-related jobs.

While scholarship programs account for part of the international student mobility at the graduate level, self-finance remains the main source of financial

support for a significant proportion of students.[14] Thus, the survey results confirm the a priori expectation that students belonging to families with higher living standards are more prone to go abroad for education rather than for employment in comparison with students coming from lower socio-economic strata who cannot afford to pay for their education. One can imagine, a fortiori, that armed with sophisticated skills and knowledge, these students from the higher socio-economic strata, already having privileged access to resources and high status public sector jobs, would have a stronger motivation to return home, ceteris paribus, as their employment prospects would have improved significantly. In contrast, higher expected wages in the destination countries may be the main magnet for students from lower socio-economic strata who feel marginalized or view their prospects at home as bleak. The enhanced employability is evident from the surveys of returnees which show that, in all three countries, the overwhelming majority of them are employed full time. The average period of unemployment for returnees was reported to be less than 6 months, and employment was found through the response of the advertisements and by sending CVs to various employers. More than 90 per cent of returnees thought they were better off after return and reported that education and experience acquired abroad had helped them find employment in the home country.

4.2. The Shifting Influence of Network and Diversification of Destinations

The research also yielded another key insight: ***the influence of personal networks in the choice of destination countries has become weak and skilled migrants have been opting for a diversified set of destination countries***.[15]

How can one account for this shift? Restrictions on mobility, whether from lack of awareness of alternate opportunities and/or visa restrictions, have been shown in the literature to have a detrimental effect on circular migration. In the wake

[14]The demarcation between the push and the pull factors is not always clear. For example, for self-financed migration, it is not clear whether push or pull forces have the better claim.
[15] By network here we mean networks of friends and relatives as opposed to communitarian and cultural bonds.

of accession to the European Union, which increasingly appears to be the manifest destiny of the countries of the Balkans, both the nature of migration and the migration-development nexus appears to have changed. Thus, the enhanced freedom of movement made possible in the wake of accession to the European Union has had a dual effect on migration patterns from the selected countries: on the one hand, there has been increased exposure to new opportunities, stimulating the urge to migrate to a diversified set of countries; on the other hand, penetration of "Fortress Europe" has weakened the motivation for *permanent* emigration.[16] Additionally, the Internet revolution has led to greater exposure to alternate opportunities and has stimulated movement into unknown territories beyond the mental horizon made available through the network of friends and relatives. The changing pattern of skill migration is evident from the reported choice of destination countries by the potential student migrants: European Union countries and United States of America are their preferred destinations. This is a striking result as the choice of the destination country by the students does not seem to be consistent with the network effect which would assign key weight to presence of friends and relatives in the choice of the country of destination. Thus, while the Kosovo existing migrants are concentrated mainly in Germany and Switzerland, the interviewed students would like to migrate to USA and UK. Similarly, while the typical Albanian migrants are concentrated mainly in Greece and Italy, students from Albania would like to migrate to USA, UK, and Italy. Even in Macedonia, the network effect seems to have weakened for would-be student migrants: while the top destination countries of general Macedonian migrants are Italy, Germany, Australia and Switzerland, students would like to migrate to USA, Germany, and Switzerland. Surveys of skilled returnees corroborate the results from the survey of students. The finding from the student surveys is confirmed by the survey of returnees. Thus, the majority of returnees, besides being able to finance their re-migration, would choose the destination countries for reasons of higher

[16] "Fortress Europe" here metaphorically refers to the high barriers to immigration erected by advanced Western European countries.

education quality, language knowledge, and better economic conditions and career opportunities. The changing context of migration in the post-socialist period with associated changes in the immigration regimes of advanced countries has given would-be migrants greater degree of freedom in the choice of destination countries - some countries may be preferred for educational purposes – as opposed to working or living abroad – which could explain some of the discrepancy between the choice of original destination and the preferred choice of destination countries for remigration.

4.3. Inter-country Differences

That the countries share so many common patterns is not surprising given their socialist legacy, the more or less synchronous transition towards a liberal democratic system, and similar immigration policies of receiving countries.

While the similarities across countries greatly outweigh the differences, the inter-country differences are important enough to warrant analysis. The inter-country differences can be largely explained by the differential nature of the socialist regimes prevailing in Albania vis-à-vis the Former Yugoslavian Republic and the violent nature of Kosovo's independence from Serbia.

The education sector was a major casualty of the violence associated with the ethno-political turmoil in Kosovo, and, to some extent, of the prolonged political unrest and economic meltdown in the wake of the pyramid schemes in Albania. Of the three countries, Albania was already the least exposed to international and Western standards of higher education.

While the majority of Albanian and Kosovar students expressed a willingness to migrate for professional advancement, Macedonian students were reportedly evenly driven by the desire for professional, financial and long-term stability and security. The greater propensity of Albanian and Kosovar students for professional advancement may be explained by the destruction and deterioration of educational infrastructure (Kosovo) in the aftermath of the collapse of the socialist order or by the Albanian exception (little exposure to international standards and Western education during the socialist era).

Regarding the preparation for migration, Kosovo returnees seem to have had a higher level of preparation relative to migrants from the other two countries. The preparations were mainly in the form of learning a foreign language, cultural orientation, and to a lesser extend, vocational training. While in Kosovo and Albania students with high grade point averages are more willing to migrate for education, in Macedonia, high grade point average students are more willing to migrate for employment. Moreover, while a significant number of Albania and Kosovo students prefer an immediate return after the end of their studies; Macedonian students prefer to stay up to five years longer. Education is typically reported to be the motive for migration by returnees from Albania and Kosovo; economic conditions, unemployment, and political stability are typically cited by Macedonian returnees. While Kosovar and Albanian returnees would typically like to migrate again to continue their studies, Macedonian returnees typically want better income and living conditions. How can one explain these differences? As noted above, the Macedonian transition experience was relatively less violent and, as such, the education sector in Macedonia was less drastically impacted. Thus, the noted differences between Macedonia and other countries seem to reflect the perceived superior quality of education by Macedonians, and the perceived higher expected return to domestic education both at home and abroad.[17]

As regards the barriers to migration, given that Kosovo is not yet a visa-free towards most of the countries, it is not surprising that over 80 percent of students perceive that obtaining a visa is the main barrier to realizing their migration plans.

Another important difference found from the surveys of returnees concerns the perception of the return experience. Comparatively, Macedonian and Kosovar returnees could more easily find jobs and had shorter average periods of unemployment than Albanian returnees who had more difficulty in finding jobs and while employed had longer working hours. Albanian returnees have reportedly

[17] Expected return takes into account not only the wages but also the probability of finding a job.

benefited the least from both types of scholarship schemes. This is presumably due to a number of factors. First, Albanian migrants have had relatively lower access to scholarship programs, both domestic and donor-sponsored. Second, the lower expected income after return has a dampening effect on the urge to seek scholarships that requires a commitment to return home after studies. These are mere conjectures, and, this finding deserves more investigation. The percentage of returnees that feel better off after return is highest in Macedonia and lowest in Kosovo; hence, the stronger urge to re-migrate expressed by the returnees in Kosovo. Kosovo has a higher proportion of returnees that want to re-migrate and the stated probability of re-migration increases with time. It is not clear to what extent this difference is driven by differences in the sample selection in Kosovo – as noted above, the Kosovo sample of returnees was limited to student returnees who would have been obligated to return.[18] A higher number of returnees in the Kosovo sample were 'obligated' to return to the same employer. If had not been bonded, some of them might have opted to not return in the first place. Those that feel worse off put the political situation, economic conditions and nepotism as the reasons for their feelings.

As for destination countries in case of re-migration, Kosovar and Macedonian returnees would go to the same first destination countries whereas Albania returnees beside the EU countries showed increased interest to USA and Canada. Of the three countries, Albania had the lowest proportion of emigrants in North America. Perhaps because of the lower exposure of Albanian migrants to North America, the grass may appear to be greener across the Atlantic.

Another noteworthy difference had to do with the marital status of returnees. While the majority of Kosovo and Macedonia returnees were single, the majority of Albanian returnees were married. The reason for the difference in the marital status is, mainly due to sample selection as far as Kosovo is concerned: the Kosovo sample

[18] Many of these student returnees were employed in the public sector and had to sign a bond obliging them to return to their job upon completion of their studies abroad.

consisted exclusively of student returnees. The difference with Macedonia may be partly due to sample selection as well. This finding deserves additional investigation.

Finally, there are significant inter-country differences in the design and commitment, if not achievement, of the official programs to harness the diaspora. This study confirmed the result of an earlier study by Mughal et al. (2009) to the effect that the Macedonian government has not committed significant resources for harnessing the Diasporas for development. Indeed, it has shown little interest in the study of the phenomenon of migration despite its clear socio-economic significance.

The relative isolation of Albania vis-à-vis FYR and the differential nature of the problems confronting these countries during the initial post-socialist phase, go far to explain the differences discussed above. The urge to explore the world, ceteris paribus, also accounts for the disproportionate emigration pressure Albania witnessed in the aftermath of the demise of one of the most 'isolationist' socialist regimes in the world. The relative prominence of migration in Albania as an 'issue' deserving significant political and government response can be understood within this context.

4.3.1 Does Ethnicity Matter?

The study found that in Macedonia, the ethnic Albanian students consider themselves as potential migrants more than the ethnic Macedonian students do. This result may be due to the higher number of ethnic Albanian migrants from Macedonia or may be due to the existing migration networks. In Macedonia, we observe some differences between ethnic groups in terms of the goals and expected outcomes of migration. While the majority of ethnic Albanian students expect to excel professionally while being abroad, ethnic Macedonian students want to prosper financially. This could be partly explained by the overall lower quality of education in Albanian institutions of higher education. However, ethnic Albanian students with lower academic performance are more willing to go abroad for employment than ethnic Macedonian students for comparable grades. This result calls for further investigation. The observed differences between the students of Albanian and the Macedonian ethnicity require more in-depth research.

4.4. Some Policy Implications

Circular skill migration, now a structural feature of the small economies of the Western Balkans, carries transformational significance for their future development.

This study has contributed to our understanding of the evolving processes of skill migration in the selected countries of the Western Balkans-OECD corridor beyond the monitoring of migration flows. *It bears out the aptness of the metaphor of brain circulation, of which student mobility is a major part in the Western Balkans-OECD corridor, in place of the conventional metaphor of brain drain.* While popular media and many politicians remain largely tethered to the conventional wisdom on brain drain, which recent scholarship has been called into serious question on both theoretical and empirical grounds, the surveys of stakeholders and experts run counter to popular perceptions about brain drain; instead of being perceived as a problem, migration is seen by most experts as an opportunity for the economies of the respective countries, given the high unemployment rates and the lack of indigenous capacity to absorb the growing labor force. Migration is viewed as a source of brain gain in the long run, as migrants return to the native lands, having acquired new skills and know-how. The micro and macro level perspectives appear to be harmonious. Preference falsification by respondents is expected to be minimal given the close correspondence between the responses of returnees and would-be student migrants. The change in the intellectual climate is highly welcomed.

Even if one accepts the brain drain thesis, there is little in the counterfactual situation to recommend itself. Little attempt is made on the part of those who bemoan the loss of talent and brain to project a positive counterfactual scenario. Restriction on the mobility of human capital with a view to retaining it at home (sending countries) or preventing it from competing with natives (receiving countries) is neither desirable, nor feasible in a fast globalizing/Europeanizing context. In the era of globalization, people's mental horizons have expanded and they are eager to move to other places and countries in order to realize their full productive potential, and increasingly so in Europe. Given the high employability of the returnees, the process of the migration and the return of these highly skilled/educated can be seen as evidence

of brain gain for the countries. A weak propensity to emigrate emerging from the present research corroborates the results of an earlier study by Kupiszewski et al. (2009) which had found a declining propensity to emigrate in the Western Balkan countries. The weak propensity to permanently emigrate, combined with the greater reported employability of returnees, invite reconsideration of restrictionist policies that continue to distort behavior of would-be migrants. Large-scale emigration from Western Balkan countries, witnessed under the highly unfavorable social, economic and political conditions in the aftermath of the demise of the socialist system, is evidently unlikely under changed circumstances, particularly with the looming prospect of accession to the EU. Thus, restrictionist policies have no sound logical or empirical basis.

The contractual agreements and incentives given either by the employers or by the scholarships sponsors seem to be a good strategy on the part of donors and national government of turning the investment in education into a brain gain for the country. Additionally, in hiring consultants for technical assistance in the countries under consideration, international donors can help by giving preferential treatment to members of skilled diaspora from these countries that are otherwise equally qualified.

It is worth noting that the dominant perception among experts about the positive value of emigration is matched only by the negative perception prevailing among entrepreneur-returnees about the red tape that they had to face while establishing their businesses. That many returnees reported various obstacles like *not being able to be work in the field of specialization*, not being able to implement and fully utilize their new qualifications, difficulties in finding a job (nepotism, bureaucracy) and, the lack of the overall influence in the society. This negative perception points to the need for an enabling environment for full utilization of the repatriated talent.

As regards brain gain initiatives, even though, in all three countries, to differing levels and degrees, there are several governmental and institutional programs that support the return of highly skilled and educated returnees. The survey results suggest that majority of returnees either were not aware of these programs or

had the impression that they were subject to nepotism. These programs clearly need reforming. We believe a comprehensive and coherent policy approach mainstreaming migration into national development plans instead of ad hoc Brain Gain initiatives are likely to be more beneficial.

As regards statistics, researchers also confirmed what previous studies had found, i.e., the *dearth and inadequate quality of data on migration and the labor markets of the selected countries. The lack of data is more pronounced in the case of Kosovo.* Diaspora mapping and creation of a database for distinct categories of migrants can help in mainstreaming migration into development plans.

Finally, the finding of low education quality acting as a push factor underscores the need for introducing reforms in higher education in all three countries, but particularly in Albania and Kosovo, in order to increase the quality of higher education. An important policy question that remains unexplored is whether these countries should commit significant amount of resources to develop their own indigenous capacity in tertiary education or should capitalize on the existing capacity with EU and OECD. This question is an important one within the context of the manifest destiny of these countries. The costs and benefits of trade in educational services between the advanced countries of the EU and the labor exporting countries need to be carefully studied. Given the significant economies of scale in education, the case for 'specializing' in and indigenizing higher education becomes much weaker within Europe where intercountry inequalities are becoming smaller.

If there is one policy recommendation for the governments of the sending countries that emerges from this research, it is the following: from the perspective of an open macroeconomy, at the risk of appearing to be minimizing the human significance of the migration experience*, given significant economies of scale in higher education and the advantages that 'first movers' have, skill migration should be viewed, at least in the short run, as the export of intermediate goods to be processed in advanced countries and re-exported to the countries of origin*. This is not a recommendation for outsourcing higher education. In the intermediate run, these countries would do well to grow out of this form of static comparative advantage and *focus upon creating a niche for themselves in the production of higher education*. Creating such a niche itself

depends upon attracting native talent back home and, this, in turn, depends on creating an enabling environment for repatriation of talent. In the long run, economic growth trumps all strategies.

4.5. Some Limitations of the Study and Promising Avenues for Future Research

While the present study lends support to the new insights from the literature, it has certain limitations that should be kept in mind.

First, resource limitations and lack of official data on skilled Diasporas prevented the researchers from carrying out a more ambitious representative study. The sample of returnees is subject to a two-fold selectivity bias. On the ine hand, the returnees were selected using a snowball method in Macedonia and Albania; the Kosovar returnees were selected based on the financially supported schemes, whereas the Albanian and Macedonian returnees from a more general sample of returnees show approximately the same level of government support. On the other hand, and more importantly, returnees as a whole constitute a small minority relative to the vast majority of migrants who choose not to return. This subpopulation of non-returnees could not be studied because of resource constraints. Thus, it is not clear whether the returnees returned because they were contractually obligated to return or because of lack of socio-economic integration/assimilation to the new host country or because of successful integration which offered them a degree of economic security as a backup option in case the 'experiment' of return failed.

Second, it must be borne in mind that motives are not reasons. Moreover, there is no necessary conflict among the three reported motives of migration, i.e. education, employment, and permanent settlement abroad. The goals can be achieved sequentially: while individuals may migrate initially for education, subsequent to migration, they may opt for employment and /or permanent settlement. One can be motivated by both educational opportunities in destination countries, as well as the expected wage differences (Rosenzweig, 2007).

Third, the study found pronounced differences between the behaviors of ethnic groups in Macedonia. But, the study was limited (by design) in its focus on the

major ethnic groups to the neglect of smaller minority groups: Roma and Turks. Ethnic differences were not studied at all in Kosovo and Albania. Ethnic differences may have significant socio-economic and political implications and call for in-depth attention in future studies.

Fourth, a major finding of the study is that within country ethnic differences, between people of the Albanian and the Macedonian ethnicity in the Republic of Macedonia, are pronounced enough to warrant further investigation.

Finally, in investigating the intentions to migrate, the report focused upon the intentions to migrate of final and pre-final year university students and the intentions to *re-migrate* of highly skilled members of diaspora who had returned to the countries of origin. University faculty and other segments of the highly skilled labor force were excluded because of resource constraints. Future work on skill migration should study this subset of the labor force.

Despite these limitations, we believe the research has made a significant contribution to our understanding of the evolving processes of brain circulation in the Western Balkans-OECD corridor. While it answers many questions, it also raises some questions that deserve additional investigation.

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Appendices

Appendix I

Table 1: Basic Information on the Surveys			
	Albania	**Macedonia**	**Kosovo**
Data Collection Method	**PAPI** (paper and pencil interview) in classrooms	**PAPI** (paper and pencil interview) in classrooms	**PAPI** (paper and pencil interview) in classrooms
Students			
Sampling Design	Simple Random (SRS)	Quasi-Random	Quasi-Random
Size	1210	1040	1186
Pre-final	30%	23%	39.3
Final year	70%	77%	60.7
Returnees Survey			
Sampling Design	Judgment and/or Snowball	Judgment and/or Snowball	Judgment and/or Snowball
Size	108	72	83
Expert interviews			
Sampling Design	Judgment	Judgment	Judgment
Size	20	18	14

Tables of Students

Table 2. Demographic Characteristics of Surveyed Students			
	Albania	**Macedonia**	**Kosovo**
Gender	**Percent**	**Percent**	**Percent**
Female	62	64	54.0
Male	38	36	46.0
Marital Status			
Single	71	57	50
Married	6	3	9.4
Divorced/Separated	1	0	0.8
In a relationship	23	31	33.9
Widowed	0	8	1.4
Mean Age		21.6	23.2
Household income levels(self declared)			
Very low	1	2	0.8
Low	7	10	9.8
Average	83	71	70.7
High	8	14	17.5
Very high	1	2	1.2
Academic performance(self declared)			
Below average	4	12	5.3
Average	75	71	67.2
Above average	21	16	27.5
Total	100	10	100

Table 3. Student Intentions to Go Abroad

	Education			Employment			Permanently		
	Albania	Macedonia	Kosovo	Albania	Macedonia	Kosovo	Albania	Macedonia	Kosovo
	Percent								
No	0.0	31.5	20.1	33.8	21.5	23.9	41.4	43.9	33.9
Maybe	45.5	42.3	32.2	36.6	43.3	26.3	28.3	29.3	18.3
Yes	25.5	15.1	31.5	15.3	26.1	28.1	15.3	12.5	18.3
I don't know	8.4	11.2	16.2	14.3	9.1	21.7	15.1	14.3	29.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 4. Students' Plans for Returning after Completing Education Abroad (%)

	Albania	Macedonia	Kosovo
Never return	9	15	8
Work abroad for more than 10 years then return	11	12	7
Work abroad for more 5- 10 years then return	17	18	12
Work abroad for less than 5 years and then return	25	31	23
Return directly after finishing education	38	24	50

Table 5: The Most Important Goal To Be Achieved Abroad by Students

	Albania	Macedonia	Kosovo
	Overall	Overall	Overall
Excel professionally	41%	26%	54%
Prosper financially	15%	22%	25%
Establish myself quickly	3%	5%	0%
Achieve long-term stability and security	9%	22%	7%
Keep options open in terms of working in or outside RM	25%	18%	7%
Obtain the citizenship of the country of migration	4%	5%	8%
Other	3%	2%	0%

Tables of Returnees

Table 6. Demographic Characteristics of the Surveyed Returnees

	Albania		Macedonia		Kosovo	
	Freq.	**Percentage**	**Freq.**	**Percentage**	**Freq.**	**Percentage**
Total	108	100	72	100	83	100
Males	48	44	42	58.3	37	44.6
Females	60	56	30	41.7	46	55.4
Age groups						0.0
20 – 25	14	13	3	4.17	10.00	12.0
26 – 30	40	37	19	26.39	28.00	33.7
31 – 35	32	29.6	21	29.17	28.00	33.7
36 – 40	17	15.7	16	22.2	13.0	15.7
41 – 45	1	0.9	6	8.3	3.0	3.6
46 – 60	4	3.7	7	9.7	1.0	1.2
						0.0
Marital status						0.0
Single	59	54.60	14	19.4	35.0	42.2
Engaged	10	9.30	7	9.7	5.0	6.0
Married	36	33.30	47	65.3	42.0	50.6
Widow/Divorced	3	1.90	4	5.6	1.0	1.2
Education level						
Less than bachelor	2	1.90	4	5.6	0	0
Bachelor	31	28.70	16	22.2	5	6.5
Master	55	50.90	36	50.0	72	93.5
PhD	20	18.50	16	22.2	4	5.1

Table 7. Did you attend any training before you went abroad specifically to prepare you for living or working abroad?

	Albania	**Macedonia**	**Kosovo**
Language training	35.2	23.6	18.3
Cultural Orientation	8.3	5.5	4.2
Vocational training	12	2.7	7
University student	14.8	8.3	77.5
Post-graduate studies	3.7	0	8.5
Other	1.9	1.3	0
Did not attend	50.9	61	7
High School			19.7

Note: The numbers do not add up to 100 for multiple responses were allowed.

Table 8. Current employment of the returnees

	Albania	Macedonia	Kosovo
Government	15.74	12.5	16.5
Public sector - non-administrative	n/a*	n/a	16.5
Banking sector	20.37	n/a	3.8
International organization/WB	0.93	1.39	17.7
NGO	6.48	2.78	12.7
Private business	13.89	12.5	7.6
University	25	23.61	8.8
High Schooling	/	2.78	1.3
Self-employed	1.85	11.11	2.5
Student	2.78	18.05	3.8
Unemployed	0.93	2.78	1.3
No Answer	10.19	n/a	7.5
Other	1.85	9.72	n/a
Research Org	n/a	1.39	n/a
Multi National Companies	n/a	1.39	n/a

- Not applicable.

Table 9. How did you find the job?

	Albania		Macedonia		Kosovo	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Advertisement	32	32	16	26	29	39.2
Offered a job by a friend or relative	18	18	12	19	9	12.2
Asked/sent CV to a number of employers	35	35	12	19	17	23.0
Set up own business	5	5	7	11	4	5.4
Other	10	10	15	24	15	20.3
Total	100	100	62	100	74	100

Table 10: Likelihood of Remigration*
(How likely or unlikely is it that you would leave the country within?)

	Answer Options	Very unlikely	Quite unlikely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Quite likely	Very likely
Albania	Next 6 months	44.9	**28**	**12.1**	**4.7**	**10.3**
	Next two years	27.6	**27.6**	**10.5**	**21**	**13.3**
Macedonia	Next 6 months	**22.1**	35.3	**19.1**	**14.7**	**8.8**
	Next two years	**18.8**	25	**18.8**	**21.9**	**15.6**
Kosovo	Next 6 months	21	7	3	8	8
	Next two years	4	9	6	12	6

Remigration here does not imply migration to the same country; it could be to a different destination country.

Table 11: Most Important Goal To Be Achieved Abroad

	Macedonia					Albania	Kosovo
	Female	Male	Macedonian	Albanian	Other	Overall	Overall
Excel professionally	26%	27%	16%	42%	26%	41%	54%
Prosper financially	20%	27%	24%	20%	19%	15%	25%
Establish myself quickly	4%	7%	5%	4%	4%	3%	0%
Achieve long-term stability and security	24%	20%	32%	8%	26%	9%	7%
Keep options open in terms of working in or outside	21%	12%	16%	21%	17%	25%	7%
Obtain the citizenship of the country of migration	4%	5%	5%	3%	6%	4%	8%
Other	1%	3%	2%	1%	3%	3%	0%

Table 12. Timing of Intended Migration

	Education		Employment		Permanent	
	Freq.	**Percent**	**Freq.**	**Percent**	**Freq.**	**Percent**
In 2-3 months	36	3.2	27	2.4	45	4.1
In the next 12 months	205	18.3	77	7	62	5.7
In 2-3 next years	431	38.4	281	25.4	181	16.7
I don't know	449	40.1	720	65.2	798	73.5
Total	**1121**	**100**	**1105**	**100**	**1086**	**100**

Appendix II- Survey Instruments

Appendix IIA.

Questions used in the semi-structured interviews with stakeholders / experts in the respective countries.

1. What is your assessment more accurate in relation to total funds and revenues emigrants, and in particular, emigrants with high qualification and educated?
2. What are the areas / regions / major cities where these immigrants are concentrated?
3. What are the main economic sectors where the Albanians are employed?
4. What is your opinion about the phenomenon of migration from Albania? Think it's "a problem", an opportunity, or both? Do you think in the case of Albania, migration is the only trade through various means?
5. Migration is good for immigrants and their families. A Albanian Government should consider migration as an opportunity that looks like the export of labor to obtain needed foreign exchange in order to encourage savings and investment in the country?
6. The latest data on migration have placed the spotlight on the brain drain. Do you believe that the removal of the brain can be a source of brain gain?
7. As you think, what to make of origin governments and society itself to promote brain gain? Are you aware of any move you to the relevant government has taken on the issue of Brain Gain, if yes, please give us more information. What do you think about their success?
8. Are you aware you for any occasion when a highly skilled migrant is back and what were the circumstances or reasons for this return? What impact could be the return of highly skilled immigrants to the country of origin?
9. Can you tell us any opportunity for any successful business ventures that started with / co-funding / funded by the Diaspora? Do you know of any cases of unsuccessful business ventures that started with / co-funding / funded by the Diaspora? According to your opinion, what affects the success or failure of these ventures?

10. According to your opinion, what are the main obstacles related to the productivity of investments in the country by the Albanian Diaspora?
11. A is favorable migration of a significant number of labor force for democratic governance?
12. Can you tell us any information you have regarding the Albanian associations abroad and other networks abroad?
13. Are you aware of any significant individual philanthropic activity by an individual of the Diaspora, for example, donations of land and community development in general?
14. Are you aware of the existence of a partnership initiative with the same objectives?
15. Do you think that the Diaspora can play an important role in promoting local products and services as for migrants, as well as citizens of host countries?
16. What institutional arrangement would you propose regarding the programming policies to promote networks in Diaspora?
17. Do you think that the Diaspora and / or return of many skilled immigrants can affect the process of EU integration?
18. What specific suggestions would you offer to increase benefits from the participation of the Diaspora in Albania's development and encourage investment in Albania, social and financial capital accumulated abroad?
19. What actions would you propose, supported by the Albanian authorities to improve communication with the Albanian Diaspora, the government's credibility among the Diaspora community that the latter engage in democratic processes and development in Albania?

Appendix IIB.

Questionnaire for Students Intention to Migrate Survey

Date of the interview:_____

City: _____

University: _____

Interviewer:_____

1. **Your age (Please state your age):**_____Years

2. **Gender**

1. Female 2. Male

3. **Marital status**

1. Single 2. Married 3. Divorced 4. In relationship 5. Other

4. **Religion: _____**

5. **Ethnicity _____**

6. **Do you have a 2nd citizenship or permanent residency in another country?**

1. Yes. Country: _____ 2. No

7. **Year of study**

1. Pre-final year 2. Final year

8. **How would you estimate your performance in you studies**

1. Below average 2. Average 3. High

9. **In which Income group would you classify your family's income and economic situation?**

1. Very Low 2. Low 3. Average 4. High 5. Very High

Below there are some questions about your travel and stay abroad as a consequence of various reasons. Please choose one answer for each line.

10. Is there a probability that you would:

SINGLE RESPONSE FOR EACH ROW

	NO	Probable	*Yes*	*Don't know*
Go abroad for education	(1)	(2)	*(3)*	*(4)*
Go abroad to find employment	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Emigrate to live in another country	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

If you have answered no in all three option please go to question 13.

11. If you think that you'll travel abroad for one of the above reasons, when do you think it could happen?

SINGLE RESPONSE FOR EACH ROW

	in 2-3 months	in the next 12 months	in the next 2-3 years	*Don't know*
Go abroad for education	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Go abroad for employment	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Emigrate to live in another country	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

12. **How important are the following reasons for you to go abroad. Where; 0=this reason does not exist; 1= very low importance; 2= average importance 3= important; 4=very important.**

SINGLE RESPONSE

To live in a more developed country	(0)	(1)(2)(3)(4)
For better payment, even for a less qualified work	(0)	(1)(2)(3)(4)
For prospects of a better professional career (even with a lower payment as a start)	(0)	(1)(2)(3)(4)
To see the world/get experience	(0)	(1)(2)(3)(4)
Joining family/spouse/marriage	(0)	(1)(2)(3)(4)
Ensure better education for me / my children	(0)	(1)(2)(3)(4)
Simply does not want to live in [country] any more	(0)	(1)(2)(3)(4)

13. Have you ever been outside the country for more than 3 months?

SINGLE RESPONSE

Yes
No

If your answer is NO, please go to question 15.

14. *RETURN MIGRANTS:* Please evaluate the importance of the below stated reasons of your going/travel(s) abroad? Where; 0= this reason did not have importance; 1= very low importance; 2 = average importance 3= important; 4=very important.

SINGLE RESPONSE

To live in a more developed country	(0) (1)(2)(3)(4)
For better payment, even for a less qualified work	(0) (1)(2)(3)(4)
For prospects of a better professional career (even with a lower payment as a start)	(0) (1)(2)(3)(4)
To see the world/get experience	(0) (1)(2)(3)(4)
Joining family/spouse/marriage	(0) (1)(2)(3)(4)
Ensure better education for me / my children	(0) (1)(2)(3)(4)
Simply does not want to live in [country] any more	(0) (1)(2)(3)(4)

15. People sometimes move from one country to another for various reasons. If you would go abroad please evaluate your decision by answering each of the following(where 0= very unlikely that this would happen; 1= somewhat likely to happen; 2= likely to happen; 3=very likely to happen):

a. Go abroad for a few weeks	(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)
b. Go abroad for a few months	(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)
c.Go abroad for a few years	(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)
d.Go abroad for the rest of your life	(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)

16. Have you taken any of the following steps to prepare for migration over the last years?

	Yes	**No**
a. Learn a language	(1)	(2)
b. Improve qualifications	(1)	(2)
c. Sell property	(1)	(2)
d. Obtain information	(1)	(2)
e. Apply for jobs	(1)	(2)
f. Look for somewhere to live	(1)	(2)
g. Apply for work permit	(1)	(2)
i. Other preparations	(1)	(2)

17. Do you have any friends or relatives living in other countries who could help you, if you wanted to migrate abroad?

Yes ___ ; No _____

18. What country would be your first choice?

(check only one)

1. United Kingdom; 2. USA; 3. Australia; 4. Canada; 5. Switzerland; 6. Germany; 7. Italy; 8. Other

19. If you would like to emigrate, what is your intention after?

(check only one)

1. Return directly after finishing education
2. Work abroad for less than 5 years then return to _____
3. Work abroad for 5-10 years then return to _____
4. Work abroad for more than 10 years then return to _____
5. Never return to _____

20. Which is the most important goal for you to achieve abroad?

(check only one)

1. Excel professionally
2. Prosper financially
3. Establish myself quickly
4. Achieve long-term stability and security
5. Keep options open in terms of working in or outside RM
6. Obtain the citizenship of the country of migration
7. Other:_____

21. How important do you personally find each of the following reasons when we talk about emigration or going abroad? Where; 0= this reason does not exist; 1= very low importance; 2 = average importance 3= important; 4=very important.

Better living standards abroad	**(0)**	**(1) (2) (3) (4)**
No economic improvement at home	(0)	(1) (2) (3) (4)
Ethnic problems at home	(0)	(1) (2) (3) (4)
Earn lots of money	(0)	(1) (2) (3) (4)
Good experience of others	(0)	(1) (2) (3) (4)
Good employment prospects for people like me	(0)	(1) (2) (3) (4)
Greater personal and political freedom	(0)	(1) (2) (3) (4)

22. What are the barriers for you to go abroad? ***(check all that apply)***

	Yes	**No**
1. Required process	(1)	(2)
2. Expenses	(1)	(2)
3. Getting visas	(1)	(2)
4. Other:_____	(1)	(2)

23. Is there anybody in your university that encourages you to go abroad?

1. Yes 2. No

24. Do you have family members or friends living abroad that are encouraging or would assist you to travel abroad?

1. Yes 2. No

25. Where did you get your information about going abroad? *(check all that apply)*

	Yes	No
1. Media (movies, TV series)	(1)	(2)
2. Reports by family members or friends living abroad	(1)	(2)
3. Reports by other students	(1)	(2)
4. Reports by others who are educated abroad	(1)	(2)
6. Your own observations	(1)	(2)
7. Other(please specify:_____	(1)	(2)

26. Rate the impact of each of the factors listed below on your motivation to go abroad: Where: 0= No impact at all; 1= very low impact; until 9= very high impact. using the:

a.	**Economic Conditions**	**(0) (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9)**
b.	Social conditions(Social norms, social system, social relationships, social and family support, lifestyle, living dependently or independently)	(0) (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9)
c.	Political conditions(Political situation, political system, ability to make changes, personal security)	(0) (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9)
d.	Personal conditions(Issues related to partner, parents, children)	(0) (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9)

Appendix IIC.

Survey of Highly Educated and Skilled Returnees

Serial No. | | | | |

Interviewee Name: ……..

Gender: 1. Male ( ) 2. Female ( )

Institution: …….. City: ……

Interview Date: / /

Interviewer Name: ……

All Information provided is Confidential & will be used Only for Research Purposes

Introduction

This survey is being conducted by SEEU, Tetovo, RIINVEST, Prishtina, UNIVERSITY OF TIRANA, Tirana for the project entitled, "**Brain Drain and the Role of Diaspora in Promoting Reforms in the Balkans" financed by University of Fribourg and Swiss agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC)**. The target population consists of researchers, academics, entrepreneurs, and other highly skilled members of Diaspora who had returned home having acquired education and/or work experience abroad. The purpose is to investigate into the mechanisms of brain gain from brain drain and suggest improvement in migration and education policies. Whatever we hear from you will only be used for the purposes of this research and will remain confidential.

Section A. Social and Demographic Characteristics and Education

101. How old are you? ___ ___ years

102. What is your current marital status?
1. Never married ( )
2. Engaged ( )
3. Married ( )
4. Widowed ( )
5. Divorced ( )

103. Do you have any children?
1. Yes
2. No → **Q105**

104. How many? ___ child(ren)

105. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
1. Less than bachelor's ( )
2. Bachelor's ( )
3. Master's ( )
4. Ph.d. ( )

106. What was your field of study?
……

107. Why did you choose this field of study? [choose one reason only]
1. Personal interest ( )
2. Encouraged by others ( )
3. To get a job ( )
4. To be able to go abroad ( )
5. Because of the grades I obtained ( )
0. Other (specify) ( )

108. What language did you speak at home as a child?
……
1. Albanian 2. Macedonian
3. Serbian 4. Turkish
5. Other (specify)

109. Besides this language, which other languages do you speak?
1. None 2. English
3. French 4. German
5. Italian 6. Greek
7. Other (specify) ……

Section B. Migration History

I would now like to ask you some questions about your time abroad.

	month year
201. How long did you live abroad? (Note: record years, then months. **If <6 months, end interview)**	___ ___ month ___ ___ year
	month year
202. When did you return? (Note: record date. **If <3 months or >10 years ago, end interview)**	___ ___ month ___ ___ year
203. Please give me your reasons for leaving (The home country) [List up to **three** reasons **in the order they are mentioned**] [if left more than once, answer about the **last** time you went abroad for more than six months]	
204. What was your most important reason?	
205. Did you attend any training before you went abroad specifically to prepare you for living or working abroad? 1. Language training ( ) 2. Cultural orientation ( ) 3. Vocational training ( ) 4. University studies ( ) 5. Did not attend training ( ) → **Q209** 0. Other (specify) ……	
206. Did you receive a diploma or certificate from this training? 1. Yes ( ) 2. No ( )	
207. Was this training useful in order to get a job abroad? 1. Yes it was useful ( ) 2. It was not useful ( )	
208. Was this training *necessary* in order to get a job abroad 1. Yes it was necessary ( ) 2. No, it was not necessary ( )	
209. Did you live abroad in one country, or more than one country? 1. One country ( ) 2. More than one country ( )	
210. Which country did you (first) move to when you went abroad? …… [=destination country] (do not include countries in which you spent <6 months)	
211. How long did you spend there?	___ ___ month ___ ___ year
212. Why did you move to (name destination country) in particular? [List up to **three** reasons **in the order they are mentioned**]	

213. What was the most important reason?

214. Did you benefit from any of the national or foreign government / NGO programmes to work or study abroad?
   1. Yes, only national government program ( ) → **Q216**
   2. Yes, only foreign government sponsored program ( ) → **Q216**
   3. Yes, both ( ) → **Q216**
   4. No ( )

215. Why could you not benefit from a programme?
   1. Not for the right kind of work ( )
   2. I did not have the required qualifications ( )
   3. No schemes for the country I went to ( )
   4. Too expensive ( )
   5. These programmes are not for people like me ( )
   6. These programmes are corrupt ( )
   0. Other (specify) .....

216. **[Ask only if married]** Did you go to FDC [=foreign destination country] with your spouse, or did s/he stay here?
   1. Spouse stayed here ( )
   2. Went with spouse ( ) → **Q218**

217. Why did your spouse stay here?
   1. Better financially ( )
   2. Family farm/business needed to be maintained ( )
   3. Better for children/family at home ( )
   4. Spouse not permitted to go ( )
   5. Wanted to find out how things would work first ( )
   0. Other (specify) ..... → **Q 219**

218. Why did you bring your spouse with you?
   1. Better financially ( )
   2. Needed help abroad ( )
   3. Better for family/children to be together ( )
   0. Other (specify) .....

219. What is the country you have spent most time in abroad?
   ..... [=MDC]

220. How long did you spend there? ___ ___ month ___ ___ year

221. When you lived in (name MDC), did you live in an area where a lot of migrants live?
   1. Almost all migrants ( )
   2. Mostly migrants ( )
   3. Equal numbers of migrants and locals ( )
   4. Mostly locals ( )
   5. Hardly any migrants at all ( )

222. Did you have much contact with local people?
1. Very frequent contact ( )
2. Frequent ( )
3. Neither frequent nor infrequent ( )
4. Not much/barely ( )
5. None at all ( )

223. Did you study or attend training abroad?
1. Yes ( )
2. No ( ) → **Q225**

224. What kind of study or training did you complete abroad?
1. University ( )
2. Orientation training ( )
3. Language training ( )
4. Training to bring existing qualifications up to local standards ( )
5. Workplace training ( )
0. Other (specify) .....

225. What was the *first* work you did when you were abroad? [i.e. in FDC]
[Ask about work place type, work type and work level)

226. For how long did you do this work? ___ ___ month ___ ___ year

227. Did you change and do another job while you were abroad?
1. Yes ( )
2. No ( ) → **Q228**

228. What work did you do for the longest time abroad? [i.e. in MDC]
[Ask about work place type, work type and work level)

229. Was there ever a period when you were abroad when you could not find any work?
1. Yes ( )
2. No ( ) → **Q230**

230. For how many months, approximately, were you without work?
_____ months

231. On average, about how many hours did you normally work per week when you were abroad?
[answer in relation to *longest period* of work, even if part-time] ____ ____ hours

232. Did you keep contact with (Macedonia) whilst you were abroad?
1. Yes ( )
2. No ( )

233. How frequently did you visit (Macedonia) whilst you were in (name MDC)?
1. Never ( )
2. Once only ( )

3. From time to time ( )
4. At least once a year ( )
5. More than once a year ( )

234. Did you send money home whilst you were abroad?
1. Yes ( )
2. No ( ) → **Q301**

235. How often did you send money?
1. Less than once a year ( )
2. At least once a year ( )
3. At least once a month ( )

236. Who did you send the money to?
1. Parent(s) ( )
2. Spouse ( )
3. Children ( )
4. Siblings ( )
0. Other (specify) ……..

237. What was the money used for?
1. Living expenses ( )
2. To buy property ( )
3. To rent property ( )
4. To buy furniture/household goods ( )
5. For a business activity ( )
6. Savings ( )
7. Education ( )
0. Other (specify) ……

Section C. Return experiences

I'd now like to ask you some questions about the period since you last returned to Macedonia

301.	Talking about your return to Macedonia, please give me the reasons for your return: [List up to **three** reasons **in the order they are mentioned**]
302.	What was the most important reason?
303.	At the time you returned, were you aware of any official programmes or schemes to assist people to return? 1. Yes ( ) 2. No ( ) → **Q306**
304.	Did you benefit from such a scheme? 1. Yes (specify) ( ) ..... → **Q306** 2. No ( )
305.	Why not? 1. Not for the right kind of work ( ) 2. I did not have the required qualifications ( ) 3. No schemes for the country I went to ( ) 5. Too expensive ( ) 6. These schemes are not for people like me ( ) 7. These schemes are corrupt ( ) 0. Other (specify) .....
306.	When you came back, did you bring money/savings with you? 1. Yes ( ) 2. No ( ) → **Q308**
307.	What did you use these savings for? 1. Living expenses ( ) 2. To buy property ( ) 3. To rent property ( ) 4. To buy furniture/household goods ( ) 5. For a business activity ( ) 6. Savings ( ) 7. Education ( ) 0. Other (specify) .....
308.	Have you worked since you came back to Macedonia? 1. Yes ( ) 2. No ( ) → **Q316**
309.	What work have you done since you returned? [Prompt if more than one job/activity to describe main job/activity only here – i.e. job done for the longest time]

310. On average, how many hours do you normally work each week since you returned?
___ ___ hours

311. How did you find work?
1. Advertisement ( )
2. Offered a job by a friend or relative ( )
3. Asked/sent CV to a number of employers ( )
4. Set up own business ( )
0. Other (specify) .....

312. How quickly did you start work after arrival (excluding any periods you chose to take time off)?
0. On arrival
___ ___ months

313. Have your experiences abroad helped you find better work opportunities since your return?
1. Yes ( )
2. No ( ) → **Q315**

314. Of all your experiences abroad, which have helped you most?
1. Experiences in general ( )
2. Formal education/training ( )
3. Skills learned at work ( )
0. Other (specify) .....
→ **Q316**

315. Why have your experiences abroad not helped you?

316. Do you have a pension or other social benefits from your time abroad?
1. Yes ( ) → **Q318**
2. No ( )

317. Why not?
1. Did not contribute to pension scheme ( )
2. Contributed, but not for a long enough period ( )
3. Pension scheme could not be transferred ( )
0. Other (specify) .....

318. When compared to the time before you left, do you consider yourself better or worse off since your return?
1. Much better off than before you left ( )
2. Better off than before you left ( )
3. About the same as before you left ( )
4. Worse off than before you left ( )
5. Much worse off than before you left ( )

319. In what way do you feel better/worse off?

Section D. Intentions

401. Are you currently considering moving abroad to live and work again?
   1. Yes ( ) → **Q404**
   2. No ( )

402. Why are you not looking to move abroad?
   [Select up to **three** reasons **in the order they are mentioned**]
   1. This is my country/I belong here ( )
   2. My family/relatives are here ( )
   3. People are not friendly abroad ( )
   4. Discrimination in other countries ( )
   5. I would feel lonely abroad ( )
   6. Homesickness ( )
   7. Low incomes abroad ( )
   8. Poor work conditions abroad ( )
   9. Impossible or very difficult to find work abroad ( )
   0. Other (specify) ……..

403. What is the most important reason?
   → **Q501**

404. How likely or unlikely is it that you would leave Macedonia within the next 6 months?
   1. Very unlikely ( )
   2. Quite unlikely ( )
   3. Neither likely nor unlikely ( )
   4. Quite likely ( )
   5. Very likely ( ) → **also tick 'very likely' to Q405**

405. How likely or unlikely is it that you would leave Macedonia within the next 2 years?
   1. Very unlikely ( )
   2. Quite unlikely ( )
   3. Neither likely nor unlikely ( )
   4. Quite likely ( )
   5. Very likely ( )

406. If you were to leave (Macedonia), please give me the reasons you would have for leaving?
   [List up to **three** reasons **in the order they are mentioned**]

407. What is your most important reason?

408. If you were to move abroad, which country would you be most likely to go to?
   …….. [=MLD]

409. How likely or unlikely is it that you would move to (name MLD) to live and work?
   1. Very unlikely ( )
   2. Quite unlikely ( )
   3. Neither likely nor unlikely ( )
   4. Quite likely ( )
   4. Very likely ( )

410. Why would you move to (name MLD)?
   [List up to **three** reasons **in the order they are mentioned**]

411. What is the most important reason?

412. Are you able to finance your move abroad?
   1. Yes ( )
   2. No ( )
   8. Don't know ( )

413. What job would you expect to do there if you go?
   [Ask about work place type, work type and work level)

Thank you for your reply!

PART TWO

Brain Circulation and the Role of Diasporas in the Balkans – Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia

Albania Country Report

Esmeralda Shehaj, Fatmir Memaj

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CHAPTER I

CONTEXT OF THE COUNTRY: ALBANIA

1.1. Introduction

Albanian population has decreased to 2,831,741[19] habitants in 2012, compared to 3,069,275 that was registered in 2001 in Population and Housing Census. The comparison of the figures shows that the population of Albania has decreased by 7.7 percent in about ten years. Large scale emigration and fertility decline are supposed to be the main causes of the population decrease.

The difference between the natural increase and net migration is still positive. Live birth is decreasing rapidly and the number of deaths is almost constant. Emigration remains persistently high. The active population (population 15-64) is decreasing. The main data on population are presented in the table below.

Table 1: Indicators on population

Indicator	Absolute values					
Year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Population (mln)	3.12	3.135	3.149	3.153	3.170	3.194
Demographic changes (%)	0.49	0.45	0.11	0.55	0.75	
Share of age group below 15 years of age (%)	27.3	26.5	25.7	24.9	24.2	23.7
Share of age group 15-64 years of age (%)	64.6	63.3	63.9	66.3	66.7	67.0
Share of age group over 64 years of age (%)	8.1	10.2	10.4	8.8	9.1	9.3
Age dependency ratio	54.8	58.1	56.4	50.8	50.0	49.3
Fertility rate	1.8	1.6	1.4	1.3	1.4	
Life expectancy	75.4	75.4	75.4	75.4	75.4	
Urban population (%)	43.9	44.5	48.1	49.0	48.6	48.8

Source: INSTAT

In the 1990s, Albania has experienced two radically new phenomena: a massive emigration to foreign countries, and an intense migration among its districts. External migrants have been estimated to be some 0.6 million in twelve years, i.e. some 50,000 per year, but with important changes from year to year. After a peak in the late 90s, emigration is said to have declined, but little or nothing is known about

[19] INSTAT, Registration of 2011

its present level. For the purpose of projections, assumptions are about 15,000 emigrants per year. In the last two decades, the labour market in Albania has been characterized by large internal and external migratory waves, and declining mortality and fertility rates. In the last two decades, about 1 million of Albanian citizens have migrated abroad, mainly to Greece and Italy, but according to the "Strategy of Reintegration of Returned Albanian Citizens"[20], more than 47 000 migrants returned to Albania.

During the year before the last census, the North Region had lost 2.1 percent of its inhabitants who were settled somewhere else in Albania. This was three times smaller in the South (0.7 percent) and almost unimportant in the Centre (0.2 percent, without Tirana and Durrës).

For the first time in the history of population censuses in Albania, the population in urban areas is larger than the population of rural areas. According to 2011 census preliminary results, 53.7 percent of the population lives in urban areas and 46.3 percent in rural areas.

Based on the analysis of demographic and spatial developments, the following characteristics prevail:

- Albania has one of the youngest populations in Europe. Socio-economic problems associated with ageing of the society are not of immediate concern. There will be a strong pressure for educational and work opportunities and strong internal and external migratory flows will continue. Age distribution is not highly differentiated among regions, but the northern areas have the highest numbers of young people, while especially Dibër and Kukës experience severe depopulation. There is a long term pattern of migration from less favourable mountainous northern, southern and eastern parts of the country towards the western coast, especially to the central locations in

[20] Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities Strategy of June 2010

and around Tirana and Durres. Currently, these two districts represent 36.3 percent of the total population (27 and 9.3 percent respectively), while in 2001 only 28 percent (20% and 8 percent). 'Cascading' intra-regional migration to the district centres and secondary cities (10,000-30,000 inhabitants) has been strong, proving that country-wide urbanization is under way. This will have important consequences for regional and local development. Increased pressure on environment and infrastructure will take place in recipient locations (mitigated by economic agglomeration gains), while it will be hard to sustain depopulating areas.

1.2. Albania's Economy

Albanian economy has undergone a radical transformation since the defeat of the communist government in 1992. In the 1990s, Albania's transition to a market-based economy was accompanied by economic dislocation due to the shock of the transition and the effect of implementation of economic reforms.

Recently, Albanian economy has improved infrastructure development and major reforms in areas such as tax collection, property laws and business climate are currently being conducted. For the period of 2004-2008, Albania experienced an average annual growth equivalent to 6 percent of GDP, but it decreased to 3.3 percent in 2009 and 3.8 percent in 2010 maintaining a positive growth and the macroeconomic and financial stability. According to the Bank of Albania, income per capita was 2,785 Euro in 2008 and 2,728 Euro in 2009. According to preliminary data by the World Bank's Poverty Assessment Program, 12.4 percent of the Albanian population lived below the poverty line in 2008, reflecting a significant improvement from 25.4 percent in 2002. The official registered unemployment rate was 13.3 percent as of 31 December 2011. The labour market has seen a growing number of employees, while the registered unemployment rate has shown signs of decline reaching 13.3 percent in 2011 from 16.8 percent in 2000.

The economic growth has been largely based on the reallocation of economic resources reflected in structural changes of the GDP. The share of services has increased from 21.3 percent in 1992 to 54.4 in 2001, and 51.6 percent in 2009.

Agriculture has decreased from 54.2 percent of GNP in 1992 to 23.6 percent in 2001, and 18.5 percent in 2008. Construction has also contributed with an increased share in domestic production (from 7.6 percent of GDP in 1992 to 9.7 percent in 2001, and 12.7 percent in 2009), while industry has shown a decreasing one, particularly during the first transition decade (from 16.9 percent in 1992 to 6.8 percent in 2001, and then to 8.4 percent in 2009)[21] However, as asserted by some international institutions' reports22, the restructuring contribution of the country's output to growth is slowing down, while efficiency enhancers have taken a greater role, although the development of innovation based growth remains a challenge for the future.

Today, over 80 percent of the domestic product is generated by the private sector. During the last decade, the Albanian growth rate recorded the highest rate compared with other Balkan countries. The average growth rate for the period 2002-2009 amounted to 5.5 percent of GDP. Almost 55 percent23 of all workers in Albania are employed in the agricultural sector, although the construction and service industries have been expanding recently. Tourism has been boosted significantly by ethnic Albanian tourists from throughout the Balkan region. Since the last quarter of 2009, which was marked as the most difficult period for the national economy in the global economic and financial crisis, the economy has shown a positive performance and increased gradually during 2010.

Fiscal and monetary discipline has kept inflation relatively low, averaging roughly 2.9 percent per year during 2006-2010. The average inflation rate for 2010 was 3.6 percent, while for the last quarter of the year it was 3.1 percent, while staying within the target range of 2 - 4 percent.

Albania continues to be an import-oriented economy and the export base remains small and undiversified. Exports have been one of the leading contributors to

21 Albanian Institute of Statistic: www.instat.gov.al

22 World Bank Report (no. 29257-AL), 2005: Albania-Sustaining Growth Beyond the Transition", pp. 24-25.

23 Conjecture, Main Economic Indicators, 4th Quarter 2009 , INSTAT

growth. In 2010, exports increased by about 56 percent compared to 2009. Imports have grown in more moderate terms, resulting in a narrowing trade and current account deficit. During 2010, imports of goods, capital goods and those used in the manufacturing process have made an increasing contribution especially from the start of the second quarter onwards.

Despite the financial and economic crisis in the global economy and continuing uncertain international environment, the economic growth of the country continues to grow at relatively high levels. The average economic growth rate for the upcoming four years 2010 – 2013 is foreseen to be close to the level of 5.7 percent of the GDP. According to the Central Bank of Albania, remittances declined by 11.7 percent[24] in 2010 compared to 2009. The total revenue trend for the period of 2002 – 2009 was around 25.4 percent of GDP. The lower rate of revenue, as a percentage of GDP, compared to the other countries in the region is as a consequence of the lower tax rate. Albania is one the countries with the lowest tax rate. Budget revenues for 2010 were at 2.338 billion Euros, representing an increase of 8.6 percent versus 2009. Total revenues for 2010 were around 27.2 percent of the GDP.

The average level of total (public) expenditures for the period of 2002 – 2009 was around 30.3 percent of the GDP. The rate of expenditures as a percentage of GDP is lower compared to the other countries, due to the government's philosophy to have "a small government" with low expenditures. Total stock of public debt for 2010 decreased to 59.4 percent of the GDP, from 59.5 percent in 2009, reaching the target level of the fiscal policy for 2010.

The average rate of FDI to GDP for the period of 2002 – 2009 has been at 5.5 percent. During the past decade, the capital and financial accounts have been dominated by direct investment flows and capital transfers. Other investments have mainly consisted of public and private borrowing and trade credits. The privatization

24 Financial Stability Report, 2010 H1, Bank of Albania, October 2010, p. 34

process of publicly owned enterprises provided considerable impetus to the flow of foreign funds into Albania in particular in the early years of transition.

The labour market in Albania, in the last two decades has been affected by large internal and external waves of migration, both seasonal and permanent, coupled with an aging population due to declining mortality and fertility rates. In this period, about 1 million Albanian citizens migrated abroad, mainly to Greece and Italy, around 47,000 of which, eventually returned to Albania according to the "Strategy of Reintegration of Returned Albanian Citizens25 e. While it is clear that the remittances of Albanian emigrants have improved the purchasing power for some, the impact of external migration on the labour market is not so clear. Certainly, it has to an extent discouraged re-entry into the labour market through high levels of private welfare transferred in the form of remittances, as well as having acted to reduce labour market pressures by reducing the available stock of labour. This has been characterised as a 'brain drain' effect, depleting the domestic skills pool, although there is little more than anecdotal evidence for the quality of emigrant labour.

The labour market in Albania has long standing issues of high levels of informality, a large but steadily declining agricultural private sector, low level qualifications of the labour force, weak linkages between education and employment, as well as low participation rates for women, young people, people with disabilities and ethnic minorities such as Roma. Institutions that intervene in the labour market face huge challenges in reducing unemployment rates that have remained persistently above 10 percent for more than a decade and also in promoting growth in jobs that will counter expected future declines in the private agricultural sector.

The last decade has seen important developments in the labour market, with some strengthening of employee numbers in the service sector and a shift away from small-scale agrarian occupation, from a peak of 71.2 percent of total employment in

25 Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities Strategy (June, 2010)

2002. However, labour market composition belies the service-dominated GDP composition and remains heavily weighted towards the agricultural private sector, highlighting a developmental gulf between the Albanian and EU and EA labour markets.

On the demand side, employment in Albania is predominately private sector based. This sector is the main employer with a share of 81 percent in the total employment. The weak SME sector represents both, opportunity and challenges for the private sector in driving future economic growth and development of the labour market. The weakness of the SME base is evident in the high involvement in micro-enterprise: employees currently represent 39.9 percent of total employment; the self-employed account for 30.4 percent. Of these, 28.6 percent are sole traders (i.e. without employees); a very tiny 1.8 percent is self-employed with employees; and, 29.8 percent are unpaid family workers. It is therefore uncertain how much of this growth in labour demand will come from trade-oriented, micro-enterprise. The future is even more decidedly unsure, if we consider the possible effects of a continuation of the competitive squeeze on private sector agricultural small holder. We may expect a continuation of the sector squeeze that saw an average 3 percent per annum job losses over the period 2007-2009. This is of special concern, when considering that levels of job creation outside the non-productive public sector have looked anaemic over the last 3 years.

Even though, there have been improvements in income distribution and in poverty reduction, these indicators are still behind the EU average. Despite the increasing effect of social transfers on income distribution, there are still problems for the poor without social insurance, since an important portion of social transfers is composed of pensions. Although social exclusion is often associated with poverty, or reduced to that single issue, it is a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon with many factors and causes. There is a concentration of the persons with minimum or no education in the informal sector. In many cases, there is a fast track route from a curtailed school career into the informal labour market, entailing reduced social mobility and de facto exclusion from social insurance and employment protection. Social exclusion has also been an unforeseen consequence of the informal settlement

that came with large-scale internal migration. Established on previously agricultural land, and typically inhabited by newcomers that have migrated from remote mountainous areas to the centre, inhabitants of these new peri-urban areas suffer lack of access to basic public and private services frequently and they are restricted by lack of infrastructure and environmental degradation.

Poverty measurement in Albania is based on the Living Standard Measurement Survey (LSMS, 2002-2005-2008). LSMS methodology uses household survey consumption data, determining that an individual is considered poor if their level of per capita expenditure falls below a minimum level necessary to meet basic food and non-food needs.26 Poverty estimates generated from LSMS can however only be disaggregated at the level of four 'strata' - corresponding to three broad macro-regions of denominated Coast, (Central) and Mountain, as well as the urban area of Tirana. Poverty levels have been on a secular declining trend from 2002 until 2008 moving from a high of 25.4 percent to 12.4 percent and can be attributed mainly to a vigorous economic growth.

Poverty seems to be related more to location (altitude and periphery) than to the urban and rural division. In 2008, poverty level in mountain areas (26.6 percent) was more than two times higher than in coastal (13 percent) and central area (10.7 percent), and three times higher than in Tirana. The general poverty level in rural areas (14.6 percent) is 1.4 times higher than in urban areas (10.1 percent). Urban/rural division is more acute in mountain areas where poverty in rural areas is twice as high, mostly due to the adverse conditions for agriculture.

1.3. High education, population structure and migration flows

Public higher education during the years 2009-2010 came into full reformation and restructuring according to the "Bologna" model. Increased institutional, academic and financial autonomy, and introduction and implementation

26 INSTAT, A profile of Poverty and Living Standards in Albania, 2004, p. 6

of European quality standards, accreditation of programs and higher education institutions have been the priorities for the policies pursued in the last two years. In this framework, what has been made possible is the opening of new study programs, with priority to those of ICT and biotechnology as well as new study programs of 2 years in regional universities based on the increasing demand of regional labour markets. In 2010, the process of evaluating and ranking according to the quality of all public and private universities began to ensure a comparable quality between institutions of higher education. Besides the increase of public higher education during recent years, the private higher education has witnessed a rapid growth and it is already contributing to the country's educational progress. Students enrolled in private higher institution represent 20 percent of the total number of students enrolled in 2010-2011 academic year.

During the period 2009-2010, the quality of academic teaching staff has improved significantly. The number of professors with academic degrees in public higher education has increased up to 1,856 from 1,039 in the period 2007 to 2008. Academic staff has been also trained at home and abroad to implement new teaching methods and introduce the use of new teaching technologies. In this regard, a special assistance is given by the mobility of teachers and students through various European programs, as well as the absorption in country's academic life of young professors,especially those with experience abroad supported by the 'Brain Gain' Programme, which encourages their return to Albania.

The number of students enrolled in higher education for 2009-2010 academic year was 122,326, of which 98,917 were in public higher education and 23,409 in the private higher education. This number, compared with the 2008-2009 school year, increased by 31 percent or by 29,187 students, of which 19,122 students belonged in public higher education and 10,065 students in private higher education. Particularly, a significant growth of 28,337 students has been recorded in the number of full-time students compared with a year ago. The same increasing trend has been registered in the number of students enrolled in 2010-2011 academic year, which amounted to 134,877 students, of whom 107,523 students in public higher education and 27,354 private higher education.

In the 2008 Business Environment and Enterprise Performance Survey (BEEPS), more than half of firms reported lack of skilled labor as an impediment for doing business and this is almost certainly an underestimation of the problem. While many firms may recognize that they need a manager, IT specialist, accountant or engineer, they may not realize that they are also missing opportunities to reorganize production processes, introduce new products or enter new markets. In addition, in the 2009 Investment Climate Survey (ICS), 51 percent for large firms, 41 percent for exporters, and 48 percent for foreign-owned firms reported skills as a major obstacle. These shares were higher than in the other transition economies27. More innovative firms were more likely to be concerned about workforce education. Over 35 percent of firms that acquired new technology cited workforce education as a major constraint. This finding is particularly significant, since these are the categories of firms which are likely to be the sources of future growth of productivity and employment.

During the period of 1990 and 2008, about 40.6 percent of the staff of public universities and research institutions migrated from Albania. The size and intensity of this phenomenon is so high that Horvat (2004) defined Albania as one of the countries that had "the highest *brain* emigration rate in the world". In many Albanian institutions, the emigration involved the most dynamic and elite part of the Albanian research/university teams. The data show that the public university and research institutions from Tirana, especially those related to natural sciences, engineering, nuclear physics and arts, were the most affected. Most migrants from these institutions were male (59.4 percent), relatively young (about 35 years old), and, in contrast to the patterns for mass migration, they migrated through legal channels and with their families. Those that left had on average 8 years of work experience in the research institutions/universities they left, and 43 percent of them had completed specializations abroad.

27 World Bank, Albania the New Growth Agenda, A Country Economic Memorandum, November 2, 2010

Fortunately, the emigration of highly qualified people has abated significantly since 2000 and there are even some indications of returning migrants. The emigration of academicians and researchers from universities and research institutions peaked during the period of 1991-93 following the initial opening of the country, with a second peak in 1997-99 following the political and social chaos of the period. Since then, emigration has declined as a result of a variety of factors including the improvement of the economic and social conditions in Albania (higher wages and improvements in universities), and the increasing difficulty of migrating to Western Europe.

The new challenge for Albania is to make a transition towards brain circulation. Indeed, the return of highly-skilled migrants can bring significant benefits to their countries: their newly acquired skills, financial resources and links to networks can boost productivity and economic development28. So far, only 9.7 percent of highly qualified migrants of the past two decades have returned to Albania. A third of them work at the same academic/research institution they did prior to migration and the rest work mostly in the private sector. In 2008, the University of Tirana admitted, by means of a competition, 400 new lecturers, but less than 5 percent of them had completed a Ph.D. abroad.

28 Lowell, Findlay, & Stewart, 2004

CHAPTER II

STUDENT INTENTIONS TO MIGRATE OR STAY

2.1. Introduction

The high rates of international migration among the Albanians were also associated by migration of the skilled and highly-skilled driven mainly by economic reasons. This phenomena known as the "brain drain" has recently been one of the most common concerns in Albania, but, despite the vast theoretical literature on the consequences of brain drain for developing countries, and the possibility of brain gain, the dedicated research on this topic has been very scarce, especially on the determinants of the brain drain. Regarding this latter topic, a few decades ago the key question was posed by Portes (1976) at the individual level, why do some highly skilled individuals within a country leave, while others stay. Moreover, amongst those who go, why do some return? Such an analysis may provide a first step towards understanding the potential of international migration of the (highly) skilled, the characteristics of the potential skilled migrants and the factors that influence their migration decisions. Furthermore, it will help to provide more practical and detailed policy tools.

This chapter addresses the answer to the first question attempting to explain what determines international migration of the Albanian university graduates, while the answers to the second question, on the determinants of return migration, are provided in the next chapter. The evidence is drawn from a new survey designed to study the individual level micro and macro-socio-economic determinants of the students' mobility. The study draws evidence on a sample of 1210 last year (bachelor or masters) students of 14 public and private universities in 8 major cities of Albania. The survey asks detailed questions on the intentions to migrate and return focusing on a wide range of different push and pull factors and their importance. These factors include individual and family characteristics, migration experience and networks, destination countries, as well as aims, incentives and barriers to international migration at the micro and macro level. Using these data, we also estimate the probability of international migration of the students in our country, and examine which characteristics predict their migration. Our results suggest that the determinants of the intentions to migrate are of individual, family and macro nature.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 2.2 provides a short review of the theoretical background on student mobility and its relationship with migration. Section 2.3 concentrates on the main socio-demographic characteristics of the sample. Section 2.4 analyses the intentions, goals, reasons and motives for migration. Section 2.5 presents the pre-migration plans and concrete steps taken by students. Section 2.6 presents the empirical investigation of the factors that influence the migration intentions of the sampled students. The final section provides the concluding remarks.

2.2. The theoretical background

International student mobility has been studied using various theoretical and empirical approaches. In general, it is based on two mainstreams. The first one is related to consumption reasons arguing that students migrate for non-pecuniary reasons, benefiting from the pleasure of studying and for a better quality of life, while the second is based in the human capital theory where students consider (higher) education as an investment, and estimate its costs and its returns (in terms of better job opportunities, higher salaries, etc) (Sakellaris and Spilimbergo, 2000; Agasisti and Dal Bianco, 2007; Sá et al., 2004).). However, recent studies adopt gravity models (Spilimbergo, 2009; Capuano, 2009; Van Bouwel, 2009; Thissen and Ederveen, 2006), or the human capital explanation of the phenomenon. Moreover, Rosenzweig (2006) uses US data to investigate the determinants of student inflows and uses two other approaches: the "Constrained domestic schooling model" and the "Migration model", and finds evidence to support the second. The "Constrained domestic schooling model" assumes that international students come from countries where skills are highly rewarded, but where there is shortage of supply of higher education. The second one assumes that students tend to leave countries in presence of low returns to their skills and move to countries with higher returns. One of the merits of the "Migration model" is that it incorporates the idea that the choice of tertiary students is based on the ease of knowledge transfer in the destination labour market, because they intend to stay and work in the host country.

Recent research has shown that student mobility can be assumed to be similar to labour migration, especially highly skilled migration, but it has also its

peculiarities. An interesting feature of student mobility is its special link with the returning decision: coming back is much more relevant for those who move to study than those who move to work. The migration literature provides broad evidence that migration is affected by uncertainty, and student mobility should not be an exception. The returns to higher education are not known for sure, and they could even mismatch previous expectations. If moving or staying for education entails a given degree of uncertainty, location after graduation may change despite of the initial intentions to settle down and work in the study place. In many cases people may decide to acquire skills in a country where they are of better quality, but then migrate to work where returns to respective skills are higher. Thus, beside migration under uncertainty, the “Return Migration" strand of literature offers a useful framework to interpret student mobility (Capuano, 2010).

Student mobility has also been studied from a macro perspective and at uncertainty over future macroeconomic conditions as a potential push or pull factor of student flows. A large part of the literature on international student migration has been concerned with flows of students from developing countries to industrialized countries and their determinants. Based on survey data from home and host countries of potential international students, their results suggest that the quality differential between a foreign degree and a domestic one is one of the main motivations for students to go abroad (Mazzarol and Soutar, 2002; Bourke, 2000, Szelényi, 2006). Other studies arrive to the same conclusions by including proxies of quality such as the staff-student ratio (Lee and Tan, 1984), educational opportunity (Agarwal and Winkler, 1985; McMahon, 1992) and government spending on higher education (McMahon, 1992).

In conclusion, student mobility can be considered as a migration process and follow the characteristics of migration itself. The survey literature on international students’ motivations to migrate from developing to industrialized countries indicates that the perceived higher quality of a foreign degree is one of the most important reasons to go abroad for higher education. The differences on earnings potential between countries in the migration theories does not explain all the dynamics of migration from developing to developed countries, and in the same line, the quality

differentials between foreign and domestic universities is one of the reasons, but not the only one to explain student mobility. Despite the growing efforts to explain student flows, the literature is scarce in investigating personal and household characteristics that determine student migration. This study contributes to this latter gap by investigating the personal and household characteristics that influence the intention to migrate of the Albanian students.

2.3. Demographic characteristics of the sample

During the months of December 2010 and January 2011 the team conducted a survey with a representative sample of last year bachelor and master students. The sample consisted of 1210 last year students in all 11 public universities in Albania and 3 largest private universities, namely UFO University, European University of Tirana, and Kristal University. The number of students interviewed in each university was determined proportionally to the respective number of students. Table 1 summarizes these percentages. It can be noted that the students of the University of Tirana (which is the main university of the country) constitute the largest group, followed by other public universities. The private universities participate in lower percentage, because their number of students is much lower. The sample of students intended also to be representative of different fields of study. The sample consisted of 26 different faculties, and as previously expected the majority of students study Business and Economics, followed by Political and Social studies, while representation of more specific field of studies such as tourism is at lower levels.

Table 1. Number and percentage of surveyed students by university

	University	Frequency	Percent
1	Academy of Arts	35	2.9
2	University"Aleksander Moisiu", Durres	102	8.4
3	University "Aleksander Xhuvani", Elbasan	80	6.6
4	University "Eqerem Çabej", Gjirokaster	70	5.8
5	University "Fan S. Noli", Korce	80	6.6
6	"Kristal" University , Tirana	50	4.1
7	University "Luigj Gurakuqi", Shkoder	80	6.6
8	University of Sports, Tirana	45	3.7
9	Agricultural University of Tirana	80	6.6
10	European University of Tirana	70	5.8
11	"UFO" University, Tirana	70	5.8
12	Polytechnic University of Tirana	90	7.4
13	University of Tirana	278	23.0
14	University of Vlora	80	6.6
Total		**1210**	**100.0**

Regarding the socio-demographic characteristics of the surveyed sample, the questionnaire collected information on age, gender and marital status, economic conditions of the household and academic performance. These characteristics are presented in Table 2. The students in the sample are on average 22 years old, with a minimum of 18 a maximum of 50 years, and a standard deviation of about 3.2. The majority of the students, 66 percent of them, have 20-22 years of age. 70 percent follow last year studies of bachelor or master, while the others attend pre-final year. In the rest of the questionnaire (when collecting information on students' intention to migrate and other issues), no distinction was made in relation to the bachelor or master degrees. Approximately, 75 percent of the students self-evaluate their academic performance as average, and 21 percent think they academic performance is high. In relation to the economic conditions of the households, the sample includes 83 percent of average income, 8 percent of high and 7 percent of low incomes. Only 2 percent of the students report having very high or very low household income.

Table 2. Demographic characteristics of the respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Female	747	61.7 %
Male	463	38.3 %
Marital Status		
Single	860	71.1 %
Married	66	5.5 %
Divorced/Separated	8	.7 %
In a relationship	275	22.7 %
Widowed	1	.1 %
Year of study		
Pre -final year	359	29.7
Final year	851	70.3
Age		
18	8	.7 %
19	88	7.3 %
20	245	20.2 %
21	300	24.8 %
22	257	21.2 %
23	152	12.6 %
24	65	5.4 %
25	39	3.2 %
26	8	.7 %
27	7	.6 %
28 or more	41	3.4 %
Household income levels		
Very low	9	.7 %
Low	85	7.0 %
Average	1006	83.1 %
High	96	7.9 %
Very high	14	1.2 %
Academic performance		
Below average	48	4.0
Average	904	74.7
Above average	258	21.3
Total	**1210**	**100 %**

Approximately, 62 percent of the students are females. Official figures from the Institute of Statistics indicate that in 2005, 58.4 percent of the individuals attending universities were female. Taking into account that official figures account for students who are not graduated yet, and the differences in the graduation rates

between males and females being largely skewed in favour of females (INSTAT, 2006)[29], this figure supports the representativeness of our sample. In addition, 71 percent of the surveyed students are single and about 23 percent report being in a relationship. It is interesting to note the very high response rates of the open questions on religion and ethnicity. 98.9 percent of students are ethnic Albanians; the rest being Greek, Macedonian, Serb, and Roma (Tables A1 and A2, Appendix I). Approximately, 70 percent are Muslims, 22 percent are Christians, and 5 percent are atheists. Less than 5 percent of the students claim to have a second citizenship, mainly in the European Union or the United States (Table A3, Appendix I).

2.4. Intentions, goals, reasons and motives for migration

The intention to migrate is investigated in relation to three specific reasons: study, work or permanently live abroad and the respective results are presented in Table 4. Overall, approximately, 90 percent of the students have intentions to migrate for at least one of the reasons, while 129 students (or 10.7 percent) have no intentions to migrate. One fourth of the students are sure they will go abroad to continue their studies, and one fifth of them do not want to study abroad. More than 45 percent say that probably, they will go abroad to attend higher education and a few of them have no idea yet. An exploration of the incentives to migrate for study purposes and gender indicates that there are no statistically significant gender differences (Table A4a, Appendix I). Significant differences in the intentions to migrate for study were found between groups of different academic performance (Table A4b, Appendix I) and regarding the household income levels (Table A4c, Appendix I). The association in both cases is positive, indicating that students with higher academic performance and those with better economic conditions of the household have more intentions to study abroad in comparison to others.

[29]http://www.instat.gov.al/graphics/doc/downloads/publikime/femrameshkuj2006.pdf

Table 3. Intentions to go abroad

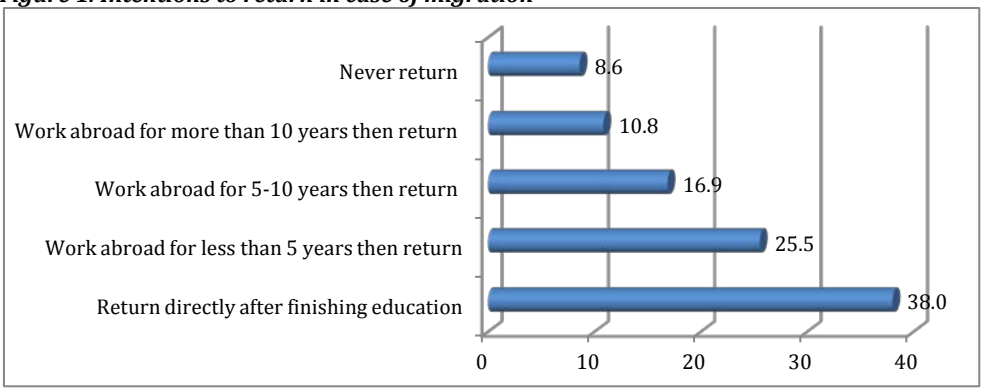
	Education		Employment		Permanently	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
No	248	20.5 %	409	33.8 %	500	41.4 %
Maybe	551	45.5 %	442	36.6 %	342	28.3 %
Yes	309	25.5 %	185	15.3 %	185	15.3 %
I don't know	102	8.4 %	173	14.3 %	182	15.1 %
Total	**1210**	**100.0**	**1209**	**100.0**	**1209**	**100.0**

The proportions are slightly different with regard to the intentions to migrate for working abroad. One third of the students say they will never migrate for work, and another 15 percent will certainly do. A high number of students (36.6 percent) have considered this opportunity and will probably migrate to work. Finally, some of them do not know yet if they will ever migrate for work. There are significant differences in the incentives to migrate between men and women, women intentions to migrate for work being lower than men's (Table A5a, Appendix I), but no significant differences were found among groups of students with different academic performance, or those with different income levels (Tables A5a, A5b, Appendix I).

The information provided for the intentions to migrate permanently is also summarized in Table 3. More than 40 percent of the students do not want to live permanently in another country, but about 15 percent of them say they are convinced to go abroad and live there for the rest of their lives. The results indicate no significant differences in the intentions to migrate permanently between men and women, and/or between groups with different academic performance, or economic conditions (Tables A6a, A6b, A6c, Appendix I).

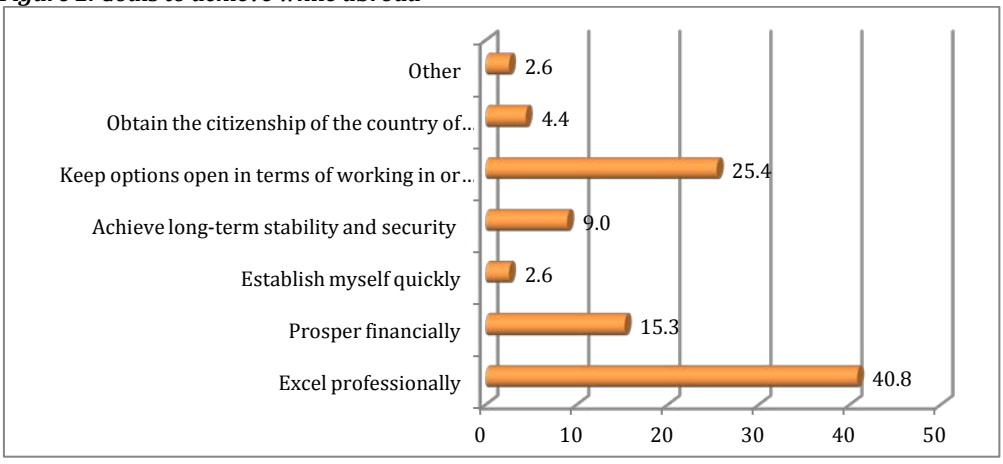
Students were also asked about their intentions to stay in the host country or to return in case they would decide to migrate for education. The results are presented in Figure 1 and suggest that the majority of the students (38 percent) would return directly after finishing their education, and another 25.5 percent would like to work abroad for a few years. Lower percentages of students would like to work abroad for longer periods, and 8.6 percent would like to live abroad and never return.

Figure 1. Intentions to return in case of migration



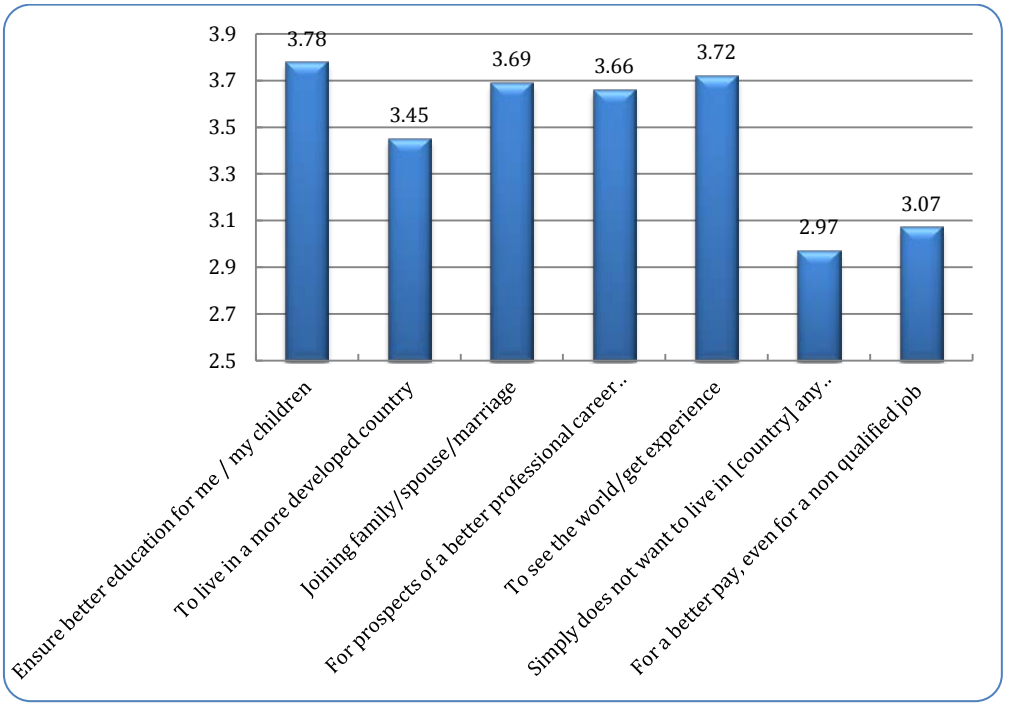
Students were also asked about the goals they want to achieve while abroad. The results suggest that the goals of the majority of the students are related to their professional carrier. 40.8 percent of them would like to excel professionally while abroad, and approximately 25 percent would like to have open possibilities of working in their home country or abroad. About 15 percent are interested in the financial aspects of migration. The percentage of students that would simply like to establish quickly in the host country or to obtain another citizenship is relatively low. In other reasons, students have mentioned a lifetime experience, better qualification, better justice system, holidays, and better education, get to know another culture, meet my family, friends and/or relatives.

Figure 2. Goals to achieve while abroad



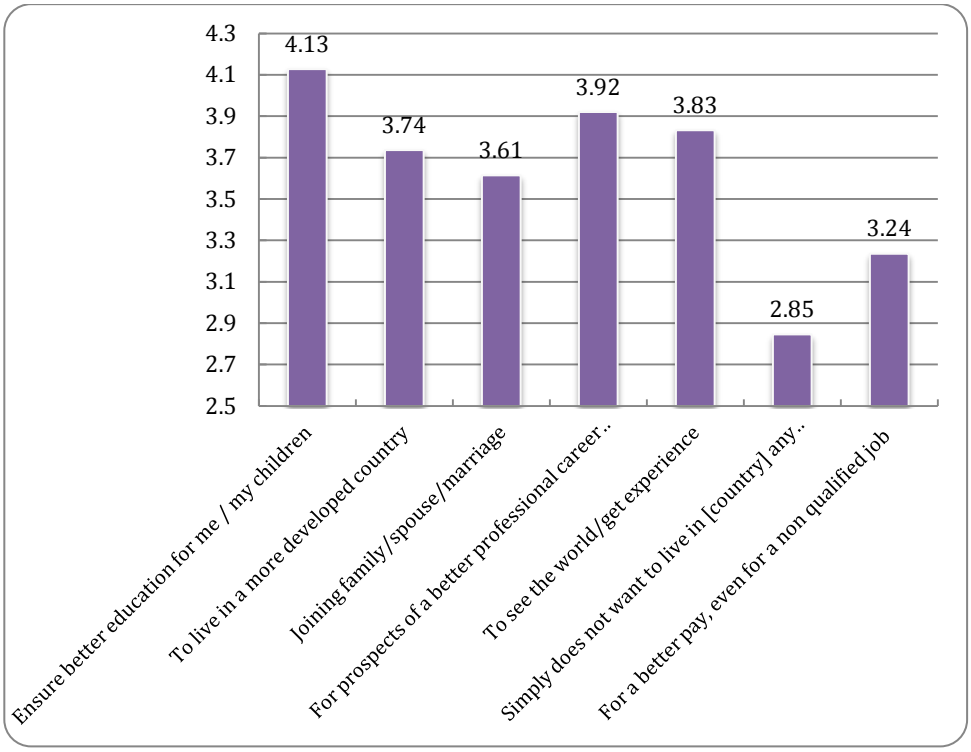
Different possible reasons to migrate were listed for ranking of their importance based on previous migration experiences and current individual/household conditions, as well as a more general opinion on Albanian migration. With regard to previous migration experiences, only the students who have ever been abroad for more than three months were asked to rank the importance that these factors had, when they decided to go abroad. A five point scale was used in these questions where 1 was the least important and 5 the most important reason. 24 percent of the students have been abroad for more than three months and evaluated the importance that certain reasons had in that occasion. The results of the average ranking are presented in Figure 3. It can be noted that the listed reasons are of pretty similar, above average, importance. The highest rated reasons for previous migration experiences are better education and professional carrier opportunities abroad, getting new experiences, and joining family. Nevertheless, the difference between the highest and the lowest results is practically low, meaning that the returned had different important reasons that significantly influenced the decision to go abroad.

Figure 3. Average results of the importance of reasons for leaving



The evaluation of the importance of the reasons that students have when considering their going abroad is presented in Figure 4. The list of the relevant reasons is the same as in the chart above, but it can be noticed that the mean importance is generally higher when considering potential future migration. Again, ensuring a better education and a better professional carrier are the most important reasons, followed by the desire to get new experiences, to live in more developed countries and to join their families. The results suggest that the less important reason is that they do not want to live in their home country anymore, but its over-average evaluation indicates its importance is not to be neglected.

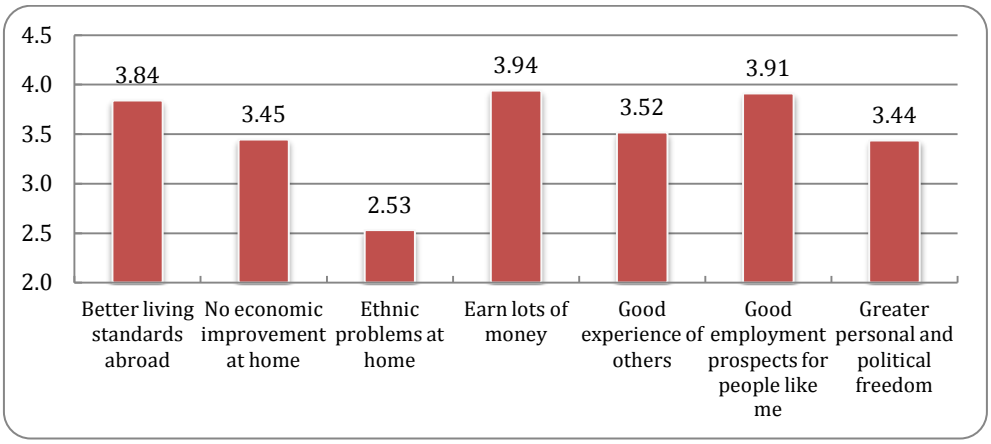
Figure 4. Mean evaluation of the reasons to go abroad.



Students were next asked to rate the importance of several factors, when considering migration in a more general (country) framework. The averages of the ratings for every factor indicate that in general, the living standards and future perspectives and opportunities are the most important push factors for Albanian

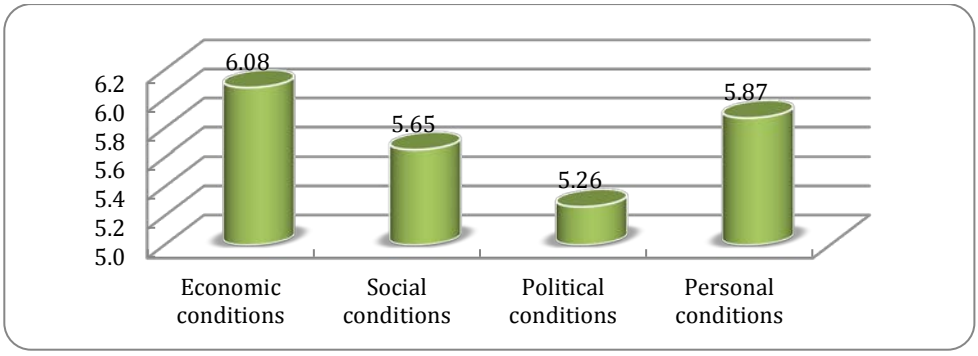
migration. Other important factors include the personal and political conditions. Ethnic problems in the home country have the lowest rating, but nevertheless they are given an average importance.

Figure 5. Average importance of the reasons to migrate (general migration)



To explore better what are the factors that are broadly perceived as the most important, when considering migration from the macro and micro perspective, students were asked to rate in a scale from 1 (least important) to 9 (most important) the importance of economic, social and political conditions, as well as the importance of their personal conditions. The four factors have above-average means and the ratings are very close to each other (highest difference is 0.82, which in a scale from 1 to 9 is relatively low, Figure 6). The results indicate that the most important push factor for the Albanian migration is the economic conditions of the country in general, which is in line with the results of different studies in the field. Personal conditions are rated next, followed by social and political conditions in the country. Overall, the results indicate that there is a myriad of reasons behind migration and the decision to migrate is a complex one. Some of these reasons can be addressed by policymakers and some others are of personal nature and of exogenous nature to policies.

Figure 6. Average of the importance of factors that influence individual migration.



Concerning the destination countries that the students would have chosen in case of migration for any intended purpose, the results indicate that most of the countries they would choose are the developed countries of the European Union and the United States of America. Besides the countries that were listed in the questionnaire, other preferred countries are: Belgium, Sweden, Austria, Australia, Denmark, United Arab Emirates, Philippine, Netherlands, Italy, China, Kosovo, Norway, Thailand, and Turkey (Table A7, Appendix I).

2.5. Pre-migration plans and opportunities

Besides the questions about intentions reasons and goals to migrate, students were asked about the concrete steps they have taken in order to accomplish their desire. More than 70 percent of the students have learned a foreign language for migration purposes and have obtained information. A considerable number of students (787 or 65 percent) have improved their qualification to make their migration for the intended purpose more possible. Approximately, 26 percent of the students have also applied for a job abroad, and another 23 percent have already looked for a place to live. The percentage of students who have already applied for work permission is about 13, and more than 16 percent of them report to have undertaken other preparation for their future migration.

Table 4. Have you taken any of the following steps to prepare for migration over the last years?

	Number	Percentage	Total
Learn a language	939	77.7 %	1209
Improve qualifications	787	65.0 %	1210
Sell property	69	5.7 %	1209
Obtain information	892	73.8 %	1209
Apply for jobs	312	25.8 %	1210
Look for somewhere to live	275	22.8 %	1207
Apply for work permit	159	13.2 %	1207
Other preparations	177	16.3 %	1087

With regard to the sources that the students use for obtaining information about migration (Table 5), most of the students report finding the necessary information through their family members or friends living abroad (80 percent), their own observation and experience abroad (72 percent), by other people who are educated abroad (70 percent) or other fellow students (56 percent). A considerable number of students use different media to get information. The students have also listed other sources of information such as travel agencies, foreign embassies, internet, and foreign students or students who studied abroad.

Table 5. Sources of information about migration opportunities

	Frequency	Percent	Total
Media, films, TV	740	61.3	1208
Reports by family members or friends living abroad	968	80.1	1208
Reports by other students	671	55.5	1208
Reports by others who are educated abroad	843	69.8	1207
Your own observations	872	72.4	1205
Other	872	72.4	1205

With respect to the barriers to go abroad, approximately 64 percent of the students think that the cost of migration (travel and settlement costs) is a major barrier (Table A8, Appendix I). Others think that the required procedures and getting visas is a serious barrier to migration (36 and 37 percent respectively). Besides these

barriers, at the macro level, they have listed bureaucracy, corruption and racism, and the personal level the language, time, their families and current studies.

Information about encouragement to migrate is also collected from other people, fellow students, academics or university staff. About 69 percent of the students are not encouraged by anyone to go abroad. (Table A9, Appendix I). An exploration of the relationship of the student characteristics and encouragement by academic staff at the respective university indicates that there is no significant relation at the 5 percent level of the latter with gender, academic performance or family income groups (Tables A10a, b, c, Appendix I). The results indicate the contrary regarding encouragement to go abroad by friends, relatives or family members who are residents or have ever been abroad: 69 percent of the students are encouraged by them to migrate (Table A11, Appendix I). Statistical tests provided no evidence of selection-based encouragement towards different characteristics of students such as gender, academic performance or income groups (Tables A12a, b, c, Appendix I).

Regarding the planned/possible time of living, majority of the students are not sure yet. The uncertainty about leaving is higher in the group of those who want to leave the country permanently and those who want to find employment abroad, 73.5 and 65.2 percent respectively (Table 6). Although, the percentage of the students that have no idea yet about the timing is lower for those who would like to study abroad, it is still a considerable one (40 percent). Approximately, 38 percent of students who think to study abroad say that they will leave in the next two or three years, and 18 percent in the upcoming year. About one forth of those who would like to migrate for work and 17 percent of those who intent to permanently live in another country are planning to make it happen in the next two or three years. Concerning the group of students who think to leave the country in the next year, most of them want to go abroad for study purposes, 7 percent to find employment, and only 5.7 percent intent to permanently settle abroad. Bearing in mind the period that the survey was conducted, in the middle of the academic year (December 2010 – January 2011, it is reasonable to expect that the main intention of the students is to finish the academic year and only a few of them would go abroad for any of the three reasons in two or three months.

Table 6. Timing of intended migration

	Education		Employment		Permanent	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
In 2-3 months	36	3.20 %	27	2.4 %	45	4.1 %
In the next 12 months	205	18.3 %	77	7 %	62	5.7 %
In 2-3 next years	431	38.4 %	281	25.4 %	181	16.7 %
I don't know	449	40.1 %	720	65.2 %	798	73.5 %
Total	**1121**	**100 %**	**1105**	**100 %**	**1086**	**100 %**

More than 90 percent of the students say that it is very likely for them to go abroad for a few weeks. The percentages of those who want to stay for a few months and /or years is also high, 87 and 76 percent respectively. When thinking about living abroad for the rest of their lives, students are equally divided in two groups with opposite intentions. They were also asked to rank the probability of the event in a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 indicates a very low and 5 a very high probability. The results indicate that the probability of going abroad are above average and negatively related to the period of stay: the longer the period, less sure the students are about their going abroad (Table A13, Appendix I). With regard to migration network, which are expected to increase migration probabilities, students were asked if they have friends and relatives abroad who are willing to help them in case they would decide to migrate. About 95 percent of the students report that they would be assisted by friends and family members abroad (Table A14, Appendix I).

Figure 7. Intended duration of stay

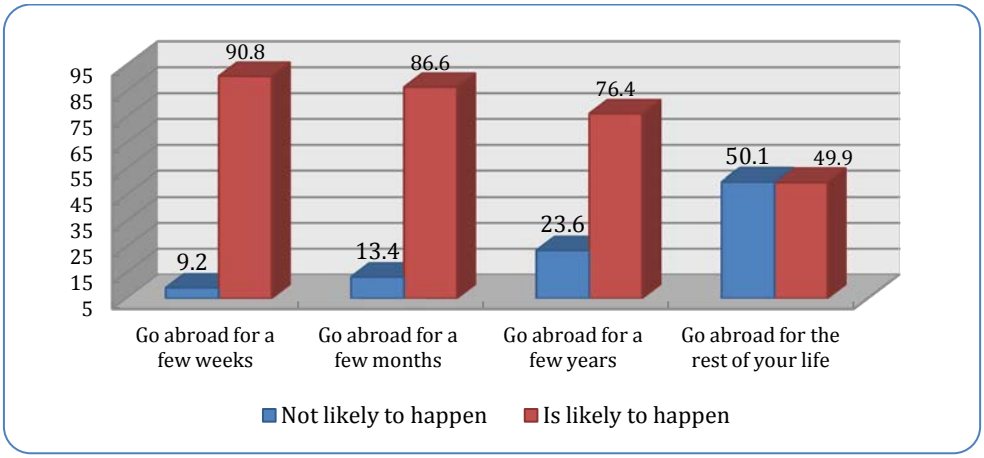


Table 7 presents the goals that potential migrant students aim to achieve through migration. Majority of them (41 percent) report that their most important goal is to excel professionally. It is also interesting to note that their second most important goal is also of professional nature. One fourth of the students would like to keep options open in terms of extending their stay abroad according to the personal and professional situation. The third main goal is considered the financial aspect. The percentage of students who want to achieve long-term stability is very similar to that of students who intent to permanently migrate abroad. Other aspects are of lower importance.

Table 7. The goals students aim through migration

	Frequency	Percent
Excel professionally	492	40.8
Prosper financially	184	15.3
Establish myself quickly	31	2.6
Achieve long-term stability and security	108	9.0
Keep options open in terms of working	306	25.4
Obtain the citizenship of the country	53	4.4
Other	31	2.6
Total	**1205**	**100.0**

2.6. Empirical investigation: what drives students' migration

In additional to the unconditional probability of potential migration discussed in section 3.4, in this section we investigate the probability of potential migration based on the socio-demographic characteristics of the students and the evaluations they provided on country characteristics that can influence their decision to migrate. In particular, we are interested in the identification of the factors that influence migration intentions of the entire sample of students, and of those that report having more than average performance, in order to incorporate them in policy recommendations if possible.

2.6.1. Model specification

In light of the migration theories, the empirical approach followed in this study attempts to explain the probability of international migration for work or study, temporary or permanently, of the university graduates in Albania. In order to identify the student characteristics at the time of finishing university studies, which are predictive of whether an individual will later migrate, we use the probit model, where the dependent variable is a dummy variable indicating the desire to migrate or not for the given purpose (work or study). Specifically, the model takes this form:

$$\Pr(Y=1|X)=\Phi(X'\beta)$$

where Pr denotes probability, Φ is the Cumulative Distribution Function of the standard normal distribution, β are the parameters that will be estimated by the maximum likelihood, and X is a vector of explanatory variables.

The model explicitly includes age and sex, since older individuals have had more time over which to migrate and we are interested to see whether the rate of migration varies by sex. Another variable of interest is family wealth, which is generally expected to positively affect migration decision. As international migration is likely to be an expensive venture, wealthier families can afford better its costs and have better chances of arranging work permits and/or paying for education abroad. Ability to pay for foreign education is also considered as an important push factor of student outflows (Kim, 1998). The household wealth in this study is measured through three dummy variables indicating the current level of income of the family of the student, above average wealth, average wealth, or below average wealth.

To control for peer or other effects, we include two dummy variables indicating if someone at their university or if other persons that have travelled, studied or live(d) abroad encourage them to go abroad. To consider the migration network effect, three other dummy variables are used. The first is the answer to the question if they have any friends or relatives living in other countries who could help in case they want to migrate abroad, and the second indicates if the individual has ever been abroad for more than three months. In the model, there are also dummy variables included indicating religion views of the respondent, based on the argument

that this form of networking may embed special forms of social capital that may affect migration decisions.

Finally, we consider macroeconomic variables that might explain why a young individual graduating at one point in time may consider permanent or temporary migration for study or work. Since the inclusion of different macroeconomic variables is an empirically impossible task (due to lack of variation among observations, when using individual cross-sectional data), students were asked to evaluate the importance of some macro and community level variables, if they would ever decide to migrate. These variables include the economic conditions, social conditions including social norms, social system, social relationships, social and family support, life style, living dependently or independently; the political conditions including political situation, political system, ability to make changes, personal security and the personal conditions that include issues related to partner, parents and children.

2.6.2. The determinants of the desire to migrate

Tables A15 - A18 in Appendix I present the results of estimating probit models for the determinants of ever migrating as a function of the selected variables. Four separate models are estimated on the entire sample of the interviewed students, and four other ones are carried out using the part of the sample that claims to have an above average performance at school. The first regression is estimated for intentions to migrate for any purpose, and the other three are run for migration for further education, work, and intentions of settling and living abroad. The estimation of the model measuring the probability to study abroad is carried out for robustness check reasons only, bearing in mind that in many cases migration for study naturally leads onto work, migrants may gain better skills abroad before working, and that it is almost impossible to have only one exclusive purpose to migrate, meaning that the results are not being driven by migration purely for study. In addition to the explanatory variables listed in the previous section, two dummy explanatory variables indicating the academic performance of the student are also included.

The signs of the estimated coefficients generally go in the expected directions and do not vary between specifications, indicating robustness of the results. First of all, the likelihood of migration for any purpose (study, migrate or live abroad) decreases with age. Also, being a female lowers migration propensities and the difference in migration intentions between males and females is statistically significant. Unsurprisingly, there is no difference in the probabilities of migration between average and below average students. However, the probability of migration of the top students is significantly higher. It is also interesting to notice that being a Muslim is associated with lower migration propensities.

It is important to notice that the results of the regression confirm the theory of migration as a selective process not only with regard to the individual characteristics of the students, but also with regard to the characteristics of their households. There is no difference between migration propensities of students, whose families have low and average income, but the difference is positive and statistically significant, when their families have high levels of income. Besides family income, other important predictors include different forms of social capital. The probability of migration increases, when students are encouraged by other persons, such as their professors, or friends and relatives abroad who can help them in case they decide to migrate. This latter result indicates that students can undertake further education or work abroad with some help offsetting the higher costs of migration.

The perception of students on the macroeconomic environment has a small and statistically insignificant relationship with the likelihood of migration (for work, study or living abroad) in the sample. Nevertheless, the importance of these macro-variables is crucial, when we model the (temporary) migration for work and for living abroad permanently (Tables 16 and 17). In these two cases, we find a strong positive association with the evaluation that students have given on the importance of the macroeconomic and political situation, when considering migration. In table 17, it can be noticed that age, gender, religion and academic performance do not have any statistically significant effect on the migration to migrate permanently. Given the tradition of the Albanian society, it is not surprising that the results indicate that

students' migration for work is not only significantly affected by macroeconomic variables, but also negatively related to being a female (table 16).

2.7. Concluding remarks

This chapter provides a first step towards understanding the topic of student mobility and migration in Albania, especially on the determinants of these kinds of movements in order to assist policymakers to provide more practical and detailed policy tools. The research attempts to explain what determines international migration of the Albanian university graduates. The evidence is drawn from a survey sample of 1210 last year students of 14 public and private universities in 8 Albanian cities.

The most common determinants of student migration are in line with most determinants of general migration: being young, male, having high income and good networks, and being encouraged by others, confirming the theory of migration as a selective process not only with regard to the individual characteristics of the students, but also with regard to the characteristics of their households. The results also provide evidence in support of the migration network theory: the probability of migration increases, when students are assisted by friends and relatives abroad in case they decide to migrate. The macroeconomic and political situation of the country is crucial, when considering the (temporary) migration for work and for living abroad permanently.

Several caveats have to be acknowledged upfront, when making broad conclusions from this analysis. First, the focus is on university graduates, but different motivations may be driving migration of more educated or highly-skilled, as well as other age groups of highly-skilled. Second, university graduates may not be the most important, neither the only group, when formulating brain gain policies, but it is certain that they are of interest to policymakers. And third, it is probable that student mobility, especially in the case when mobility is driven by university quality, is a plausible decision. However, to make it work out from the governments' or policymakers' point of view, the determinants of return must be considered as well. The joint research on the determinants of migration of the (highly) skilled or educated and its enrichment with the determinants of return migration of the (highly) skilled will help to provide more accurate policy recommendations.

CHAPTER III

RETURNEES AND DIASPORAS

3.1. Introduction

Albania has experienced high levels of migration in the last two decades, which was also associated with a severe "brain drain". The period of 1989-1998 is known as the first phase of "brain drain" in Albania. The first wave of mass migration in the early 90s included a massive migration of the highly skilled. 38.5 percent of the academics and researchers left the country in that period (National Migration Strategy). There is no doubt that the public universities were the institutions that most suffered due to this phenomenon, accounting for the loss of one third of the teaching staff (Schmidt 2003). In addition, approximately, 35 percent of highly qualified workers migrated during 1991-1995 (Gjonca 2002).

The second phase of "brain drain", which is also known as "The Canada Phenomenon" (UNDP 2000) was characterised by a large number of applications of young people for migration in the USA (about 100 000 apps/year) and Canada (about 10 000), starting in 1997-1998 and continuing for several years. One of the main requirements of these applications was the university degree, as well as familiar migration. This latter requirement intended lower return probabilities and at a more broader level, loss of financial and human capital. In 2001, 40 percent of the academics and researchers were living abroad.

Regarding their location and settlement, in 2005, 26.3 percent of the Albanian lecturers and researchers that migrated in the post-communist period were living in USA, 18.4 percent in Canada and 13.7 percent in Italy (UNDP, 2006). Following the argument of Breinbauer that "brain drain" is typically is a youth drain, figures suggest that one third of the Albanians study abroad (Breinbauer, 2008), which increases the probability of settling abroad. In more general terms, it means that brain gain is an ongoing issue.

This chapter investigates the reasons, experiences and future prospects of the highly-skilled returnees in Albania. It draws out on data collected through a questionnaire conducted during September 2010 - January 2011 in Albania. 108 highly-skilled individuals who have studied abroad, and/or been living abroad for extended periods, and have proven successful in their professions have participated in

the survey. The selection of these individuals was not random, but rather selected through social networks of the main investigators of this study and dominated by individuals of academic background. Due to these particularities, the following results need to be interpreted with caution as they may apply in general to this group, whilst the other groups of interest for policymakers may have different reasons for migrating, returning, different experiences abroad and different future prospects and as such, policies have to take account of them accordingly.

In particular, this chapter aims to address the answers to the second question imposed in Chapter 2, namely, of those who migrate, why do some return. The main focus is on the return of the highly skilled/educated. The aim of the chapter goes even further in considering their reasons to migrate and return, their experiences abroad, and the future perspectives. The surveyed population consists of 108 returnees, 27 of which are full-time staff members of public or private universities. The others are employed in governmental or state institutions, such as Ministries and Central Bank, as well as private national and international organizations/businesses.

3.2. Presentation of the sample of returnees

The average age of the interviewed returnees is about 32 years, with a minimum of 20 and a maximum of 55 years of age. Most of the returnees are 26 to 35 years old. The majority of the sample is female, 56 percent (Table 1). About 55 percent of them are single, while 33 percent are married, 9 percent are engaged, and the others are divorced/widowed (Table 1). The returnees in the sample have more than an average education. Regarding the highest education level they have completed: 51 percent them have finished master studies, 18 percent have finished PhD studies, 29 percent have a bachelor degree, and only 2 percent of the returnees have lower level diplomas (Table 1). They come from different fields of study, a very wide range of them, and sometimes (in case of PhDs), from very specific and country relevant ones. Not surprisingly, 52 of the 108 returnees that were included in the sample have studied in the field of economic sciences (Table B1, Appendix II). It is possible that this decision has been market-oriented, as there was a shortage of economists in the period when Albania started its market liberalization process and many new business

set up. Another possible reason for a major group of economists, may be the field of study of the researchers that conducted this study.

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of the surveyed returnees

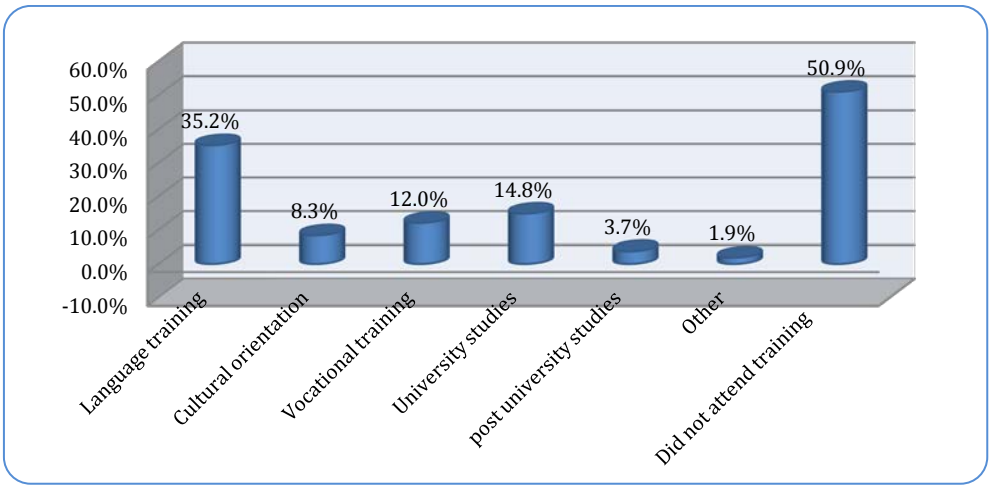
	No.	Percentage
Total	**108**	**100**
Males	48	44
Females	60	56
Age groups		
20 – 25	14	13
26 – 30	40	37
31 – 35	32	29.6
36 – 40	17	15.7
41 – 45	1	0.9
46 – 50	3	2.8
50 – 55	1	0.9
Marital status		
Single	59	54.6%
Engaged	10	9.3%
Married	36	33.3%
Widow	1	0.9%
Divorced	2	1.9%
Education level		
Less than bachelor	2	1.9%
Bachelor	31	28.7%
Master	55	50.9%
PhD	20	18.5%

Concerning the languages spoken by the sample of returnees, 95 percent are native Albanian speakers, and other 5 percent speak Greek or Macedonian as their mother tongue (Table B2, Appendix II). All of them speak at least one foreign language, 41 percent speak three and 31 percent speak two foreign languages. Most of the surveyed returnees speak English (88 percent) and Italian (72 percent) (Table B3, Appendix 2). Other languages spoken by them and not listed in the range of answers are Spanish, Turkish, Bulgarian, etc. On average, the surveyed returnees have stayed

abroad for 5.8 years, a minimum of one and a maximum of 15 years[30] with a standard deviation of 3.

Before migrating abroad, half of the returnees have undertaken some training specifically designed to prepare them for living or working abroad. Figure 1 presents the answers to these question, which indicate that 35 percent of them have attended foreign language courses, 15 percent have attended university studies, 12 percent have participated in professional training, and only a few have attended cultural orientation courses or post-graduate ones. In total, there are 55 returnees who have attended different courses for migration preparation purposes and 43 of them (78 percent) have also received a diploma or a certificate for this training (Table B4, Appendix II). Approximately, 72 percent of the cases (in which it was relevant to ask) report that attending these trainings/studies was useful, and 62 percent report that it was necessary to get employment abroad (Table B5, Appendix II).

Figure 1. Did you attend any training before you went abroad specifically to prepare you for living or working abroad?



[30] (Calculation based on questionnaire completion month as of February 2011)

On average, the sample of returnees has stayed abroad for 5.8 years, ranging from 6 months to about 19 years of migration (Table B6, Appendix II). About 70 percent of the returnees have lived in one country while abroad, and others have lived in more than one country (Table B7, Appendix II). In the first episode of leaving for more than six months, most of the returnees went to Italy (26), Greece (14), Romania (13), Germany (12) and United Kingdom (10). Other recipient countries were Poland, Bulgaria, Turkey, USA and among the less frequented were France, Spain, Norway, Ireland, etc. The first destination country generally matches with the country where the returnees have passed most of their time abroad (Table B8, Appendix II). In this first episode, the average period of stay is about 5 years (with a minimum of six months, a maximum of 17 years and a standard deviation of 3.3, see Table B9, Appendix II), which is not very different from the overall period abroad (Table B10, Appendix II). These data support the view that in general, the highly qualified migrants intended to settle down and achieve their education and/or qualification in one country only.

The first reason, for choosing the first destination country in 80 out of 108 cases, is education that is related to the education quality differential between the chosen universities and the home country ones. Scholarships given from different foreign universities are the second most important reason.

There are similarities in the listings of the reasons listed, however, if they are listed independently the first, the second and the third one are the important ones (Tables B11a,b,c, Appendix II). These reasons are also identified as the most important reasons to leave the country (Table B12, Appendix II). Other important reasons include family and personal reasons, geographical and cultural proximity, language and specific fields of study. It is interesting to note that in addition to these reasons, there are listed also other reasons such as: the cost of education, living standards and social conditions in the host country, the specific characteristics of the city/country, and the desire to leave the home country.

Regarding the reasons for leaving their home country (not only in the first migration episode), the respondents were similarly asked to list up to three reasons

and identify which one of them was the most important in the last episode, when the returnee was abroad for more than six months. 84 of the surveyed returnees indicate that they decided to leave the country for attending further education in more prestigious universities or better quality schools and in some cases also because they were given scholarship to attend these studies. In the same line, some of the returnees say that they left for improving their qualification, learning or improving a foreign language, or for specializing in their field of interest. A few returnees have left for economic, political and security reasons, for trying some new experiences, or have migrated with their families.

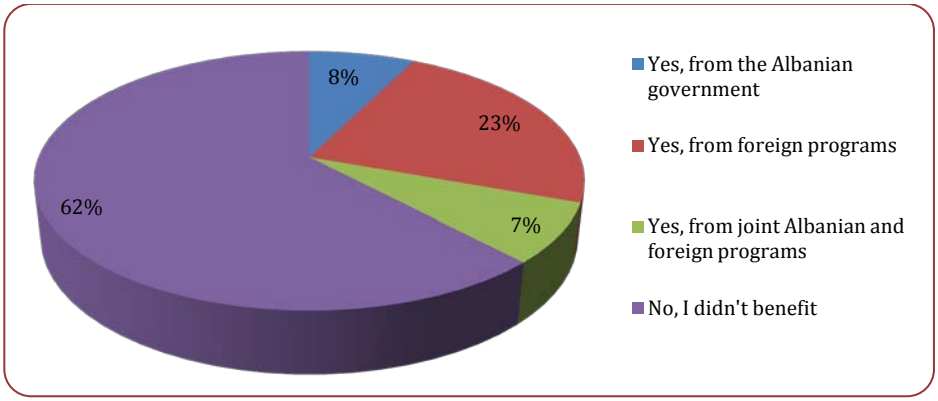
Education, its quality, further qualification and scholarships remain also the second most important reason for leaving. More than 10 percent of the returnees also claim that an important factor that influenced their decision to migrate was the desire to acquire some new experiences and get to know new cultures. Lack of perspective for the future career and jobs and the pessimistic view on the political and economic development of the country is also listed as a second important reason.

The third reason, education and qualification improvement, is also listed by the majority of the returnees. Besides education quality, the returnees argue about new branches of study or specialization courses that cannot be found in the home country. Learning foreign languages, new experiences and cultures, and family reasons are still valid. In addition, some of the returnees say that they left for being independent from their families, and for better career opportunities in the host and/or in the home country. They argue that a foreign diploma and/or some work experience abroad are perceived as added value in Albania, which increases their odds of having better financial benefits and career development.

More than 80 percent of the returnees claim that the most important reasons for leaving are attending further education in more prestigious schools, getting better quality of education and/or professional and scientific qualifications in order to have a better future perspective. Among other most important reasons, there are family migration, new experiences and cultures, as well as economic and political reasons. Figure 2 indicates the percentage of the returnees in our sample that benefited from

different scholarship schemes of the Albanian government, and/or from different national and international institutions. 38% of them have benefited from different governmental and organizational schemes designed to support people to go abroad for study or work purposes, and most of those have benefited from supporting schemes of foreign governments.

Figure 2. Benefits from Albanian government or foreign programs



The groups of returnees that have not benefited from any supporting program have provided a number of reasons for not doing so. Most of them report that they had no information on their existence. Others say that these programs did not apply to the country or the timing they have chosen to study/work, to their field of study or to other personal conditions. Others were not interested, have not applied or searched for such a support, because they could personally finance their studies or their migration (Table B13, Appendix II).

3.3. Situation abroad and experience in the Diaspora

Only a few returnees were married at the time they left, and half of the married went abroad with their spouse (Table B14, Appendix II). The others migrated alone for different reasons, mainly because it was financially more interesting and/or they had children to look after. Those who migrated with their spouse report doing so, because it was better for their family to be together in financial and emotional terms, or because they had decided to live abroad at that time (Tables B15a, b, Appendix II). During the period that the returnees stayed abroad in the country where they spent

most of their time, they generally lived in zones, where most or all of the inhabitants were local (87.9 percent), and about 82 percent of them had frequent or very frequent contacts with local people, which may be an indicator of their integration with the new cultures and way of living (Tables B16 and B16a, Appendix II).

Only 8 (or 7 percent) out of 108 returned migrants have not studied or been trained abroad. Among the ones who have studied abroad, 67 percent have completed University studies, 41 percent have completed post-graduate studies, 8 percent have attended orientation training, 17 percent have attended language training, 12 percent have participated in workplace training, and 8 percent have participated in trainings for bringing existing qualifications up to the local standards (Table B17, Appendix II). 63 of the surveyed returnees have not worked while abroad and the rest of the returnees did very different kinds of jobs, when they were abroad, many of which had no relation with their main profession or intended one. This can be considered as a brain waste. About 58 percent of them performed only in one job during their stay abroad and on average, they stayed in their first workplace for two and a half years. During migration periods, two thirds of the returnees have not ever had a period, when they could not find any work. On average, they have worked for 32 hours per week during these employment periods. One third of them has experienced difficulties in finding a job and has been jobless for an average period of 7 months (Tables B18-23, Appendix II).

All the surveyed returnees have kept contact with Albania during the time they were abroad. One forth of them has travelled to Albania at least once a year, and about 40 percent have travelled more frequently (Table B25, Appendix II). Only 12 percent of them have sent money back home to their families or friends during their period abroad, and most frequently they did so at least once a year (Tables B26, B27, Appendix 2). Remittances were mainly sent to their own families (parents or husband/wife/children, see Table B28, Appendix II) and were used for living expenses (Table B29, Appendix II).

3.4. Experience back in the country of origin and future intentions

3.4.1. Experience back in the country of origin

The main reasons for returning to the home country are of personal nature, the closed emotional relation that the migrants had with their families (32 persons) and their country. Other important reasons in this context are related to the professional career and perspectives that they had in the host in comparison to the home country. Some of the migrants returned because they couldn't find a job or they were not offered better chances; others, because they had expectations of better chances for career development in Albania, or simply because they thought they could find a job more easily in Albania. Finally, with regard to the professional reasons, some of them returned, because they had contracts to return to the home country, when finishing their studies. A considerable group of persons has returned, because they completed studies or gained the required experience, and/or simply because they did not intend to stay abroad for longer periods (Table B30a, b, c, Appendix II).

Concerning the second important reason that influenced the return decision, the situation is only slightly different. The professional reasons listed above are the second most important reasons and are related to the professional opportunities given both in the host and in the home country. Personal and familiar reasons, as well as the desire to live in Albania and/or to contribute for its development, are also important. Other reasons include the higher costs of living or studying abroad, because they thought they would have a better future and a better social and economic status in Albania. These reasons are also listed, when the returnees are asked about a third reason for returning back to their country of origin (Table B30b, c, Appendix II).

In some cases, it was difficult for the surveyed returnees to state which of the reasons was the most important, when they decided to return, because they are mostly not exclusive and may certainly overlap. The emotional and social ties with families, friends and the home country, remain the most important reason, followed by reasons of professional careers. Higher access in the labour market, better knowledge about it, and the increased reputation of the foreign diploma have

positively influenced the decision to return in the home country (Table B31, Appendix II).

The majority of the returnees (84 percent) were not aware of any official programmes or schemes to assist people who return (Table B32, Appendix II). Actually, in Albania, there is one program funded by UNDP that supports the return of the highly skilled, including in this category only individuals who have finished PhD level studies abroad and were not employed at the time they applied for support in this scheme. A very low number of the surveyed returnees, only 5 out of 17 that, were aware of this program have benefited from it. In this situation, it is relevant to ask why the majority of the returnees did not benefit from this scheme (Table B33, Appendix II).

Only a few of the respondents have chosen the alternatives given in the questionnaire. About 11 percent did not benefit, due to the special nature of their job, for example, because they own a private business; a few returnees (8 percent) think that the program is corrupted; and, about 6 percent of them think that the program supports individuals that study in a few selected countries (Table 3). The majority of the respondents have reasons other than the listed alternatives. These reasons differ among individuals, but most of them did not require support, because they had no information on their existence, and they are still not aware of the criteria that they should meet to qualify. A few returnees are aware of the program and the criteria, and they think it is designed for employment in the Public Administration and not for university or private business employment.

Table 2. Reasons for non-participating in any program or scheme

	Frequency	Percent
Other reasons	69	68.3
Not for the right kind of work	11	10.9
I did not have the required qualifications	2	2.0
No schemes for the country I went to	6	5.9
Too expensive	1	1.0
These schemes are not for people like me	4	4.0
Those schemes are corrupted	8	7.9
Total	**101**	**100.0**

Approximately, 29 percent of the surveyed returnees brought money with them, when they returned, and more than half of those (about 60 percent) used this money for everyday living expenses. Approximately, 20 percent saved these remittances, while others used them for buying property or furniture or other household goods (13 percent), (Tables B34, B35, and Appendix II).

About 93 percent of the returnees are employed (Table B36, Appendix II).On average, the surveyed returnees found their job three months after their return and since then, they have worked for approximately 41 hours per week (Table B37, Appendix II). 35 percent of the respondents found their job by sending CVs to different employees, 32 percent through advertisement in media, and 18 percent were offered a job by friends or relatives. A low percentage of returnees set up their own business (Table 3).

Table 3. How did you find the job?

	Frequency	Percent
Advertisement	32	32 %
Offered a job by a friend or relative	18	18 %
Asked/sent CV to a number of employers	35	35 %
Set up own business	5	5 %
Other	10	10 %
Total	**100**	**100.0**

90 percent of the respondents think that their experiences abroad have helped them find better work opportunities, since their return (Table B38, Appendix II). About 58 percent of them think that the education and training abroad have been the most important factor in finding their job, while about 36 percent of them consider their general experience abroad as the most important factor (Table B39, Appendix II).

Those who did not get any advantage from their education/experience abroad in getting employed in the home country think that loosing the social ties with Albania was an important factor. Some of them also think that education abroad is sometimes not perceived as a better one in comparison to others who have studied in

Albania. There are also a few cases, when the respondents say that were discriminated in their job places, because of their foreign education (Table B40, Appendix II).

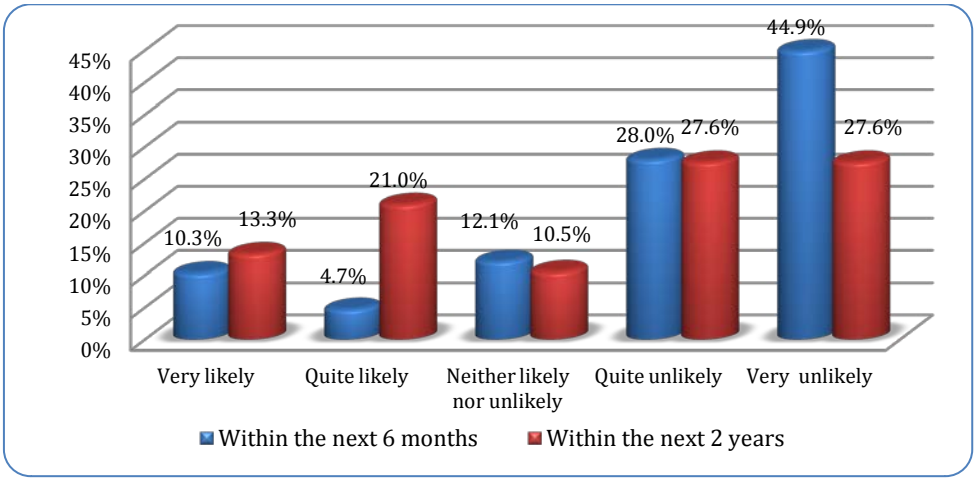
Approximately, 70 percent of the surveyed returnees feel better or much better off than before leaving and only a few of them (8 percent) feel worse (Table B41, Appendix II). They translate feeling better off mainly in professional and financial terms, while those who feel worse are pessimistic about the future or have not found employment in their profession yet (Table B41a, Appendix II).

3.4.2. Future intentions

Regarding the future intentions to leave the country of origin again, the respondents are almost equally divided into two groups. The most important factors that influence the decision to stay in Albania and not to consider leaving it again are of family nature (79 percent), better career opportunities in Albania (22 percent) and emotive reasons (18 percent), (Tables B42 and B43, Appendix II).

The returnees were also asked to rank in a scale of 1 (very likely) to 5 (very unlikely) the likeliness of leaving the country in the next 6 months and in the next 2 years (Figure 13). Approximately, 10 percent of the returnees say that it is very likely for them to leave Albania in the next six months. This percentage is slightly higher, when considering leaving Albania in the next two years (13 percent). The returnees that think that it is likely for them to leave in the next 6 months constitute about 5 percent of the sample, and the percentage is considerably higher, when considering likely migration in the next two years (21 percent). The percentages of those that are neutral in terms of probabilities of migration and of those who have very low chances of migrating again are very similar, indicating that their re-migration does not depend on the time span (Figure 3). On average, the rank for the likeliness of leaving in the next six months is 4 in a five point scale, and that of leaving in the next two years is about 3.4 (Table B44, Appendix II).

Figure 3. Comparison of probabilities to leave Albania within the next 6 months and the next 2 years



About one third of the respondents would like to go abroad for attending advanced studies or other training, and one fourth of them would do so for a better future for them, their families and children, better social, political and financial conditions, as well as better living standards and quality. It is important to note that some of the returnees would like to migrate again, because they don't feel appreciation for what they do in the home country (Table B45, Appendix II). The main potential destination countries are West European countries, United States and Canada (Table B46, Appendix 2). The chosen country is the same they had in mind, when evaluating the likeliness of leaving the country and for this reason they provide similar evaluation, when considering migration to one specific country (Table B46, Appendix II). The main reasons for choosing a given country are the quality of education and previous migration experiences in that country. Other reasons include language and geographical proximity, as well as macro-level factors such as the economic, social and political development. Among the reasons of personal nature, having family members, friends or relatives abroad is often listed as an important factor influencing destination (Table B48, Appendix II). About 35 percent of the respondents are able to finance their move abroad; 42 percent do not know if they can; and, the remaining 22 percent cannot finance it (Table B49, Appendix II).

3.5. Intermediate conclusions

The highly-skilled that participated in this survey come from a very wide range of fields of study. However, there are noticeable similarities in the issues of interest for the policymakers. This investigation has provided information on the past experiences, current situation and problems, as well as future prospects of the highly-skilled in Albania. In general, the information collected through this survey, revealed several issues related to the dynamics of migration and return of the highly skilled:

(i) International organizations and institutions have played an important role in increasing human capital potential in Albania, and there is significant difference between international and national governmental or non-governmental programs of support to the highly skilled, with the latter lagging behind.

(ii) The migration of the highly skilled is negatively related to the quality of (high) education in Albania, i.e., the relatively low quality of high education in the country is acting as a push factor for temporary or permanent international migration of the highly skilled. Such a finding increases awareness for increasing the quality of high education in Albania as a brain gain strategy in the long-run (or as minimizing brain drain strategy), among others.

(iii) Lack of perspective for future career and the pessimistic view on the political and economic development of the country are important determinants for settling abroad or re-migrating, while on the other hand, there is agreement that a foreign diploma and/or some work experience abroad may increase the odds of both, higher wages and career development. This finding appeals to the policymakers with regard to the increase of the rewards for the highly skilled, which must be incorporated in brain gain strategies in the future.

(iv) Integration in the host society is not a determinant of long-term migration of the highly skilled, but close links and frequent contacts with their families left behind or with the home country may be important determinants of return. In addition, these close links may also be important determinants of the decision not to re-migrate. The personal nature of these phenomena and of the respective decisions poses a barrier to the policymakers, but facilitates “uncontrolled” return. However, the period required

for reintegration back in the home country, as measured by the average period to find a job after return, is very short and may create incentives to return. Furthermore, the returned migrants agree on the importance of their foreign education or training for finding a new job.

(v) The "Brain Gain" Strategy has been of little relevance to the decision to return for three main reasons: lack of information, qualification criteria, or impressions of a corruptive scheme. However, it must be noted that this strategy applies only to PhDs earned abroad, and most of the surveyed individuals do not qualify. Figures indicate that most of the students who have their doctoral studies abroad do not return. The expected higher rewards in the host country for many or most of the dimensions of the future perspectives for this category of highly-skilled is a great challenge to the policymakers. Expert interviews suggested that a possible solution would be to collaborate (in the distance) with this category by involving them in dedicated modules or projects, requiring short-term stays in the country of origin. Another scheme is also applied currently by the Government of Albania. It provides financial support for the Albanian PhD students in foreign universities, asking in return for a three-year contribution in Albania upon completion of the studies.

(vi) Education abroad has its downsides/externalities. One of the most interesting issues raised by the surveyed returnees was the weakening of the social ties, while abroad and their importance for a fast re-integration in the society and in the labour market. In our opinion, the expectations or perceptions on the infrastructure of employment imposes difficulties (nepotism, bureaucracy) in finding a job and feelings of relative deprivation may also lead to discrimination in the work place. Not surprisingly, this argument was listed and argued by migration experts in the in-depth dedicated interviews.

(vii) Employment in the field of speciality is not guaranteed. Success is measured in terms of being professionally integrated in the respective field in financial terms and in good prospects terms.

(viii) There is a high probability of re-migration in the near future with increased chances of self-financing re-migration.

(ix) Advanced studies or other training is the main reason for re-migration, which may also be associated with higher chances of return of the individuals who intend to continue their studies abroad, given the fact that they have already decided to return in (at least) one previous occasion. However, it is of concern that some returnees would like to re-migrate, because they lack appreciation for what they do in the home country and their studies abroad. The lack of appreciation raises the concern of them being more likely to stay abroad. This finding is also confirmed by the in-depth interviews with the experts.

(x) The economic, social and political development of the country is a very important push factor. This last finding suggests that the sustainable development of the country and a stable social and political climate are beneficial for the brain drain as well as for the country in general.

However, in order to provide a fuller picture of migration and return of the highly skilled, these findings have to be analysed and considered not as separate dimensions of brain gain or drain, but in a broader framework of mutual interactions between reasons, factors and experiences, which are not always easy to influence or control. Given these, the design of effective brain gain strategies imposes a real challenge to the policymakers.

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APPENDIX I

Table A1. Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Frequency	Percent
Cham(Albanian ethnicity)	5	.4
Greek	2	.2
Macedonian	2	.2
Roma	2	.2
Serbian	1	.1
Albanian	1197	98.9
Vlach	1	.1
Total	**1210**	**100.0**

Table A2. Religion

Religion	Frequency	Percent
Without religion	64	5.3
Bektashi	11	.9
Buddhist	1	.1
Jewish	1	.1
Jehovah	3	.2
Christian	48	21.7
Muslim	866	71.6
Protestant	2	.2
Total	**1210**	**100.0**

Table A3. Do you have a 2nd citizenship or permanent residency?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	55	4.5
No	1154	95.5
Total	**1209**	**100.0**

Table A4a. Do you think that in the future you will go abroad for education? *Gender

Gender		No	%	Maybe	%	Yes	%	I don't know	%	Total	%
Female	**Number**	160	21.4%	333	44.6%	193	25.8%	61	8.2%	747	100%
	%	64.5%		60.4%		62.5%		59.8%		61.7%	
Male	**Number**	88	19.0%	218	47.1%	116	25.1%	41	8.9%	463	100%
	%	35.5%		39.6%		37.5%		40.2%		38.3%	
Total	**Total**	248	20.4%	551	45.5%	309	25.5%	102	8.4%	1210	100%
	%	100%		100%		100%		100%		100%	

Table A4b. Do you think that in the future you will go abroad for education? *Academic performance

			No	%	Maybe	%	Yes	%	I don't know	%	Total	%
Evaluate your performance at school	Low	Nr	17	35.4%	19	39.6%	8	16.7%	4	8.3%	48	100.0%
		%	6.9%		3.4%		2.6%		3.9%		4.0%	
	Average	Nr	195	21.6%	427	47.2%	198	21.9%	84	9.3%	904	100.0%
		%	78.6%		77.5%		64.1%		82.4%		74.7%	
	High	Nr	36	14.0%	105	40.7%	103	39.9%	14	5.4%	258	100.0%
		%	14.5%		19.1%		33.3%		13.7%		21.3%	
	Total		248	20.5%	551	45.5%	309	25.5%	102	8.4%	1210	100.0%
		%	100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig.(2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	44.004[a]	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	41.534	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	.117	1	.732

Symmetric Measures		Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Contingency Coeffic.	.187			.000
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	.010	.026	.342	.732[c]
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	.120	.028	4.200	.000[c]

a. 1 cells (8.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.05.
a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.
c. Based on normal approximation. Number of Valid Cases 1210

Table A4c. Do you think that in the future you will go abroad for education? *Household income group

			No	%	Maybe	%	Yes	%	I don't know	%	Total	%
In which income groups do you classify your family?	Very Low	Number	2	22.2%	4	44.4%	3	33.3%	0	.0%	9	100.0%
		%	.8%		.7%		1.0%		.0%		0.7%	
	Low	Number	13	15.3%	40	47.1%	19	22.4%	13	15.3%	85	100.0%
		%	5.2%		7.3%		6.1%		12.7%		7.0%	
	Aver.	Number	215	21.4%	471	46.8%	249	24.8%	71	7.1%	1006	100.0%
		%	86.7%		85.5%		80.6%		69.6%		83.1%	
	High	Number	16	16.7%	31	32.3%	34	35.4%	15	15.6%	96	100.0%
		%	6.5%		5.6%		11.0%		14.7%		7.9%	
	Very High	Number	2	14.3%	5	35.7%	4	28.6%	3	21.4%	14	100.0%
		%	.8%		.9%		1.3%		2.9%		1.2%	
	Total		248	20.5%	551	45.5%	309	25.5%	102	8.4%	1210	100.0%
		%	100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig.(2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	44.004[a]	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	41.534	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	.117	1	.732

Symmetric Measures		Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig
Interval by Interv	Pearson's R	.010	.026	.342	.732[c]
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	.120	.028	4.200	.000[c]

a. 1 cells (8.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.05.

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis; b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis; c. Based on normal approximation. Number of Valid Cases 1210.

Table A5a. Do you think that in the future you will go abroad find employment? *Gender

Gender		No	%	Maybe	%	Yes	%	I don't know	%	Total	%
Female	**Nr**	280	37.5%	275	36.9%	88	11.8%	103	13.8%	746	100.0%
	%	68.5%		62.2%		47.6%		59.5%		61.7%	
Male	**Nr**	129	27.9%	167	36.1%	97	21.0%	70	15.1%	463	100.0%
	%	31.5%		37.8%		52.4%		40.5%		38.3%	
Total	**Total**	409	33.8%	442	36.6%	185	15.3%	173	14.3%	1209	100.0%
	%	100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	23.938[a]	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	23.656	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Assoc.	3.276	1	.070

Symmetric Measures		Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Appro. T[b]	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	.052	.029	1.812	
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	.112	.028	3.904	

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 66.25.

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.; Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis; c. Based on normal approximation. Number of Valid Cases 1209

Table A5b. Do you think that in the future you will go abroad find employment? *Academic performance

Evaluate your performance at school			No	%	Maybe	%	Yes	%	I don't know	%	Total	%
	Low	**Number**	15	31.3%	20	41.7%	9	18.8%	4	8.3%	48	100.0%
		%	3.7%		4.5%		4.9%		2.3%		4.0%	
	Average	**Number**	302	33.4%	333	36.9%	136	15.1%	132	14.6%	903	100.0%
		%	73.8%		75.3%		73.5%		76.3%		74.7%	
	High	**Number**	92	35.7%	89	34.5%	40	15.5%	37	14.3%	258	100.0%
		%	22.5%		20.1%		21.6%		21.4%		21.3%	
	Total		409	33.8%	442	36.6%	185	15.3%	173	14.3%	1209	100.0%
	%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.729[a]	6	.842
Likelihood Ratio	2.907	6	.820
Linear-by-Linear Assoc.	.100	1	.752

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5.
The minimum expected count is 6.87. Number of Valid Cases 1209

Table A5c. Do you think that in the future you will go abroad find employment? *Household income

In which income groups do you classify your family?			No	%	Maybe	%	Yes	%	I don't know	%	Total	%
	Very Low	**Number**	1	11.1%	3	33.3%	4	44.4%	1	11.1%	9	100.0%
		%	.2%		.7%		2.2%		.6%		0.7%	
	Low	**Number**	19	22.4%	39	45.9%	13	15.3%	14	16.5%	85	100.0%
		%	4.6%		8.8%		7.0%		8.1%		7.0%	
	Average	**Number**	347	34.5%	369	36.7%	151	15.0%	138	13.7%	1005	100.0%
		%	84.8%		83.5%		81.6%		79.8%		83.1%	
	High	**Number**	38	39.6%	27	28.1%	14	14.6%	17	17.7%	96	100.0%
		%	9.3%		6.1%		7.6%		9.8%		7.9%	
	Very High	**Number**	4	28.6%	4	28.6%	3	21.4%	3	21.4%	14	100.0%
		%	1.0%		.9%		1.6%		1.7%		1.2%	
		Total	409	33.8%	442	36.6%	185	15.3%	173	14.3%	1209	100.0%
		%	100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests	**Value**	**df**	**Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)**
Pearson Chi-Square	17.315[a]	12	.138
Likelihood Ratio	16.373	12	.175
Linear-by-Linear Association	.018	1	.892

a. 7 cells (35.0%) have expected count less than 5.
The minimum expected count is 1.29. Number of Valid Cases 1209

Table A6a. Emigrate to live in another country *Gender

Gender		No	%	Maybe	%	Yes	%	I don't know	%	Total	%
Female	**Number**	313	42.0%	221	29.6%	106	14.2%	106	14.2%	746	100.0%
	%	62.6%		64.6%		57.3%		58.2%		61.7%	
Male	**Number**	187	40.4%	121	26.1%	79	17.1%	76	16.4%	463	100.0%
	%	37.4%		35.4%		42.7%		41.8%		38.3%	
	Total	500	41.4%	342	28.3%	185	15.3%	182	15.1%	1209	100.0%
	%	100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests	**Value**	**df**	**Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)**
Pearson Chi-Square	3.844[a]	3	.279
Likelihood Ratio	3.828	3	.281
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.540	1	.215

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5.
The minimum expected count is 69.70. Number of Valid Cases 1209

Table A6b. Emigrate to live in another country *Academic performance

			No	%	Maybe	%	Yes	%	I don't know	%	Total	%
Evaluate your performance at school	Low	Nr	17	35.4%	17	35.4%	12	25.0%	2	4.2%	48	100.0%
		%	3.4%		5.0%		6.5%		1.1%		4.0%	
	Average	Nr	370	41.0%	256	28.3%	137	15.2%	140	15.5%	903	100.0%
		%	74.0%		74.9%		74.1%		76.9%		74.7%	
	High	Nr	113	43.8%	69	26.7%	36	14.0%	40	15.5%	258	100.0%
		%	22.6%		20.2%		19.5%		22.0%		21.3%	
	Total		500	41.4%	342	28.3%	185	15.3%	182	15.1%	1209	100.0%
		%	100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.097[a]	6	.168
Likelihood Ratio	10.114	6	.120
Linear-by-Linear Association	.381	1	.537

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5.
The minimum expected count is 7.23. Number of Valid Cases 1209

Table A6c. Emigrate to live in another country *Household income

			No	%	Maybe	%	Yes	%	I don't know	%	Total	%
In which income groups do you classify your family?	Very Low	Number	2	22.2%	3	33.3%	1	11.1%	3	33.3%	9	100.0%
		%	.4%		.9%		.5%			1.6%	0.7%	
	Low	Number	31	36.5%	27	31.8%	15	17.6%	12	14.1%	85	100.0%
		%	6.2%		7.9%		8.1%		6.6%		7.0%	
	Average	Number	420	41.8%	292	29.1%	147	14.6%	146	14.5%	1005	100.0%
		%	84.0%		85.4%		79.5%		80.2%		83.1%	
	High	Number	42	43.8%	19	19.8%	16	16.7%	19	19.8%	96	100.0%
		%	8.4%		5.6%		8.6%			10.4%	7.9%	
	Very High	Number	5	35.7%	1	7.1%	6	42.9%	2	14.3%	14	100.0%
		%	1.0%		.3%		3.2%		1.1%		1.2%	
	Total		500	41.4%	342	28.3%	185	15.3%	182	15.1%	1209	100.0%
		%	100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		87.9%		100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig.(2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	18.331[a]	12	.106
Likelihood Ratio	16.791	12	.158
Linear-by-Linear Associat	.076	1	.782

a. 7 cells (35.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.35.
Number of Valid Cases 1209

Table A7. What country would be your first choice?

	Frequency	Percent
UK	202	16.7%
USA	268	22.2%
Australia	46	3.8%
Canada	72	6.0%
Switzerland	59	4.9%
Germany	110	9.1%
Italy	308	25.5%
Greece	40	3.3%
France	34	2.8%
Spain	30	2.5%
Other	40	3.3%
Total	**1209**	**100.0%**

Table A8.What are the barriers for you to go abroad?

	Frequency	Percent
Required procedures	430	35.7
Expenses	776	64.4
Getting visas	441	36.6

Table A9. Does anyone at your university encourage you to go abroad?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	380	31.5
No	827	68.5
Total	**1207**	**100.0**

Table A10a. Does anyone at your university encourage you to go abroad? *Gender

Does anyone at your university encourage you to go abroad?		Gender					
		Female	**%**	**Male**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
	Yes	239	62.9%	141	37.1%	380	100.0%
	%	32.1%		30.5%		31.5%	
	No	505	61.1%	322	38.9%	827	100.0%
	%	67.9%		69.5%		68.5%	
	Total	744	61.6%	463	38.4%	1207	100.0%
	%	100%		100%		100%	

Chi-Square Tests	**Value**	**df**	**Asymp. Sig. (2 sided)**	**Exact Sig. (2-sided)**
Pearson Chi-Square	.369[a]	1	.544	
Continuity Correction[b]	.296	1	.587	
Likelihood Ratio	.370	1	.543	
Fisher's Exact Test			.567	.294
Linear-by-Linear Association	.369	1	.544	

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5.
The minimum expected count is 145.77. Computed only for a 2x2 table.
Number of Valid Cases 1207.

Table A10b. Does anyone at your university encourage you to go abroad? *Academic performance

Does anyone at your university encourage you to go abroad?		Evaluate your Academic performance							
		Low	%	Average	%	High	%	Total	%
	Yes	14	3.7%	269	70.8%	97	25.5%	380	100.0%
	%	29.2%		29.8%		37.7%		31.5%	
	No	34	4.1%	633	76.5%	160	19.3%	827	100.0%
	%	70.8%		70.2%		62.3%		68.5%	
	Total	48	4.0%	902	74.7%	257	21.3%	1207	100.0%
	%	100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%	

Chi-Square Test	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.941[a]	2	.051
Likelihood Ratio	5.808	2	.055
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.098	1	.024

Symmetric Measures		Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	-.065	.029	-2.262	.024[c]
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	-.067	.030	-2.318	.021[c]

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 15.11.
b. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
c. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.
d. Based on normal approximation.
Number of Valid Cases 1207.

Table A10c. Does anyone at your university encourage you to go abroad? *Household income

	In each income group do you classify your family											
	Very low	%	Low	%	Average	%	High	%	Very high	%	Total	
Yes	5	1.3%	25	6.6%	318	83.7%	28	7.4%	4	1.1%	380	10
%	55.6%		29.4%		31.7%		29.2%		28.6%		31.5%	
No	4	0.5%	60	7.3%	685	82.8%	68	8.2%	10	1.2%	827	10
%	44.4%		70.6%		68.3%		70.8%		71.4%		68.5%	
Total	9	0.7%	85	7%	1003	83.1%	96	8%	14	1.2%	1207	10
%	100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig.(2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.903[a]	4	.574
Likelihood Ratio	2.709	4	.608
Linear-by-Linear Association	.535	1	.465

a. 2 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5.
The minimum expected count is 2.83.
Number of Valid Cases 1207

Table A11. Do witnessing residents traveling abroad motivate you to go abroad

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	832	68.9
No	376	31.1
Total	**1208**	**100.0**

Table A12a. Do witnessing residents traveling abroad motivate you to go abroad? *Gender

Do you encourage any other person who is resident or who has gone abroad, that you also go abroad?		Gender					
		Female	**%**	**Male**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
	Yes	522	62.7%	310	37.3%	832	100.0%
	%	70.1%		67.0%		68.9%	
	No	223	59.3%	153	40.7%	376	100.0%
	%	29.9%		33.0%		31.1%	
	Total	745	61.7%	463	38.3%	1208	100.0%
	%	100.0%		100.0%		100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests	**Value**	**df**	**Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)**	**Exact Sig. (2-sided)**	**Exact Sig. (1-sided)**
Pearson Chi-Square	1.290[a]	1	.256		
Continuity Correction[b]	1.149	1	.284		
Likelihood Ratio	1.285	1	.257		
Fisher's Exact Test				.277	.142
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.289	1	.256		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5.
The minimum expected count is 144.11.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table. Number of Valid Cases 1208.

Table A12b. Do witnessing residents traveling abroad motivate you to go abroad? *Academic performance

Do you encourage any other person who is resident or who has gone abroad, that you also go abroad?		Evaluate your academic performance							
		Low	**%**	**Average**	**%**	**High**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
	Yes	37	4.4%	617	74.2%	178	21.4%	832	100.0%
	%	77.1%		68.3%		69.3%		68.9%	
	No	11	2.9%	286	76.1%	79	21.0%	376	100.0%
	%	22.9%		31.7%		30.7%		31.1%	
	Total	48	4.0%	903	74.8%	257	21.3%	1208	100.0%
	%	100.0%		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests	**Value**	**df**	**Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)**
Pearson Chi-Square	1.653[a]	2	.438
Likelihood Ratio	1.740	2	.419
Linear-by-Linear Associat.	.151	1	.698

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 14.94.
Number of Valid Cases 1208

Table A12c. Do witnessing residents traveling abroad motivate you to go abroad? *Household Income

Do you encourage any other person who is resident or who has gone abroad, that you also go abroad?	In each income group do you classify your family											
		Very low	**%**	**Low**	**%**	**Average**	**%**	**High**	**%**	**Very high**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
	Yes	7	.8%	53	6.4%	702	84.4%	60	7.2%	10	1.2%	832	100.0%
	%	77.8 %		62.4%		69.9%		62.5%		71.4%		68.9%	
	No	2	.5%	32	8.5%	302	80.3%	36	9.6%	4	1.1%	376	100.0%
	%	22.2 %		37.6%		30.1%		37.5%		28.6%		31.1%	
	Total	9	.7%	85	7.0%	1004	83.1%	96	7.9%	14	1.2%	1208	100.0%
	%	100.0 %		100.0%		100.0%		100.0 %		100.0 %		100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests	**Value**	**df**	**Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)**
Pearson Chi-Square	4.394[a]	4	.355
Likelihood Ratio	4.303	4	.366
Linear-by-Linear Association	.037	1	.848

a. 2 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.80.
Number of Valid Cases 1208.

Table A13. Indicators of the period of stay abroad

	Number	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Go abroad for a few weeks	1095	1	5	3.52	1.286
Go abroad for a few months	1048	1	5	3.04	1.215
Go abroad for a few years	924	1	5	2.80	1.334
Go abroad forever	604	1	5	2.56	1.438

Table A14. Do you have any friends or relatives living in other countries who could help you, if you were to migrate abroad?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	1152	95.3
No	57	4.7
Total	**1209**	**100.0**

Table A15. Marginal effects from probit regression on the determinants of migration

	dF/dx*	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|
Age	-0.016	0.008	-2.030	0.042
Female	-0.115	0.026	-4.320	0.000
Married	0.042	0.129	0.330	0.739
Atheist	-0.109	0.074	-1.360	0.173
Muslim	-0.046	0.018	-2.540	0.011
Below average performance	0.002	0.052	0.050	0.962
Above average performance	0.110	0.024	4.590	0.000
Low family income	0.018	0.032	0.580	0.562
High family income	0.060	0.018	3.320	0.001
Lived abroad for more than 3 months	0.044	0.042	1.030	0.303
Friends and relatives abroad	-0.015	0.060	-0.240	0.808
Encouraged at university	0.111	0.017	6.530	0.000
Encouraged by migrants	0.116	0.037	2.970	0.003
Economic conditions	-0.025	0.043	-0.580	0.562
Social norms and conditions	0.018	0.035	0.520	0.604
Political situation	0.046	0.047	0.960	0.338
Personal conditions	0.031	0.033	0.930	0.354

Number of obs = 1197
Pseudo R2 = 0.050
Log pseudo likelihood = -766.969
Correctly classified 62.57%
(*) dF/dx is for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1
z and P>|z| correspond to the test of the underlying coefficient being 0

Table A16. Marginal effects from probit regression on the determinants of migration for work

	dF/dx*	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|
Age	-0.002	0.005	-0.470	0.635
Female	-0.090	0.020	-4.330	0.000
Married	0.097	0.163	0.680	0.496
Atheist	-0.082	0.045	-1.430	0.153
Muslim	-0.048	0.012	-4.100	0.000
Below average performance	0.005	0.034	0.160	0.874
Above average performance	0.008	0.040	0.210	0.830
Low family income	0.001	0.030	0.020	0.980
High family income	0.004	0.021	0.180	0.855
Lived abroad for more than 3 months	0.038	0.034	1.210	0.228
Friends and relatives abroad	-0.040	0.037	-1.140	0.252
Encouraged at university	-0.005	0.019	-0.260	0.798
Encouraged by migrants	0.067	0.015	4.480	0.000
Economic conditions	0.084	0.022	3.010	0.003
Social norms and conditions	-0.016	0.028	-0.570	0.567
Political situation	0.036	0.019	1.880	0.060
Personal conditions	-0.013	0.027	-0.500	0.619

Number of obs = 1197
Pseudo R2 = 0.049
Log pseudo likelihood = -485.33029
Correctly classified 84.80%
(*) dF/dx is for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1
z and P>|z| correspond to the test of the underlying coefficient being 0

Table A17. Marginal effects from probit regression on the determinants of permanent migration

	dF/dx*	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|
Age	-0.005	0.003	-1.760	0.078
Female	-0.037	0.027	-1.370	0.171
Atheist	-0.088	0.038	-1.660	0.096
Muslim	-0.034	0.028	-1.260	0.207
Below average performance	0.070	0.048	1.680	0.094
Above average performance	-0.011	0.012	-0.920	0.359
Low family income	0.001	0.025	0.050	0.964
High family income	0.075	0.023	3.810	0.000
Lived abroad for more than 3 months	-0.014	0.028	-0.480	0.630
Friends and relatives abroad	0.034	0.035	0.880	0.380
Encouraged at university	0.016	0.017	0.930	0.354
Encouraged by migrants	0.041	0.019	2.150	0.031
Economic conditions	0.089	0.016	3.910	0.000
Social norms and conditions	0.041	0.017	2.180	0.029
Political situation	0.005	0.034	0.130	0.894
Personal conditions	0.012	0.025	0.490	0.627

Number of obs = 1188,
Pseudo R2 = 0.0371
Log pseudo likelihood = -489.866,
Correctly classified 84.68%
(*) dF/dx is for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1
z and P>|z| correspond to the test of the underlying coefficient being 0
Note: Married predicts non-migration for living perfectly

Table A18. Marginal effects from probit regression on the determinants of migration for study

	dF/dx*	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|
Age	-0.012	0.009	-1.480	0.140
Female	-0.003	0.028	-0.110	0.913
Married	0.048	0.102	0.500	0.617
Atheist	-0.005	0.062	-0.080	0.940
Muslim	0.006	0.022	0.290	0.773
Below average performance	-0.066	0.032	-2.020	0.044
Above average performance	0.174	0.020	10.060	0.000
Low family income	-0.013	0.043	-0.300	0.765
High family income	0.050	0.014	3.790	0.000
Lived abroad for more than 3 months	0.063	0.035	1.750	0.080
Friends and relatives abroad	-0.088	0.062	-1.460	0.145
Encouraged at university	0.141	0.013	11.940	0.000
Encouraged by migrants	0.081	0.047	1.570	0.116
Economic conditions	-0.048	0.028	-1.660	0.096
Social norms and conditions	-0.014	0.025	-0.550	0.580
Political situation	0.025	0.043	0.550	0.581
Personal conditions	-0.021	0.013	-1.720	0.086

Number of obs = 1197,
Pseudo R2 = 0.0708
Log pseudo likelihood = -628.257,
Correctly classified 75.19%
(*) dF/dx is for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1
z and P>|z| correspond to the test of the underlying coefficient being 0

Table A19. Migration of the brightest to study, work, or living

	dF/dx*	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|
Age	-0.024	0.015	-1.640	0.102
Female	-0.082	0.039	-2.070	0.038
Married	-0.335	0.072	-3.220	0.001
Atheist	-0.058	0.153	-0.370	0.709
Muslim	-0.052	0.039	-1.330	0.184
Low family income	0.094	0.078	1.190	0.234
High family income	0.097	0.045	2.130	0.033
Lived abroad for more than 3 months	0.026	0.060	0.430	0.669
Friends and relatives abroad	-0.219	0.145	-1.400	0.160
Encouraged at university	0.168	0.036	4.600	0.000
Encouraged by migrants	0.065	0.081	0.800	0.421
Economic conditions	-0.112	0.092	-1.220	0.224
Social norms and conditions	0.185	0.047	3.610	0.000
Political situation	-0.066	0.070	-0.940	0.348
Personal conditions	-0.093	0.079	-1.160	0.244

Number of obs = 255,
Pseudo R2 = 0.094
Log pseudo likelihood = -160.01956,
Correctly classified 58.06%
(*) dF/dx is for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1
z and P>|z| correspond to the test of the underlying coefficient being 0

APPENDIX II

Table B1. What language did you speak at home as a child?

Language	Frequency	Percent
Albanian	103	95.4
Macedonian	4	3.7
Greek	1	.9
Total	**108**	**100.0**

Table B2. What language did you speak at home as a child?

Language	Frequency	Percent
Albanian	103	95.4
Macedonian	4	3.7
Greek	1	.9
Total	**108**	**100.0**

Table B3. Besides this language, which other languages do you speak?

Other Languages	Yes	Percent
None	0	0.0%
English	95	88.0%
French	25	23.1%
German	30	27.8%
Italian	78	72.2%
Greek	16	14.8%
Other	35	32.4%

Table B4. Did you receive a diploma or certificate from this training?

Yes	%	No	%	Total
43	78%	12	22%	55

Table B5. Was this training useful/necessary in order to get a job abroad?

		Frequency	Percent
Was this training useful in order to get a job abroad?	**Yes**	28	71.8
	No	11	28.2
	Total	**39**	**100.0**
Was this training necessary in order to get a job abroad?	**Yes**	21	61.8
	No	13	38.2
	Total	**34**	**100.0**

Table B6. How long did you stay abroad

Period of residence abroad.	Number	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
	108	.50	19.33	5.8056	3.61280

Table B7. Did you live abroad in one country, or more than one country?

	Frequency	Percent
In one place	75	69.4
In many places	33	30.6
Total	**108**	**100.0**

Table B8. Which country did you first move to when you went abroad? (indicate country if you stayed there for at least six months)

Countries	Frequency	Percent
Belgium	1	0.9%
Bulgarian	7	6.5%
France	3	2.8%
Germany	12	11.1%
Greece	14	13.0%
Hungary	2	1.9%
Ireland	1	0.9%
Italy	26	24.1%
Canada	2	1.9%
Malaysia	1	0.9%
Mexico	1	0.9%
Norway	1	0.9%
Poland	4	3.7%
Romania	13	12.0%
Spain	1	0.9%
Sweden	1	0.9%
Turkey	4	3.7%
UK	10	9.3%
USA	3	2.8%
Yemen	1	0.9%
Total	**108**	**100.0%**

Table B9. How long did you stay there?

	Number	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
How long did you stay there?	107	.50	17.00	5.2765	3.28909

Table B10. Distribution of length of stay abroad in the first destination country

	Length of stay in the first destination		Length of stay in the country they spent most of the time	
	Frequency	**Percent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Less than 1 year	14	19.5%	10	9.3 %
1 - 3 years	24	33.3%	18	16.7 %
3 - 5 years	12	16.7%	23	21.3 %
5 – 7 years	9	12.5%	26	24.1 %
7 – 10 years	6	8.3%	18	16.7 %
More than 10 years	7	9.7%	13	12.0 %
Total	72	100%	108	100.0 %

Table B11a. First reason for choosing the first destination country

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Education	83	76.9%
Scholarships	2	1.9%
Economic conditions	2	1.9%
New experiences	3	2.8%
Family reasons	4	3.7%
Careers	5	4.6%
Scientific trainings	2	1.9%
Language	2	1.9%
Political conditions	3	2.8%
The best future	1	0.9%
Safe country	1	0.9%
Total	**108**	**100.0%**

Table B11b. Second reason for choosing the first destination country

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Education	65	60.2%
Scholarships	1	0.9%
Economic conditions	1	0.9%
New experiences	15	13.9%
Family reasons	1	0.9%
Curiosity	2	1.9%
Scientific trainings	3	2.8%
New culture	6	5.6%
Political conditions	2	1.9%
The best future	1	0.9%
Safe country	2	1.9%
Language	1	0.9%
To find a job	6	5.6%
Citizenship	2	1.9%
Total	**108**	**100.0%**

Table B11c. Third reason for choosing the first destination country

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Education	81	75.0%
Scholarships	1	0.9%
Economic conditions	1	0.9%
New experiences	3	2.8%
Family reasons	2	1.9%
Curiosity	2	1.9%
Scientific trainings	2	1.9%
New culture	3	2.8%
Political conditions	3	2.8%
The best future	4	3.7%
Safe country	2	1.9%
Language	2	1.9%
To find a job	2	1.9%
Career	2	1.9%
Total	**108**	**100.0%**

Table B12. What was the most important reason?

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Family	6	5.6%
New culture	5	4.6%
Geographical proximity	1	0.9%
Education	82	75.9%
New experience	3	2.8%
Language	2	1.9%
Scientific trainings	4	3.7%
Economic conditions	3	2.8%
Safe country	2	1.9%
Better perspective	2	1.9%
Citizenship	2	1.9%
Internship	1	0.9%
Documents for emigration	1	0.9%
Scholarship	5	4.6%
It was too late to apply in another country	1	0.9%
Total	**108**	**100.0%**

Table B13. Why did you not benefit from a programme?

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Other	39	59.1%
It was impossible for my job	5	7.6%
I was not qualified	2	3.0%
There was no specific programs or institutional agreement at that time	13	19.7%
These programs are not suitable for people like me	2	3.0%
This programs are corrupted	5	7.6%
Total	**66**	**100.0%**

Table B14. Did you go abroad with your spouse or did he/she stay in Albania?

	Frequency	Percent
Spouse stayed here	10	52.6
Went with spouse	9	47.4
Total	**19**	**100.0**

Table B15a. Why did your spouse stay here?

	Frequency	Percent
Other reasons	21	72.4
Better financially	4	13.8
Family farm/business needed to be maintained	1	3.4
Better for children/family at home	3	10.3
Total	**29**	**100.0**

Table B15b. Why did you bring your spouse with you?

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Other	4	50.0
Better for the family/children to be together	4	50.0
Total	**8**	**100.0**

Table B16. During that period, do you live in an area with many immigrants?

	Frequency	Percent
Almost all migrants	2	1.9
Mostly migrants	5	4.6
Equal numbers of migrants and locals	6	5.6
Mostly locals	71	65.7
It was difficult to find a migrant	24	22.2
Total	**108**	**100.0**

Table B16a. Did you have many contacts with residents of your residential area?

Very frequent contact	**60**	**55.6**
Frequent	**28**	**25.9**
Neither frequent nor infrequent	**11**	**10.2**
Not much/barely	**7**	**6.5**
None at all	**2**	**1.9**
Total	**108**	**100.0**

Table B17. Kind of studies or trainings completed abroad

University	Frequency	Percent
Yes	70	66.7
No	35	33.3
Total	**105**	**100.0**
Post graduate studies		
Yes	43	41.0
No	62	59.0
Total	**105**	**100.0**
Orientation training		
Yes	8	7.6
No	97	92.4
Total	**105**	**100.0**
Language courses		
Yes	18	17.1
No	87	82.9
Total	**105**	**100.0**
Training to bring existing qualifications up to local standards		
Yes	8	7.6
No	97	92.4
Total	**105**	**100.0**
On the job training		
Yes	13	12.4
No	92	87.6
Total	**105**	**100.0**
Other		
Yes	1	1.0%
No	104	99.0%
Total	**105**	**100.0%**

Table B18. What was the *first* work you did when you were abroad?

First work	Frequency	Percent
In a hotel	1	0.9%
Credit analyst	1	0.9%
Data analyst	1	0.9%
Assistant pedagogue	1	0.9%
Library assistant	2	1.9%
Assistant in an real estate office	1	0.9%
Auditing	1	0.9%
Barista	1	0.9%
Customer service	1	0.9%
Finances sector	4	3.7%
Graphic designer	1	0.9%
Engineer	1	0.9%
Steward	2	1.9%
Researcher	2	1.9%
Consultant	2	1.9%
Take care for people with disabilities	1	0.9%
Manager in a restaurant	1	0.9%
Teacher	4	3.7%
I didn't work	63	58.3%
Assistant in a restaurant	1	0.9%
Lecturer	1	0.9%
Translator	1	0.9%
Assistant in a lawyer office	1	0.9%
Promotion	1	0.9%
Receptionist	1	0.9%
Assistant in the University	3	2.8%
Electronic games	1	0.9%
Seller of insurance contracts	1	0.9%
Seller	1	0.9%
Distributor in a pizzeria	1	0.9%
Specialist of IT	1	0.9%
Marketing specialist	2	1.9%
Supervisor	1	0.9%
Total	**108**	**100.0%**

Table B19. For how long did you do this work?

For how long did you do this work?	Number	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
	44	.17	10.00	2.5436	2.29273

Table B20. Did you change and do another job while you were abroad?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	19	42.2
No	26	57.8
Total	**45**	**100.0**

Table B21. Was there ever a period when you were abroad when you could not find any work?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	15	31.3
No	33	66.7
Total	**48**	**100.0**

Table B22. For how many months, approximately, were you without work?

For how many months, approximately, were you without work?	Number	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
	16	0	40	7.38	9.128

Table B23. On average, about how many hours did you normally work per week when you were abroad?

On average, about how many hours did you normally work per week when you were abroad?	Number	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
	47	1	100	32.15	19.891

Table B24. Did you keep contact with Albania whilst you were abroad?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	107	99.1
No	1	.9
Total	**108**	**100.0**

Table B25. How frequently did you visit Albania whilst you were abroad?

	Frequency	Percent
Never	6	5.6
Only once a year	18	16.7
From time to time	15	13.9
At least once a year	27	25.0
More than once a year	42	38.9
Total	**108**	**100.0**

Table B26. Did you send money home whilst you were abroad?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	13	12.0
No	95	88.0
Total	**108**	**100.0**

Table B27. If Yes, How often did you send money?

	Frequency	Percent
Less than once a year	2	15.4
At least once a year	9	69.2
At least once a month	2	15.4
Total	**13**	**100.0**

Table B28. Who did you send the money to?

Parents	Frequency	Percent
Yes	10	71.4
No	4	28.6
Total	**14**	**100.0**
Spouse		
Yes	2	14.3
No	12	85.7
Total	**14**	**100.0**
Children		
Yes	2	14.3
No	12	85.7
Total	**14**	**100.0**
Siblings		
Yes	1	7.1
No	13	92.9
Total	**14**	**100.0**
Other		
No	14	100.0

Table B29. What was the money used for?

	Frequency	Percent
Other	1	7.1
Living Expenses	11	78.6
For a business activity	1	7.1
Savings	1	7.1
Total	**14**	**100.0**

Table B30a. The first reasons for return

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Personal reason	2	1.9%
I was given no chance for a better life	1	0.9%
New experience	4	3.7%
Albania is my country	3	2.8%
Family	29	26.9%
I am financially connected with Albania	1	0.9%
To contribute for my country	2	1.9%
The situation in Albania	1	0.9%
I finished school	23	21.3%
More opportunity for qualification	1	0.9%
More opportunity for job	1	0.9%
I have changed my status	1	0.9%
Language	1	0.9%
I didn't intend to stay abroad forever	2	1.9%
It was impossible to find another job	4	3.7%
The opportunity in Albania	2	1.9%
The value of a foreign degree in Albania	1	0.9%
Professional career	21	19.4%
To respect the contract	3	2.8%
My future is in Albania	1	0.9%
To work in the business sector	1	0.9%
Difficult job market	1	0.9%
I have achieved my goal	1	0.9%
I was very disappointed by the host country	0	0.0%
To relax by England's turbulent life	1	0.9%
Total	**108**	**100.0%**

Table B30b. The Second Reason for Return

Second Reason	Frequency	Percent
The desire to live in my country	8	12.7%
My new experience	1	1.6%
Family	17	27.0%
To open new business in my country	1	1.6%
Global economic crisis	1	1.6%
Favorable legislation abroad	1	1.6%
I thought that I have a better future in Albania	6	9.5%
I don't felt good abroad	1	1.6%
Better economic opportunity	2	3.2%
The high cost of life/ studies	3	4.8%
To contribute to my country	1	1.6%
Personal reason	2	3.2%
Professional reason	17	27.0%
Education	1	1.6%
Marital status	1	1.6%
Total	**63**	**100.0%**

Table B30c. The Third Reason for Return

Third Reason	Frequency	Percent
The desire to live in Albania	1	2.8%
New experience	2	5.6%
Family	8	22.2%
To contribute to my country	9	25.0%
The conditions of life	2	5.6%
The relation with Albania	1	2.8%
I have finished the studies	2	5.6%
Other opportunities	1	2.8%
I feel good in my country	1	2.8%
I didn't want to lose his job	1	2.8%
Someone offered an important job	1	2.8%
Professional reason	4	11.1%
Society	1	2.8%
Vocation	1	2.8%
Better social status	1	2.8%
Total	**36**	**100.0%**

Table B31. What is the main reason for return

Main Reasons	Frequency	Percent
New experience	3	2.9%
Family	36	34.3%
To open new business in my country	1	1.0%
I am financially connected with Albania	1	1.0%
To contribute to my country	9	8.6%
The situation in Albania	1	1.0%
The conditions of life	3	2.9%
I have finished the studies	19	18.1%
I have change my private life	1	1.0%
Recognition of labor market	2	1.9%
The value of foreign diploma in Albania	1	1.0%
I thought that I have a better future in Albania	2	1.9%
Professional reason	20	19.0%
To respect the contract	2	1.9%
Education	1	1.0%
The hope for a better life/career	1	1.0%
Better income	1	1.0%
I was very disappointed by the place that I went	1	1.0%
Total	**105**	**100.0%**

Table B32. At the time you returned, were you aware of any official programmes or schemes to assist people to return?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	17	15.7
No	91	84.3
Total	**108**	**100.0**

Table B33. Did you benefit from such a scheme?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	5	31.3
No	11	68.8
Total	**16**	**100.0**

Table B34. When you came back, did you bring money/savings with you?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	32	29.6
No	77	71.3
Total	**108**	**100.0**

Table B35. What did you use these savings for?

	Yes/Total	Percent
Daily expenses	19/32	59.4
To buy property	4/32	12.5
To buy furniture/household goods	4/32	12.5
For a business activity	1/32	3.1
Savings	7/32	21.9
Education	3/32	9.4
Other	3/31	9.7
Other uses		
-Bought an apartment	1	33.3%
-For holidays	1	33.3%
-Personal reasons	1	33.3%

Table B36. Have you worked since you came back to Albania?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	100	92.6
No	8	7.4
Total	**108**	**100.0**

Table B37. On average, how many hours do you normally work each week since you returned?

On average, how many hours do you normally work each week since you returned?	Number	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
	100	8	60	40.84	8.050
How quickly did you start work after arrival?	100	0	16	2.66	3.543

Table B38. Have your experiences abroad helped you find better work opportunities since your return?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	90	90.0
No	10	10.0
Total	**100**	**100.0**

Table B39. Of all your experiences abroad, which have helped you most?

	Frequency	Percent
Other	2	2.2
Experiences in general	32	35.6
Formal education/ trainings	52	57.8
Skills learned at work	4	4.4
Total	**90**	**100.0**

Table B40. If No, Why have your experiences abroad not helped you?

	Frequency	Percent
Skill of social interaction	1	10.0%
Education abroad is not known as a value-added	2	20.0%
It was not relevant to the workplace	1	10.0%
I didn't work when I was abroad	1	10.0%
I have lost my relations with Albania	1	10.0%
Because the experience/education abroad in most of cases didn't evaluate in Albania	2	20.0%
Mentality	1	10.0%
Low number of jobs	1	10.0%
Total	**10**	**100.0%**

Table B41. When compared to the time before you left, do you consider yourself better or worse off since your return?

	Frequency	Percent
Much better off now	26	24.1
Better off now	50	46.3
About the same	23	21.3
Worse off	6	5.6
Much worse off now	3	2.8
Total	**108**	**100.0**

Table B42a. Why do you feel worse/better?

	Frequency	Percent
Financially, intellectually	72	79.1%
Individually	1	1.1%
I feel pessimistic about the future	1	1.1%
In everything	5	5.5%
I'm done with the family, I am satisfied	1	1.1%
I work in my profession	1	1.1%
Has more perspective, opportunities for development and better living conditions	1	1.1%
I have constant support from people who know	1	1.1%
I have the work but not the quality of life	1	1.1%
I have relatives	1	1.1%
I am interested	1	1.1%
Conditions of life	1	1.1%
I feel good	1	1.1%
I don't work in my profession yet	1	1.1%
It is difficult to live here	2	2.2%
Total	**91**	**100.0%**

Table B42. Are you currently considering moving abroad to live and work again?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	52	48.1
No	56	51.9
Total	**108**	**100.0**

Table B43. The reasons are:

	Frequency	Percent
This is my country/I belong here	39/57	68.4
My family/relatives are here	45.57	78.9
People are not friendly abroad	4/57	7.0
Discrimination in other countries	3/56	5.4
I would feel lonely abroad	3/56	5.4
Homesickness	7/57	12.3
Low income abroad	3/57	5.3
Poor work conditions abroad	1/57	1.8
Impossible or very difficult to find work abroad	13/57	22.8
Other reasons	6/58	10.3
-I want to contribute in my job	1	16.7%
-I feel good here	3	50.0%
-Professional reason	1	16.7%
-More opportunity for career	1	16.7%

Table B44. How likely or unlikely is it that you would leave Albania within:

Within	Number	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
The next 6 months	107	1	5	3.93	1.301
The next 2 years.	105	1	5	3.35	1.421

Table B45. If you were to leave (name survey country), please give me the reasons you would have for leaving

	Frequency	Percent
Education of my children	2	2.6%
Professional reason	2	2.6%
Payment	4	5.3%
Financial reason	3	3.9%
New experience	6	7.9%
Family	1	1.3%
Disappointed by my country	1	1.3%
Better life	6	7.9%
Career	1	1.3%
Political crisis	2	2.6%
Lottery	1	1.3%
More opportunity abroad	1	1.3%
It was impossible to find a job	1	1.3%
Better future	1	1.3%
Scholarship	1	1.3%
Job	15	19.7%
Education of my children	12	15.8%
Qualification	16	21.1%
Total	**76**	**100.0%**

Table B46. How likely or unlikely is it that you would move to (name MLD) to live and work?

	Frequency	Percent
Very likely	11	12.0
Quite likely	18	19.6
Neither likely nor unlikely	12	13.0
Quite unlikely	19	20.7
Very unlikely	32	34.8
Total	**92**	**100.0**

Table B47. If you were to move abroad, which country would you be most likely to go to?

Countries	Frequency	Percent
Africa	1	1.3%
Austria	1	1.3%
EU countries	14	18.4%
Belgium	2	2.6%
France	2	2.6%
Germany	11	14.5%
Italy	5	6.6%
Canada	7	9.2%
Kosovo	1	1.3%
Poland	2	2.6%
Romania	1	1.3%
Spain	4	5.3%
Turkey	2	2.6%
UK	10	13.2%
USA	13	17.1%
Total	**76**	**100.0%**

Table B48. What is your most important reason to go in this country?

	Frequency	Percent

It's near Albania	2	2.8%
Education of my children	1	1.4%
Better condition for education	11	15.5%
Scholarship	1	1.4%
I know / like this country	12	16.9%
Economic conditions	3	4.2%
New experience	2	2.8%
Cultural reason	3	4.2%
Language	8	11.3%
High level of institutions	3	4.2%
Better condition for life	6	8.5%
More opportunities	8	11.3%
I have my relatives	4	5.6%
Better conditions for work	3	4.2%
Higher income	3	4.2%
Citizenship	1	1.4%
Total	**71**	**100.0%**

Table B49. Are you able to finance your move abroad?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	30	35.3
No	19	22.4
I don't know	36	42.4
Total	**85**	**100.0**

PART TWO

Brain Circulation and the Role of Diasporas in the Balkans – Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia

Kosovo Country Report

Sokol Havolli, Artane Rizvanolli, Bardha Qirezi

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CHAPTER I

CONTEXT OF THE COUNTRY: KOSOVO

Introduction

Political and socio-economic developments during the past three decades led to migration of significant proportion of Kosovo's population. The phenomenon of migration from Kosovo is considered relatively recent having in mind that it begun in late 1960s, when the first economic migrants were recorded. Driven by social, political and economic reasons, migration in late 1980s and during the 1990s continued at much higher pace compared to the previous wave and it peaked in 1999 when the War of Kosovo broke out. However, in the later years, the scope of the reasons for migration changed significantly. Even though initially driven by political and social reasons, many migrants at later stages did not return in the country and this was as a result of the large income difference between Kosovo and the developed countries, as well as the lack of employment opportunities in the post-war country (Riinvest, 2007).

Table 1.0. Quick Facts

Country: Kosovo	
a) Resident Population	1733872
b) Diaspora to total population (e)	20-25%
c) Yearly Outflow of Migrants (e)	over 8000
Source: Riinvest Stakeholders and experts survey 2010	
Statistical office of Kosovo (2011), (e) Estimated	

Many of these developments, contributed also to the illegal migration and it is officially unknown how many Kosovars live outside their own country. Despite the difficulties in estimating the total number of migrants from Kosovo, some estimates show that the number of migrants currently is somewhere around 550 thousand, which in terms of total population is translated to nearly 25 percent (Table 1.0). However, estimation of the size of the diaspora for Kosovo remains a challenge given that Kosovo is a young country and majority of migration occurred before Kosovo's War.[31]

[31] Given that majority of migration occurred before the war, most of the migrants are with Yugoslavian documentation, making it even harder to estimate the size of the diaspora.

Migration flows towards developed countries in the after-war Kosovo continues to be mostly driven by economic reasons in seek of greater employment and career advancement opportunities (Riinvest, 2007). However, for this indicator, only estimates exist, while to what extent this phenomenon is present is yet not clearly known, and the lack of data, which is considered as a universal problem, contributes to the unresolved question into this field of research.

Having in mind the developments and characteristics of Kosovo's economy and its high unemployment rate, over 40 percent (SOK, 2009) and it is generally accepted that young people are mostly hit by the unemployment rate (especially students and graduates), this project aims to identify the main drivers for students migration, contribution of Kosovo's migrants into its economy (returned migrants), as well as the main stakeholders and institutions view on the migration phenomenon and the development impact it could have. The structure of this chapter is organized as following. Section 1.1 presents some the socio-economic indicators for Kosovo. Section 1.2 presents social and demographic statistics and estimates on migration flows, followed by section 1.3 that presents the view of main stakeholders regarding the migration and its consequences for Kosovo's economy.

1.1 Kosovo's Economy

Kosovo is among the latest countries in Balkans to start the transition process and to this aim, a significant progress was reached. However, challenges remain considerable, keeping in mind that the transition process begun in 1999 when the war of Kosovo was over. After the war, Kosovo faced the challenge of rebuilding the country, in terms of after-war reconstructions and the rebuilding of its economy and institutions. International aid was a significant support to the country for the rebuilding process. The rebuilding of the economy still remains the greatest challenge keeping in mind the lack of investment for a relatively long period before the war. As a consequence of such developments, unemployment rate over the last two decades was continuously high, with the latest estimates suggesting that it is over 40 percent (SOK, 2009). The current economic growth rates are considered too low and unable to absorb the unemployed labour force.

Over the last 10 years, Kosovo has had an average 4 percent growth rate (Table 2.1); however, this growth rate to a large extent has been driven by consumption and public expenditure and foreign aid (the later especially in the first few years after the war). On the other hand, investments, despite continuously increasing, are often considered as not sufficient to boost the domestic production. Due to the low production capacities, job creation remains very low compared with Kosovo's continuously growing labour force. Regarding the balance of payments, Kosovo faces a high current account deficit, which is over 15 percent (Table 1.1). A significant item in narrowing the current account deficit remains the level of remittances, which accounts for over 12 percent of the GDP. Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) is an important financing item for the large current account deficit. During the last five years, FDIs were on average over 9 percent of the country's GDP.

Table 1.1. Selected Macroeconomic Indicators

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Real GDP growth rate	3.4	6.3	6.9	2.9	4.0
Inflation	0.6	4.4	9.4	-2.4	4.7
Current Account Deficit/GDP	-6.7	-8.3	-15.2	-16.8	-17.3
Foreign Direct Investments/GDP	9.3	13.0	9.5	7.4	7.5
GDP Per Capita	3.6	4.2	3.9	3.9	3.9
Remittances/GDP	15.0	15.2	13.9	12.9	12.1
Nominal GDP (millions of EUR)	3120.4	3393.7	3851.4	3912.4	4221.0
GNDI	3737.0	4113.4	4558.6	4467.5	4887.0
Consumption	3466.2	3810.6	4344.6	4279.9	4574.3

Source: IMF WOE (2011), CBK (2011), SOK (2009)

Such developments have contributed to the current state of the Kosovo's economy, which remains amongst the least developed economies and with a relatively low standard of living. Poverty rates are considered to be very high, with the extreme poverty also prevailing among a significant proportion of population. The 2009 report on poverty (SOK, 2010) finds that around 12 percent of the population lives in the extreme poverty with 1.02 euro a day and 34 percent of population below the poverty line of 1.55 euro per adult, per day. Remittances are found to be an important item in reducing the poverty related to consumption, since they significantly affect the consumption of the households in Kosovo and decrease the poverty level (SOK, 2010).

Concern for the economy of Kosovo remains the high unemployment and poverty level among the youths. The low job creation and lack of opportunities widens the

income gap and unemployment, especially for the youth, compared with the income in developed countries. Factors that could contribute to the turbulent prospects for the youth and the overall economic activity originate from various sources, and most of them will be presented throughout this project.

Despite having a relatively fast growth rate in the number of businesses operating in the country, a significant challenge to businesses, especially Small and Medium, are the procedures to start the business. Kosovo is ranked 119th out of 183 countries for the ease of doing business by the World Bank (WB, 2011). In addition to the overall institutional inefficiency in reducing the procedures, a significant negative contribution to this ranking is the lack of mutual recognition with Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Romania etc. and this affects an important procedure: trading across countries. Table 1.2 below presents the World Bank Doing Business Indicators for selected regional countries.

The ranking of Kosovo is also low regarding the cost of doing business (as a percentage to the Gross National Income) and doing business indicators, especially compared to the regional countries, which over the last few years have made significant changes and improved their overall ranking.

Table 1.2. World Bank Doing Business Indicators for Balkan Countries

	Albania	B. and H.	Bulg.	Croatia	Kosovo	Maced.	Monteneg.	Serbia
Ease of Doing Business	16	20	9	17	21	6	14	18
Starting a business	11	24	9	15	25	1	13	17
Dealing with Construction	20	14	10	11	21	12	19	22
Registring a Property	17	21	13	22	14	16	23	20
Getting Credit	3	16	1	16	8	12	8	3
Protecting Investors	2	15	7	23	25	3	6	14
Paying Taxes	18	15	11	6	5	3	17	16
Trading Across Borders	11	9	15	14	17	8	5	10
Enforcing Contracts	20	23	19	13	25	18	24	21
Closing a Business	25	9	11	14	2	22	4	12
Cost of Doing Business	17	15.8	1.7	8.4	26.4	2.5	n/a	7.1

Source: World Bank Doing Business Indicators, 2011

However, recent improvements are on the process of being implemented. The future ranking of Kosovo regarding the doing business indicators is expected to improve significantly. In the transition process, Kosovo is still on its way towards developing effective institutions and in this context, according to the World Bank Governance Indicators, it is comparable with many of the regional countries.

At political level, Kosovo is considered as a partly free country by the Freedom House, and it ranks similarly with most of the regional countries. A significant obstacle into analysing developments in Kosovo remains the lack of data, especially data of international organizations such as EBRD, Transparency International, United Nations (UN) and similar, given that Kosovo is not a member yet and they only compile and provide data for their members.[32]Moreover, the lack of sovereign country rating is another issue which may discourage investors towards the country.

1.2 Migration and its consequences

The high unemployment rate and the continuous growth of the labour force, especially the new entrants of the labour market, increases the pressure on the labour market, as the current jobs created cannot absorb the fast growing labour force. As a consequence, migration is often considered as a viable solution for employment opportunities (see Box 2.1). Regarding the size of the Diaspora, estimates vary across institutions. According to the Riinvest Stakeholders' and Experts Survey (RSES) 2011, the estimates about the size of migration stock from Kosovo ranges from 400 thousand up to 700 thousand migrants.[33] Moreover, the yearly flow of migration continuously increases the stock of migrants in the destination countries (RSES, 2011).

The choice of the country to migrate is among the important decisions for the migrants. This is because depending on the level of the development in the host-country, the income of migrants varies. For instance, it has been empirically found that GDP per capita of host country is an important determinant for migrants' earnings, hence reflecting the overall standards of living in destination. Regarding the destination countries for migrants from Kosovo, it is a general consensus in Kosovo

[32] Transparency International will start to compile data for Kosovo as of 2011.
[33] The lack of data in Kosovo is as a result of the 30 years period since the last census was conducted. The new Census in Kosovo was held during 2011 and the data are available as of June 2011 for Kosovo's total population and are not yet released about the migration, however, when the stakeholders and experts surveys were conducted, population data also were not available.

that Germany and Switzerland are the main destination countries, supported also by the RSES[34].

Regarding the structure of migrants according to their skills and education, there is a significant lack of data. However, according to Hoti (2007), the brain drain issue is present at similar level compared to most of developing countries. In addition, over 60 percent of migrants have upper-secondary education, while just slightly over 10 percent have higher education. The remaining are at a level less than upper-secondary education. As a result of this structure of migrants, most of the migrants work in low-skill jobs (RSES, 2011). Regarding the higher educated migrants, the majority are engineers, followed by economists and medical workers. Having this structure of migrants raises the question whether they represent a brain drain or a brain loss; do they work on their profession and what are the rates of returns to their education level. Such question cannot be solved using any of the surveys conducted for the project. However, findings from the literature suggest that the brain drain from Kosovo is not a brain loss, since the returns to education are higher for those with additional years of schooling (Hoti, 2007; Havolli, 2009).

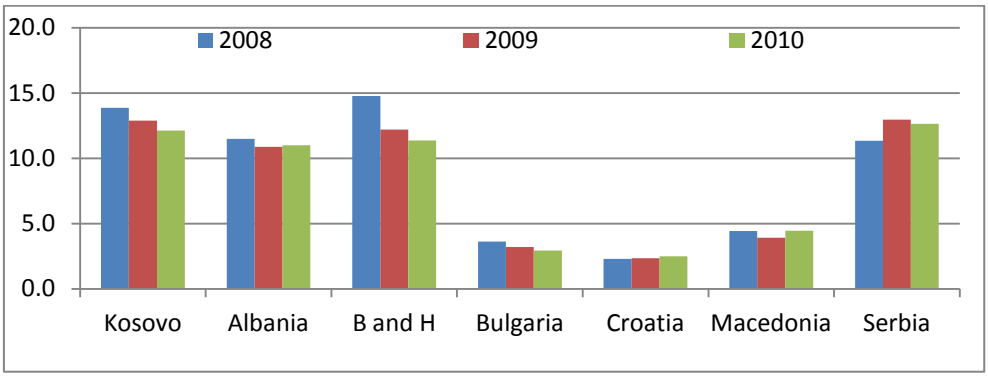
1.3 The view of the main stackeholders

Whether the brain itself should represent a concern or an opportunity for Kosovo, is a major implication for the labour market in the country. According to the RSES, stakeholders and experts see this phenomenon more as a brain gain and an opportunity, rather than a brain drain and a problem. Such view is based on the current structure of Kosovo's economy, which is not capable of absorbing its labour force and in this context, the first implication is that migration can help relieve the strain of the high unemployment on the local economy and at the same time increase the inflow of remittances, which have proven to be a vital source of income for many households (IOM, ECIKS, MLSW; RSES, 2011). Moreover, having in mind the lack of

[34] Migration to Germany occurred during the late 60s and early 70s initially. This was as a result of the 1968 agreement between Germany and then the government of Yugoslavia about the "guest workers" (Rudolph 1996, Wank 2004) when the first migrants from Kosovo moved towards Germany. Moreover, more migration towards Germany occurred during the late 90s. For the current flow of migration, the networking of Kosovans in these destination countries may play an important role in choosing these two countries.

opportunities in the country, migration should be positively viewed, since it could be a source of brain gain in many ways. For example, as migrants go abroad, they acquire new skills and know-how. In case they return to the home country, this would result in gaining experiences of different developed countries in the economy of Kosovo (World Bank and IOM, RSES, 2011).

Figure 1.1 Remittances as a share to GDP



Source: World Bank and Central Banks of respective countries

Another major implication of migration for the economy of Kosovo is the remittances received in the country. This is because remittances have often been the only source of income for many families in Kosovo and hence, it was the main source of financing consumption. Figure 1.1 presents the flow of remittances to regional countries and to Kosovo as a share of GDP. The size of remittances for Kosovo is relatively large, bearing in mind the small size of the economy in Kosovo. As presented in Figure 1.1, remittances have varied as a share to GDP from 12 to 14 percent, and over EUR 500 million in recent years. Remittances also represent the main item in narrowing the current account deficit, which in the economy of Kosovo is continuously double digit deficit at over 15 percent of the GDP (Table 1.1).

In addition to remittances, another important implication of migration for the economy of Kosovo is the migrants' investments and their investment potential.

Estimates based on few surveys suggest that migrants from Kosovo earn over 4 billion Euros a year.[35] Of these earnings, around 60 percent is consumed by the migrants in the host countries, while around 12 percent represent remittances and 28 percent savings. Consequently, the level of Kosovan migrants' savings is nearly 2 billion Euros a year, which are saved in banks in destination countries. These savings represent a significant potential for investment.

As a result of this earning power of migrants and their accumulated savings, migrants have continuously been investing in the economy of Kosovo. According to RSES, around 30 percent of total FDI inflows in the economy of Kosovo represent migrants' capital. Bearing in mind that until 2010, nearly 2 billion Euros of FDI was recorded in Kosovo, migrants investments to total FDI are over 500 million Euros. Moreover, migrants have privatized around 15 percent of Socially Owned Enterprises (SOEs) on the ongoing privatization process in Kosovo. The most notable economic activities that migrants invest in Kosovo are real estate, the food and beverage industry, wood processing, and hotels and restaurants. The success of many of these investments is addressed to the cooperation that migrants have with other companies abroad, as well as their know-how and management system, which is based on their industries best practices. On the other hand, there were some lost opportunities in attracting migrants who showed interest in investing in the country. These, on the other hand, represent industries in which Kosovo has comparative advantage over some neighbouring countries, especially metal processing industries (RSES, 2011).

Many of the stakeholders and experts that were interviewed on the RSES share with the ratings presented in World Bank's Doing Business Indicators. However, in addition to these problems, infrastructure and lack of urban planning throughout the country have been identified as obstacles in attracting migrants' investments. Among the main obstacles is continuously considered the energy sector (Riinvest, 2008), which by the businesses operating in Kosovo is considered as the main

[35] These estimates are own calculations. The estimates have taken into account the average yearly salary of the migrants in each country and the unemployment rate among working age population of migrants.

obstacle in doing business, while according to the World Bank's World Development Indicators, the lost output due to the electricity shortages in Kosovo is 17.1 percent of total firms' sales.

The banking sector in the economy of Kosovo, despite continuously being stable and having a supporting role to the economy, still maintains high interest rates. Interest rates in Kosovo are among the highest in region, at around 14 percent. This, therefore, represents another burden to the businesses in the economy. Moreover, this is an additional factor which to some extent is responsible for the lack of job creation, given that lending to the largest extent is oriented towards trade sector, while the start-up of businesses is not yet credited extensively. As potential discouraging factors, the high interest rates were also identified by the stakeholders and experts in the survey.

Bearing in mind the size, economic potential and the country's destination of Kosovo's migrants, another opportunity is the trade activity they could run. Investment activities of migrants in Kosovo would be a viable way of increasing exports. This could evolve in several areas: First, migrants have the potential to export products to their destination countries, mainly targeting their compatriots (given the knowledge of compatriots about the local goods and the recognition of brands in host countries). Second, the local population of each country, and third and most important, they could increase the trading activity with their products and cooperate with foreign companies. This would signal positively the Kosovo's business environment to the foreign companies and hence, influence their overall perceptions about the economy and possibly increase the investment activity of foreign companies.

From the organizational aspects of migrants, they are mostly emphasized on cultural and political context. However, there is a lack of economic organizations, which would increase the cooperation among the entrepreneurs in migration. In recent years, there are initiatives to establish formal organizational structures, notably the German-Kosovan Association, which aims at increasing the cooperation and promotion of companies among Germany and Kosovo. On the other hand, the cooperation of local companies from Kosovo is supported by several associations for businesses in Kosovo and those in other countries.

CHAPTER II

STUDENT INTENTIONS TO MIGRATE OR STAY

2.1 General Characteristics of Surveyed Students

Migration itself is considered to lead to two main consequences; first, it changes the overall structure of the labour market and second, the flow of remittances towards the country of origin. As a consequence of migration, brain drain evolved as a universal issue for most of the developing countries, with more emphasis on the concerns for small economies. Despite the concerns, the magnitude of such effect is not recognized in the literature having in mind the lack of detailed data on migrants and migrants' human capital. Similarly, for regional countries, there is a lack of evidence on who migrated and who is more likely to migrate, with the exception of Albania where several studies have investigated the topic (i.e. Germenji and Swinnen, 2005; Konica and Filer, 2005; Papapanagos and Sanfey; 2001). Generally, migration from small countries is thought to increase with the level of education for this type of migration is considered less risky bearing in mind the better employment opportunities for educated who are potential migrants. In the case of Kosovo, a notable exception in studying the brain drain is Hoti (2007) who in his study using a Riinvest's Household Survey in Kosovo found that males have emigrated disproportionately more than females, while the brain drain, in the pessimistic scenario[36], is similar to the other developing countries at around 10 percent of individuals with higher education.

In our study, we use a different approach to identify the potential migrants and the potential brain drain from Kosovo. This is because the data used in this study is based on interviews with 1186 students of the pre-final and the final year of their studies, of which, 70 percent are at the public University of Prishtina, while the remaining 30 percent are students from private universities, with AAB-Riinvest University having the highest share (9 percent) among the private universities. From the public university surveys, 16 faculties are included in the sample, with the economic faculty having the largest share, followed by faculty of law. The general characteristics of the surveyed students are presented in table 2.1 below, with

[36] This is considered as a pessimistic scenario since the survey did not included individuals who have migrated with their entire family.

columns 1 showing the data for females and column 2 for males, while the 3rd column presents the entire sample.

As depicted in the table 2.1, nearly 40 percent of the students, who were surveyed, are on the pre-final year of studies, while over 60 percent are students of final year.[37] Regarding the citizenship, only a small proportion of students in Kosovo have a second citizenship, which may also imply the possibility of migrating visa-free.

Table 2.1 General Characteristics of Students

	Females	Males	Total
Sample	641	545	1186
Age	23.1	23.9	23.2
The data below are in percentage of their categories, unless otherwise stated			
Residence			
2nd Citizenship, in addition to Kosovo	3.6%	4.2%	3.9%
Year of Study			
Pre-final	47.0%	30.5%	39.3%
Final year	53.0%	69.5%	60.7%
Self-Classification of Income Group			
Very Low	1.4%	0.2%	0.8%
Low	9.8%	9.7%	9.8%
Average	71.3%	69.9%	70.7%
High	16.8%	18.2%	17.5%
Very High	0.6%	1.8%	1.2%

Regarding an important variable in this survey, the income group and the economic situation of the family, the data shows that around 70 percent of all students classified themselves as average in terms of family income and economic situation. However, around 10 percent of students consider their family's income and economic conditions as low or very low. On the other hand, the high and very high income group and economic situation has been reported by 17.5 and 1.2 percent of the students, respectively. It should be noted that, even though the average income group is slightly higher for female student families, they also have a higher proportion on the very low

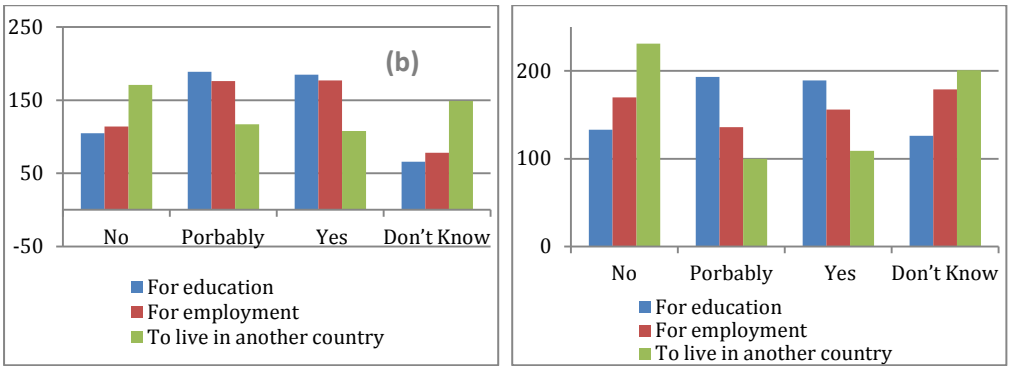
[37] The main reason for this composition in the survey is that while the private universities accreditation process was ongoing, private universities were not allowed to accept new students. That year, coincides being the third year of studies with the year when the survey was undertaken, therefore, private universities had relatively low number of students in the third year. Another reason for this is related to the performance of students and their lagging into pre-final year.

and low income categories, while for the higher categories they are worse off compared to their male counterparts. Despite the marginal difference, the figures do not suggest any discrimination regarding the attendance to education for females, which in many developing countries represents a serious concern.

2.2 Intentions to Migrate; Goals and Reasons

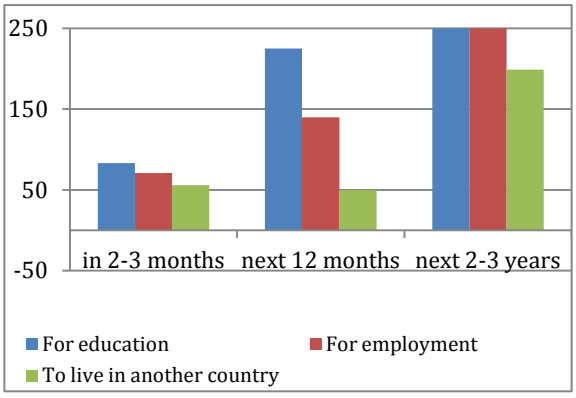
The New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM), a relatively new school of thought, suggests that migration is driven for by many motives ranging from individual strategies to maximize income, to households' strategies to minimize income risk (Lucas and Stark, 1985). This is especially emphasized for developing countries where employment opportunities are relatively low and education does not ensure employment. According to Riinvest Student Survey (RSS), among the students, a relatively large proportion would consider migration for one of the reasons and in many cases all the three reasons, education, employment and living in another country, are a driving factor.

Figure 2.1 Reasons and willingness to migrate for Females (a) and Males (b)



For instance, 31.5 percent of total interviewed students consider migration as an option to continue their education (Figure 2.1). Moreover, a significant proportion, 32.2 percent, of the students interviewed would probably consider migration as an option.

Figure 2.2. Migration timeline how soon students expect to migrate



On the other hand, 20 percent of students would not migrate for further education, while around 16 percent does not have an opinion about their likelihood to migrate. Regarding the gender and migration, as presented in Figure 2.1, a larger proportion of females do not wish to migrate to live in another country. The expected timeline for migration, that is the timing when students expect or plan to migrate, is largely dominated by the expectations to migrate over the next 2-3 years. However, it should be pointed out that also the medium-term period is likely to be the period when students would migrate, most notably for education purposes.

Box 2.1 Empirical Investigation; What Drives Students to Consider Migration

This box presents the empirical investigation of the factors that affect students' considerations for migration. The methodology used in this empirical investigation is Logit for binary dependent variables. In order to minimize statistical problems, robust standard errors were used. The results commented in this box are presented in Table 2.2 (Appendix 2.1).

Separate models were designed with three dependent variables (i), migration for education, (ii), migration for employment and (iii) migration to live in another country. The same sets of independent variables have been used in all three models.

Regarding the first specification, **(i) willingness to migrate for education**, results suggest that there is no significant difference in willingness to migrate for females and males (also supported by figure 3.1 data). However, when it comes to the marital status, married students are less willing to consider migration for further education

abroad of Kosovo. Regarding the performance of the students, the results suggest that average performing students are willing to migrate to continue education abroad (compared to the below average students). Moreover, students with above average performance are also more willing to migrate to continue education (compared to the benchmark category, below average students). The results are in line with the expectations, having in mind that above average performing students are willing to migrate to continue education compared to the two other categories. Another important and statistically significant variable, which affects the willingness to migrate, is the self-reported income group and the economic situation of the students' family. The results suggest that, students in the lower income group and economic situation are less willing to consider migration for educational reasons (compared to the benchmark category, students' family high income and economic situation). Furthermore, students belonging to the average income and economic conditions are also less willing to migrate for educational reasons. Such result may be explained by the ability of the low and average income families to pay for education abroad, compared to the high income group. Unexpectedly, students who are encouraged by the family members living abroad to continue their education abroad are less willing to migrate compared to their counterparts. About 75 percent of students interviewed for this survey declared that they have relatives living abroad.

For the second specification **(ii) willingness to migrate for employment**, the results suggest that, females are less willing to migrate for employment. Considering that migration in most of the cases is a within the household decision, males are much more likely to be selected for migration having in mind the social norms which exist in Kosovo. An important finding, however, not in line with the brain drain theory, is that above average students are less likely to migrate. The theory considers that more educated individuals are more likely to migrate having in mind the rate of return to education (Roy, 1951). Despite being contrary to the theory, such results can be explained by the willingness of the above average performance students to continue their studies, rather than migrate for employment. Regarding the income group and economic conditions of the family, students belonging to the low income households are willing to migrate. This result is as expected having in mind that low income households are likely to have members who are unemployed and hence, they

may have very little or no income generating source. Therefore, in line with the theory, they would consider taking the advantage of income and employment differentials between Kosovo and developing countries.

Migration to live in another country (iii) is considered only by married students as opposed to the unmarried counterparts. Despite the lack of the theory and literature on this issue, one explanation for this result may be that the spouse of the married students may live abroad and therefore, the student considers migration as a way of living with their spouse. Another significant variable, which affects the willingness to migrate to live in another country, is the age of the student. Additional year of age of the student affects negatively the willingness to migrate, however, the effect of age is non-linear (U-shaped) as indicated by the Age-squared variable.

Overall, the results are relatively well related to the migration and brain drain theories. The major finding of this model is that brain drain is less likely to happen; contrary, migration represents a great opportunity for brain gain. This is said so having in mind that above-average performing students are less likely to migrate for employment, while they are willing to migrate to continue their education. It may be suggested that students whose performance is better represent a potential for the economy of Kosovo.

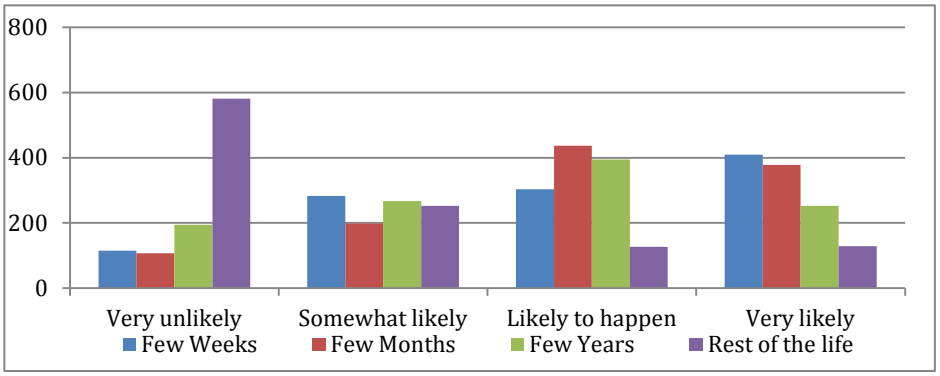
Regarding the importance of reasons driving migration, a predominant reason is the prospects for better professional career in developing countries. This is consistent with the educational and professional employment of students, as observed from Figure 2.1. The second most important reason that may drive potential migrants to consider migration is travelling and viewing other countries experiences, while the third most important driver of migration would be to live in a more developed country. In this context, the least important driver of migration would be the desire of students to live in other country and family unification and marriage. Of the total sample, 24 percent of students lived previously in another country for longer than 3 months. Similarly with the total sample, the students, who previously had migration experiences, consider as the most important reason for migration the travelling experiences and better career prospects in other countries. This may indicate that in general, the expectations of the students who did not had previously migration experiences are relatively similar to those who have already experienced migration. The

literature on other countries suggests similar findings in evaluating the overall expectations of potential migrants (McKenzie et al., 2007).

2.3 Pre-Migration Plans

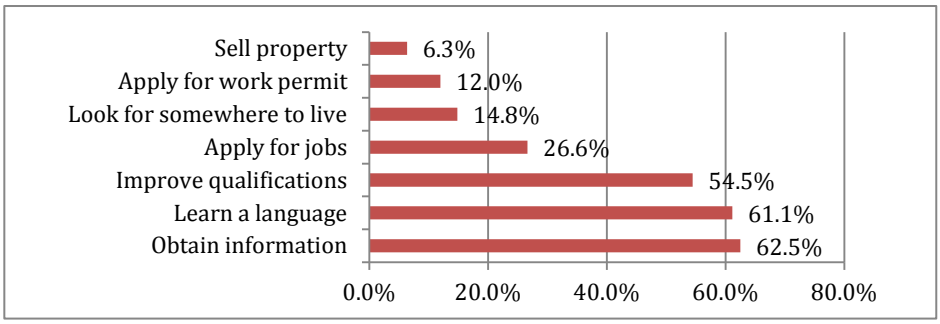
Students who plan to migrate expect that they would mostly be short to midterm migrants. As depicted in the Figure 2.3, most of the students would consider migration for few months (which dominates in the categories likely to happen and very likely to happen). Students also consider migrating for a few years, followed by a proportion who would like to migrate for a few weeks, while migration for the rest of the life is the option least considered by students.

Figure 2.3. Expected duration of stay in migration



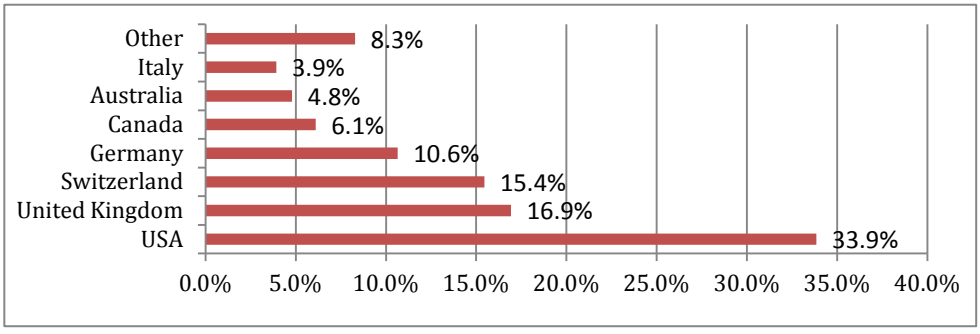
Generally, students who aim to migrate have also made specific preparations for migration. As presented in figure 2.4, the preparations are rather general (i.e. obtain information and improvements in qualifications and language), which do not necessarily represent migration preparations. Especially, the language and qualification improvement have widely become a necessity to find jobs in Kosovo economy. Most preparations by the student therefore, represent general information they have obtained for the country they would be willing to migrate.

Figure 2.4. Pre-Migration Preparations



An important preparation for the students willing to migrate was also learning the language of the country they plan to migrate. The information obtained by students is of various sources, however, family and friends living abroad are the main source of information, which builds students expectations about migration. This has been also the case with the existing migrants given the network of Kosovan migrants in countries such as Switzerland and Germany. Important ways of getting informed are also the students who previously studies abroad. However, students willing to migrate also build their own expectations based on their own observations, such as their previous migration experience and similar. However, media and internet is also an important way of getting informed about different countries, studying opportunities and migration experiences for many students.

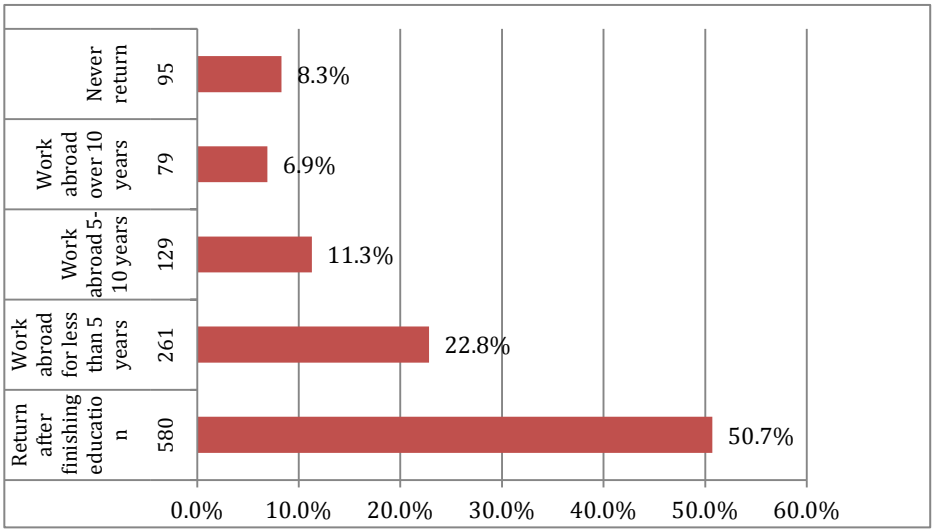
Figure 2.5. Desired Migration Destination



Regarding the country that students would like to migrate, the most dominant are the United States of America (USA) followed by the United Kingdom (UK). Switzerland and Germany also represent the desired destination countries for

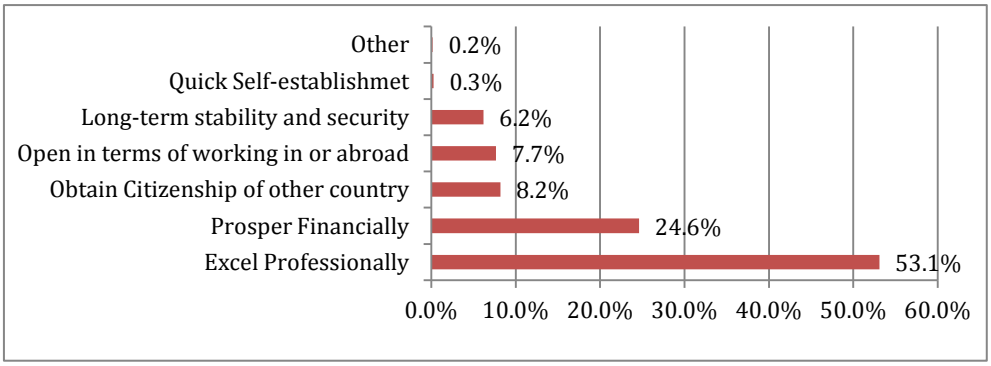
students, while countries such as Canada, Australia, Italy, Austria, France and Scandinavian countries follow the top four destinations. Regarding the networking effect, which implies that students are driven by friends and relatives to select the country, the results are in general consistent with the empirical model (presented in Box 2.1), suggesting no effect of relatives in their migration plans. This is suggested bearing in mind that majority of Kosovo's existing migrants are concentrated in Germany and Switzerland, while only a small proportion of total migrants are in the USA and UK. Thus, current migrants may not play a role in the decision of potential migrants for the choice of country of migration. This is said having in mind that the potential migrants' choice of country does not correspond with the concentration of current migrants.

Figure 2.6. Desired Duration of Stay in migration



The desired duration of stay in migration fits very well with the reasons for migration and also the likelihood to migrate (Figure 2.1 and 2.3). This is because the desired duration of stay in migration will be for half of the potential temporary migrants and for educational purposes, followed by the group which would migrate for a period of less than five years and then return to home country. However, 26 percent of students are willing to stay longer than 5 years.

Figure 2.7. The goals students aim through migration



According to the survey with students, majority (53 percent) of students are willing to migrate for professional reasons, meaning to excel professionally. The second main goal of migration is considered the financial aspect, while obtaining the citizenship is also an important goal for students. The last one may be important having in mind that having a citizenship of any EU countries, the education and employment opportunities are much larger for EU citizens.

Family members are those who mostly encourage students to migrate. About 70 percent of interviewed students declared that they are encouraged by family members to migrate. On the other hand, the universities they attend in Kosovo also encourage migration for educational purposes, however, only 25 percent of students suggest that they have been encouraged by the university to migrate. Despite being encouraged, students face also barriers for migration. For instance, nearly 83 percent of students believe that obtaining visa represents a significant barrier to migration. This is followed by the expenses and costs related to migration, which represents a barrier for nearly 75 percent of students. Moreover, the process of migration itself is also a barrier keeping in mind the requirements and commitment. Only few students believe that family related reasons are a barrier to migration.

CHAPTER III

RETURNEES AND DIASPORAS

3.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the results of the survey conducted with highly educated and skilled returnees in which, researchers, academics, entrepreneurs, and other highly skilled members of Diaspora, who had returned home having acquired education and/or work experience abroad, were asked about the emigration and return experiences and their intentions to migrate.[38] The target population consisted of 273 members of Diaspora. The electronic questionnaire was sent to 273 Kosovans through Survey Monkey (www.surveymonkey.com) during April and May 2011. Data were collected into five collectors[39] according to the lists created through snowball technique and cooperation with alumni associations and student scholarship agencies. Participants were selected on the criteria for time spent abroad (less than 6 months) and the period of return (less than three months and more than 10 years). There was a 30% response rate (N83) and twenty-seven partially completed questionnaires were returned.40 From the partially completed questionnaires, nine responses were disqualified because respondents did not meet the inclusion criteria for time spent abroad

Majority of the participants in this study (85 percent, N70) belong to scholarship schemes and 15 percent (N13) are self-financing students. These scholarship schemes were provided by international institutions with the intention of supporting human capital development in Kosovo. Beneficiaries would in turn, implement skills, values and practices gained abroad at the institutions and the society in general, thus create both economic and social benefits for Kosovo. For this reason the scholarship contract obliges beneficiary students to return in Kosovo after completing their studies. Besides the return obligation, the EU scholarship benefit is also conditioned with the work for the government institutions for at least one year.

[38] The data included was gathered through means of an electronic survey during April and May, 2011.
[39] A collector is a mailing list created through snowball technique within a specific returnee community
[40] Although the questionnaire had skipping logic to adapt participant profile, it is estimated that 20 participants dropped out from the survey in the second and third section of the survey.

3.2 Background of participants

Participants in the study are characterized by demographic factors: gender, age and marital status. As presented in table 4.1, 55.4 percent of respondents are male and 44.6 percent are female. The average age of participants is 31.24 years old with a standard deviation of 5.230. From nine participants that were married at the time of emigration, only four travelled with spouse. The main reasons for not taking their spouse were: "financial difficulties" and "difficulties to look after children". Twenty-four participants that were not married before emigration are now married and 4 are engaged. 39 percent have children, with 17 having had children after their return, and nine before going abroad.

Table 3.1. General Characteristics returned

	N	Percent
Total	83	100.0
Female	37	44.6
Male	46	55.4
Age		
21-25	10.0	21.7
26-30	28	60.9
31-35	28.0	60.9
36-40	13.0	28.3
41-45	3	6.5
46-50	1.0	2.2
Marital Status		
Single	35.0	76.1
Engaged	5.0	10.9
Married	42.0	91.3
Divorced	1.0	2.2

Of the total sample, 83 percent are residents of Prishtina, the capital of the Republic of Kosovo, while Prizren, Peja, Gjilan are represented with 2 percent each. One percent consists of Ferizaj residents and eight percent are in temporary jobs sent by employer, or just started part time PhD studies outside Kosovo, respectively one in Denmark, three in UK and three in USA. Lastly, 97.6 percent of participants are native Albanian speakers.

There is a ten year range of time that participants had been abroad. As displayed in table 4.2, nearly 41 percent lived abroad for one to three years, while 33.3 percent lived abroad for seven to twelve years; 12.3 percent lived abroad from 3-6 years while 8.6 percent lived abroad for 6-10 years.

Table 3.2. Duration of stay abroad

	N	Percent
1-6 months	2	2.5%
7-12 months	27	33.3%
1-3 years	33	40.7%
3-6 years	10	12.3%
6-10 years	7.0	8.6%
Over 10 years	2.0	2.5%

Survey results indicate high employment rate among returnees with 90.3 percent being employed and only 9.7 percent unemployed, students, or have not responded, Returnees are largely employed in highly paid positions in the reputable institutions. As presented in table 4.3 the survey participants working in Kosovo institutions are either placed in government (16,5 percent) or government agencies and other public institutions (16.5 percent): Central Bank, KOSTT, Airport, Kosovo Pension Trust Fund, Kosovo Privatization Agency and only one participant works in a public school. They are also working in International Institutions (17.7 percent), NGO-s (12.7 percent) and Universities (10 percent). Returnees also reported jobs in other sectors combined with teaching positions at Universities (7.2 percent), Banking sector 3.8 percent and one self employed.

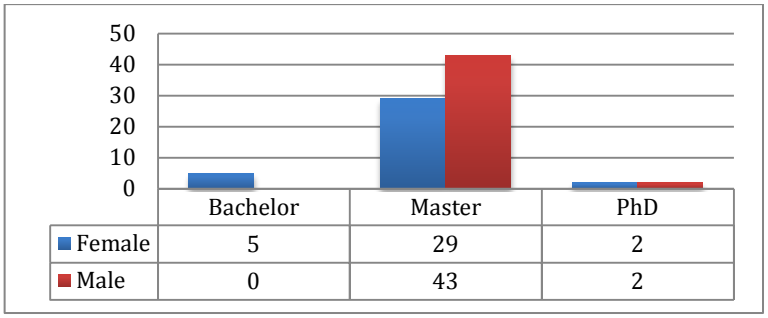
Table 3.3. Current Employment of the Returnees

	In percent
Government	16.50%
Public Sector (Other than Govnt.)	16.50%
Banking Sector	3.80%
International Organization	17.70%
NGO	12.70%
Private Business	7.60%
University of Prishtina	8.80%
Schooling	1.30%
Self-Employed	2.50%
Student	3.80%
Unemployed	1.30%
Not answered	7.50%

Of the total sample, 97 percent participants completed tertiary education: 6 percent obtained bachelor degrees, 86.7 percent master degrees and 4.8 percent doctoral

studies. The remaining 2.4 percent did not respond. Males constituted 53 percent of master degrees in comparison to females who constituted 35.8 percent of master degrees. As shown in figure 3.1, females and males had equal distribution 2.5 percent of doctoral degrees and females constituted 6.2 percent of the bachelor degrees obtained. The results indicate that there is no significant difference between male and female degree obtainment. The most widely spoken second language is English for 95.2 percent participants, followed by Serbo-Croatian 41 percent and German 20 percent.

Figure 3.1. Obtained education



As presented in table 3.4, prior education level of the participants is dominated by university degrees which for the vast majority of participants (97 percent) was certified, which means that they had received diplomas and certificates and they were recognized by the receiving countries.

Table 3.4. Pre-migration preparations for the educated returned migrants

1. Language training	**18.3%**
2. Cultural orientation	4.2%
3. High School	19.7%
4. Vocational Training	7.0%
5. University Studies	77.5%
6. Postgraduate studies	8.5%
7. None	7.0%
8. Other	0.0%

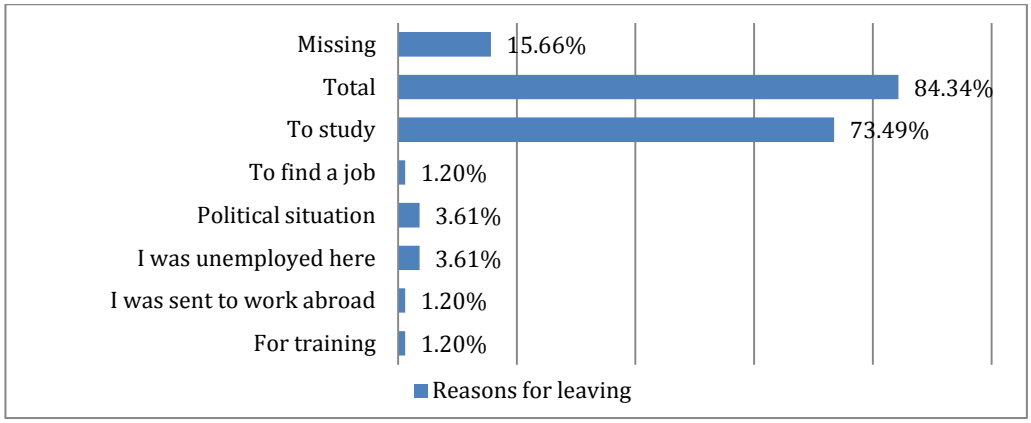
When asked if prior education was useful to find a job and continue studies, 44 percent of participants found prior education being useful to get a job, 13 percent of participants found it as not useful, and 44 percent of participants found it not applicable. However, prior education was useful to study abroad for 87 percent of respondents and not useful only for 3.5 percent of the respondents.

This result can best be understood when we consider the fact that scholarship students (the majority of our respondents) are selected by funding agencies not only for

the prior educational results, but also for their language proficiency, their role in the civil society and their employment at the time of application. Thus, they were considered highly skilled even before going abroad.

The first most important reason to go abroad was to study (73 percent), followed by the political situation (3,6 percent), lack of employment in Kosovo (3.6 percent), and also finding a job, training and sent by employer by 1.2 percent, each.

Figure 3.2. Returned migrants' Reasons for leaving

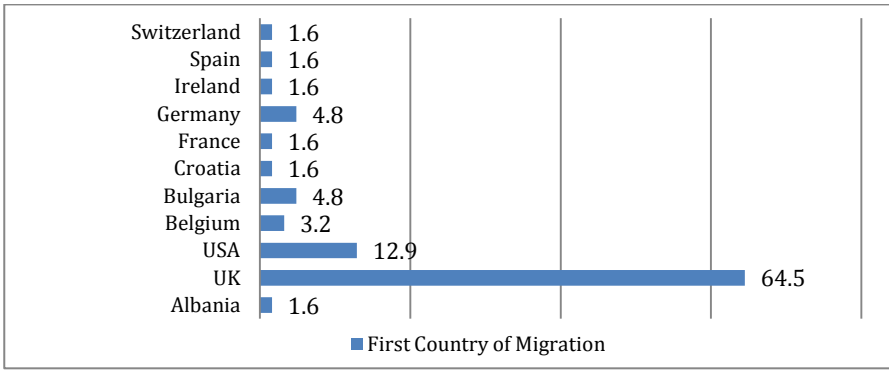


Other reasons mentioned are reported to be the quality of studies abroad, followed by better chances for employment with a foreign diploma, possibility to experience new places, cultures and people, lack of professional development opportunities and non-recognition of talent and education in Kosovo.

3.3. Living Abroad Experience

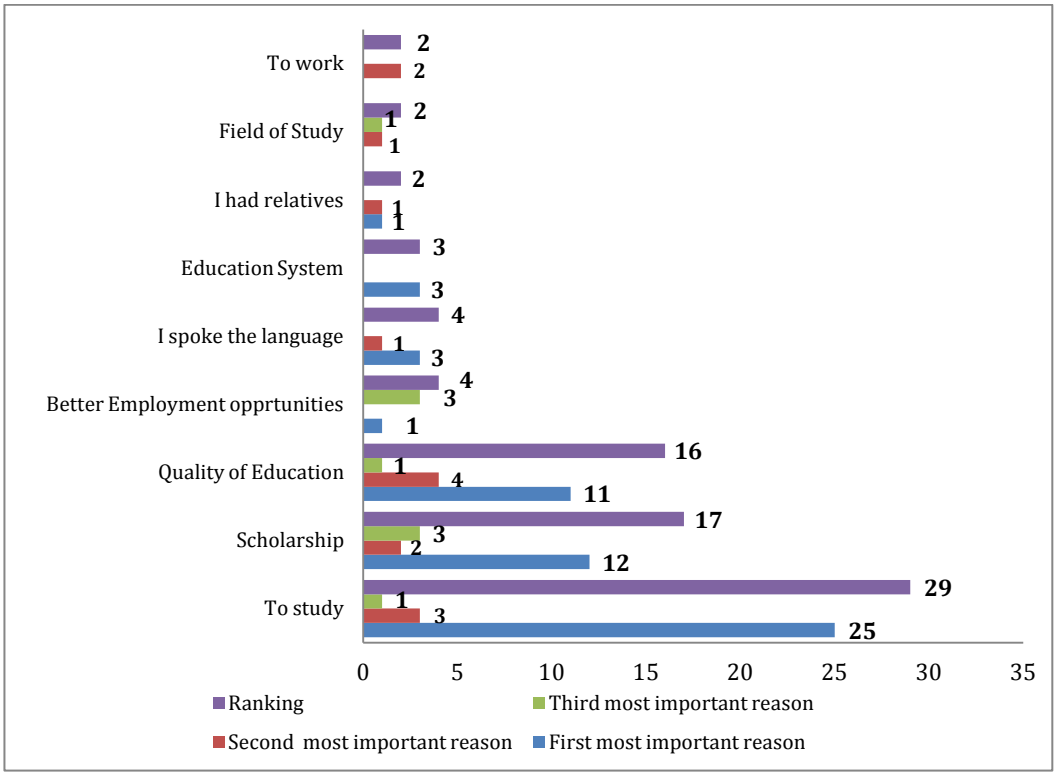
Majority of participants in this study (69 percent) lived in Europe and 12.9% lived in the USA. There are also 25 occurrences (35 percent) of participants living in more than one location. UK has the highest share of participants within Europe with 64.5 percent. Figure 3.3 below shows the distribution of participants according to country they first moved and figure 3.4 depicts ranking of reasons for leaving.

Figure 3.3. First Country of Migration



Participants were asked to rank the three most important reasons for choosing the destination country in free response questions. Responses were coded in categories to calculate ranking. As it is shown in figure 3.4, the main reasons they chose the destination country are: studying, scholarship offer, and quality of education.

Figure 3.4. Rankings for three most important reasons for leaving



These results convey the fact that the destination country was primarily as a result of the scholarship offer for UK and USA scholarship schemes, where in European Commission scholarship schemes students could apply in universities in Europe in programs costing up to 12.000 Euros per year allowing more choices for students (Young Cell Scheme, 2011).

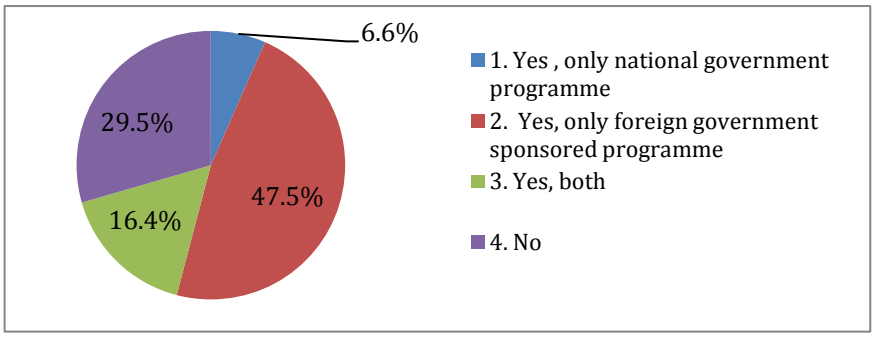
As depicted in table 3.5, nearly half of the participants (44 percent) stayed 2 years abroad, 18 percent stayed 3 years abroad and 13 percent stayed 4 years abroad. Time spend abroad corresponds with the type of education they attended and typical study duration for that type.

Table 3. 5 Number of participant according to country they mostly stayed and time spend there

What is the country you have spent most time in abroad? * How long did you spend there category Crosstabulation											
% OF Total											
	How long did you spend there category										**Total**
Country	<3 months	7-12 months (1 year)	13-24 months (2 years)	25-36 months (3 years)	37-48 months (4 years)	49-60 months (5 years)	61-72 months (6 years)	73-84 months (7 years)	85-96 months (8 years)	>10 years	
99					1.82						**1.82**
Albania								1.82			**1.82**
Belgium			3.64								**3.64**
Bulgaria						3.64					**3.64**
Croatia						1.82					**1.82**
Denmark			1.82								**1.82**
France								1.82			**1.82**
Germany	1.82		1.82	1.82		1.82					**7.27**
Ireland			1.82								**1.82**
Norway					1.82						**1.82**
Spain				1.82							**1.82**
Sweden				1.82							**1.82**
Switzerland					1.82		1.82				**3.64**
UK		3.64	29.09	7.17	7.27				1.82	1.82	**50.91**
USA		1.82	5.45	5.45		1.82					**14.55**
Total	**1.82**	**5.45**	**43.64**	**18.18**	**12.73**	**9.09**	**1.82**	**3.64**	**1.82**	**1.82**	**100.00**

Although names of 71 students were taken from scholarship schemes available information and 13 students were initially considered self-financed, 18 students responding to the survey have indicated that haven't received any financial support to study or live abroad. From the remaining participants, 6.6 percent received funding from the Kosovo government program, 47.5 percent from foreign government programs and 16.4 percent from programs financed by both national and foreign governments. Five of those that haven't received any funding gave corruption as the reason, 3 indicated that it was because of the job they had, and 3 answered that there were no supporting schemes in the countries they went to.

Figure 3.5. Sources of funding



The more years' migrants spend abroad, the more adapted or integrated they are, although this depends also on the purpose of immigration and the contact with the host national. Because, the majority of returnees have immigrated for temporary study purposes with obligation for return, it is important to understand whether they lived in areas where other migrants lived and whether they had contact with local people. It is hypothesized that having contact with local people facilitates their adjustment during their living abroad experience, as well as enhances their attitude towards the country visited. Contacts abroad are considered beneficial for highly skilled returnees, because they can be used for future jobs, research or business initiatives (Goodwin & Nacht, 1988; Horvat, 2004). Contact with host nationals also increases the returnees' possibilities for personal development and language proficiency. Among many competences, living abroad combined with contact with host nationals can develop multi cultural competence and intercultural maturity (King & Baxter Magolda, 2003) intercultural competence (Taylor, 1994) and intercultural sensitivity (lee Olson & Kroeger, 2001). Most importantly, immigration and study abroad experience is acknowledged by the literature as a significant event (Dirkx, Mezirow, & Cranton, 2006;) where new relationships with mentors, students, friends and contacts with new learning and cultural environment can support personal development, individuation and perspective transformation (Cranton & Wright, 2008; Lin & Cranton, 2005)

The results from this study, as depicted in table 3.6, indicate that 54 percent of participants (N 33) reported to have lived in areas with mostly locals, 21. 3 percent (N13) with hardly any migrants, and very little percent of participants reported to have lived in areas with almost all migrants (3.3 %) or mostly migrants (8.2 %/ N5).

Table 3.6. Area where you lived

Answer Options	Percent
1. Almost all migrants	3.3%
2. Mostly migrants	8.2%
3. Equal numbers of migrants and locals	13.1%
4. Mostly locals	54.1%
5. Hardly any migrants at all	21.3%

It should also be mentioned that, students were willing to integrate with the local environment where they lived given that almost all of them reported to have regular contacts with local people, while only 11 percent reported to have neither frequent nor infrequent contact and 31.1 percent not much, and 3 percent not at all.

Although, there is no specification of the quality of contact and the kind of support participants had, other data collected from the same participants suggests that besides normal learning activities, contact with other students (N 10), support from the classmates (N18), support from counsellor in the institution (N21), support from teacher/mentors (N31) and support from others (N 9) have been present and valued by students as important for their development (Qirezi, 2011).

The majority of participants included in the study were enrolled in one to two years master programs with English as an instruction language. More specifically, during their stay abroad, 9 percent of participants attended and completed full time bachelor studies, 60 percent attended and completed master studies (47 in full time mode, one in part time mode and two online-distance mode), 9.6 percent attended and completed doctoral studies (3 in full time mode, 2 in part-time and 3 in distance mode), 1 attended a language course, and 1 attended a vocational training. Table 4.7 shows the type and mode of study they attended abroad.

Table 3.7. Education obtained while abroad

	Percent
University	96.2%
Orientation Training	0.0%
Language Course	1.9%
Vocational Training	1.9%
Workplace Training	0.0%
Other	0.0%

Another description collected was the field of study. It is coded according to Euro stat -ISCED classification Index (Andersson & Olsson, 1999). The majority of returnees (80%) studied social sciences, business, and law (ISCED broad filed nr 3) from which, 51.80 percent studied economics, economy, business management and finance related studies and 14.45 percent studied studies related to law, international relations,

European. Other fields of studies are distributed to the rest of participants in lower percentages. Table 3.8 below shows participants field of study according to ISCED classification.

Table 3.8. Field of Study

Broad	ISCED Code	N	%	ISCED Code	Narrow	N	%	ISCED Code	Detailed	N	%
(Missing)	9	2	2.4%	(Missing)	99	2	2.4%	(Missing)	999	2	2.4
Education	1	3	3.6%	Teacher Trainin and	14	3	3.6%	Education Science	142	2	2.4
Humanities and Arts	2	1	1.2%	Humanities	22	1	1.2%	Education, Sociology and Culture	142-312	1	1.2
Social Sciences, Business and Law	3	67	80.7%	Social Behavial Sciences	31	3	3.6%	Foreign Language and History	222-225	1	1.2
Science, Mathematics and Computing	4	2	2.4%	Journalism and Information	32	3	3.6%	Psychology	311	1	1.2
Engineering, Manufacturing and Construction	5	3	3.6%	Business and Administration	34	23	27.7%	Sociology and Cultural Studies	312	1	1.2
Health and Welafare	7	2	2.4%	Law	38	13	15.6%	Political Science and Civics	313	6	7.2
Services	8	3	3.6%	Mathematics and Statistics	46	2	2.4%	Economics	314	19	22.8
		83	**100**	Engineering and Engineering Trades	52	3	3.6%	Economics and Business Administration	314-345	1	1.2
				Health	72	2	2.4%	Journalism and Reporting	321	2	2.4
				Environmental Protection	85	3	3.6%	Marketing	342	1	1.2
						83	**100**	Economy	340	13	15.6
								Finance, Banking and Reporting	321	2	2.4
								Management and Administration	345	7	8.4
								Culture Management	345-225	1	1.2
								Law	380	12	14.4
								Business Law	380-345	1	1.2
								Mathematics	461	1	1.2
								Statistics	462	1	1.2
								Electronic and Engyneering	522-422	3	3.6
								Medicine	721-421	1	1.2
								Pharmacy	727-345	1	1.2
								Environment Protection	850-345	3	3.6
									Total	**83**	**100.00**

Choice of study is reported to be personal for 88.9 percent of participants, although, very often scholarship schemes specify the study fields in cooperation with the funding agency or government. As for the reason to study abroad, 3.6 percent of participants reported to have been encouraged by others, 2.4 percent wanted just to go

abroad, and 3.6 percent because of the grades they obtained previously. Other reasons mentioned were the need for experts in particular profession, better chances for career and personal development, political situation and attraction by the study programs.

Another important setting for socializing, cultural immersion and settling abroad, is workplace. Working abroad provides another opportunity for participants to integrate in the host country and better understand people and culture. In addition to that and besides financial benefits, work experience boosts self-confidence and practical competence in a particular professional field.

The survey shows that only 14 participants worked while living abroad. This is the case, because participants in the study received financial support (scholarship) that covered living expenses in the host country, health insurance and in some case academic preparation (Young Cell Scheme, Staffordshire). They worked in various types of work including jobs in business corporations, international organizations, university and other jobs. Eleven of them changed work and only 5 indicated that there was time when they couldn't find work while abroad. Specifically, 22 participants reported to have worked from 0-10 hours per week, 4 participants 11-20 hours per week, 3 participants 21-30 hours per week, 3 participants 31-40 hours per week, 7 participants 41-50 hours per week, and only one more than 51 hours per week. This result indicates that some of participants worked in part-time jobs although they received scholarships.

All participants responded that they have kept contact with Kosovo and majority of them visited Kosovo at least once or once a year. Only 5 participants indicated that they haven't visited Kosovo at all during their stay abroad. Only 10 participants sent money home, 7 of them once a year, 2 of them once a month and one less than a year. They mainly send money to parents or siblings (N9), for living expenses (N 3), for house and furniture, and for education (N 3).

3.4. Experience back in the country of origin and future intentions

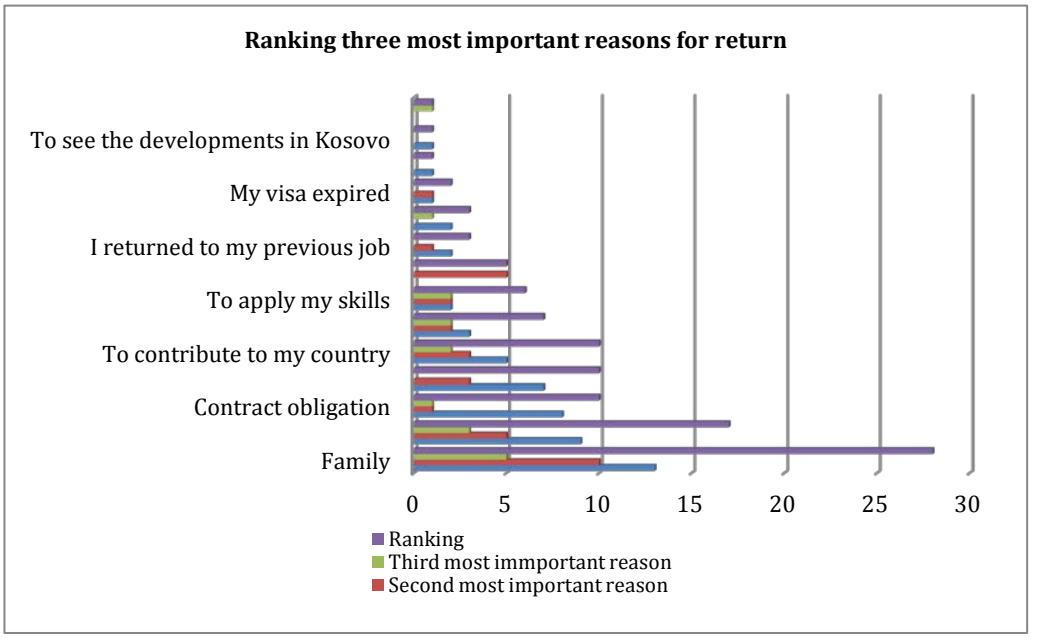
3.4.1 Return Experience

Literature on study abroad experience more frequently addresses the experiences of sojourners in host country rather than the reentry experience in their home country. The culture shock and reverse culture shock (Guklahom and Gullahorn, 1963) usually refers to the initial process of adjustment in host country and moving back

home. While the first is associated with the complexity of individual, social and academic challenges the sojourner faces when moving abroad, the second is associated with the adjustment process affected by the new cultural identity, social status and other psychologically related variables. Reentry is accompanied with positive and negative feelings. Research on re-entry has found several factors that may influence repatriation, including : gender, age, personality, marital status, socio economic status, prior intercultural experience, cultural distance, length of sojourn, time since return, contact with host and home country, attitudes towards them in home country and housing conditions (Sussman,1986;Szkudlarek,2010).

As shown in figure 3.6, for the participants in our study the leading reason for return is reported to be family, followed by possibility to work, contract obligation and the will to return and contribute to the country. However, the statement that they were obliged to return and that they have completed their studies doesn't necessary reveal if they would stay, if they were given the chance.

Figure 3.6. Ranking of three most important reasons for return



Only three participants received re-entry support. The programs they mention are: IOM returnee support program and OSI/SOROS Return Scholar Fellowship. The main reasons for not benefiting from any return support were: " because of the work I do"

(N11), " there are no such schemes" (N6), " these schemes are not for people like me" (N7), " these schemes are corrupted" (N7) and " not informed", " my contract did not foresee it", " I was guaranteed a work in public institutions", I returned to my previous job" I didn't need such support". Only five participants received pension or social security, and the main reason for that is they did not contribute to such schemes or were not eligible.

Only 14 participants brought money home and they mainly used it for: living expenses (N11), education (N4) and to buy property (N3). However, 93.65 percent (N 52) have worked since their return. In most cases they have found a job immediately (N36) or within six months. Only two have reported that couldn't find a job. The main methods used to find a job were responding to notifications and sending CV-s to employers. From the 16 responses indicating other methods, 4 indicated contract obligation and 6 returned to previous jobs.

The majority of participants (90%, N49) stated that the experience abroad helped them to find a job. Education was considered most helpful for 64 percent (N34) of participants, followed by experience in general for 34 percent of participants (N18) and skills at work for 2% of participants (N1). Nevertheless, other data collected by the Riinvest Institute researchers from the same participants indicates that the education experience abroad for some participants not only developed professional knowledge and skills, but also challenged the existing world views (Qirezi, 2011).

Participants were asked to express re-entry feelings compared to the time before they left as feeling much worse than before they left, worse off than before they left, about the same as before they left, better than before they left, and much better than before they left. Responses, as depicted in table 3.9, are distributed similarly in these response choices and among male and female participants. Although, the sample was very small to perform a statistical analysis for any of the factor variables, there seems to be no relationship with age, gender and marital status, duration of stay and time of return of the respondents. The most frequent explanation for feeling much better or better off are: securing a better job (N8), feeling more competent than before (N5) and living near family and friends (N4). Feeling worse or much worse is influenced by the lack of possibilities for self actualization, or doing the job they are trained for (N4), absence of

western life style or living standards found in the host country (N3), disappointment with political situation and progress in the country (N3), and level of corruption and nepotism (N3). There are several references for difficulties to re-integrate and sensing lack of belonging such as being more critical than before, caring for quality of work, and caring for environment.

Table 3.9. Re-entry feelings

	Gender		Gende
Answer Options	**Male**	**Female**	**Response Percent**
1. Much better off than before you left	7	7	25.9%
2. Better off than before you left	8	6	25.9%
3. About the same as before you left	8	6	25.9%
4. Worse off than before you left	3	5	14.8%
5. Much worse off than before you left	4	0	7.4%

3.4.2 Intentions to migrate

Majority of participants 75 percent (N45) are considering moving abroad again. Intention to move abroad is not related with gender and it seems that those feeling worse of or much worse after return are more inclined to migrate again, although it is important to note that the sample was too small to make these inferences.

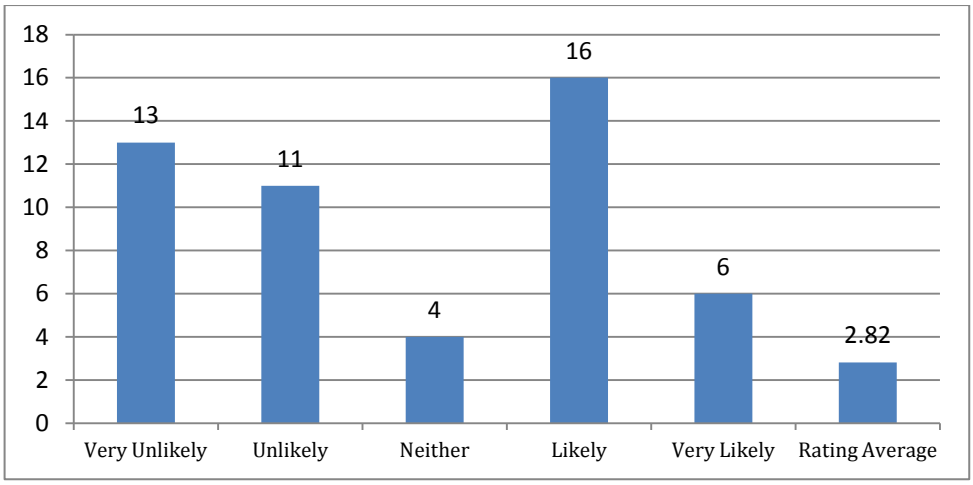
Participants were asked how likely they will leave Kosovo within six months and within 2 years, and the results as table 3.10 shows revealed that the most likely time - line for migration is reported to be next two years.

Table 3.10. Likelihood of migration

	Very unlikely	**Quite unlikely**	**Neither likely nor unlikely**	**Quite likely**	**Very likely**	**Rating Average**	**Response Count**
Next 6 months	21	7	3	8	8	2.47	47
Next two years	4	9	6	12	6	3.19	37
answered question							51
skipped question							32

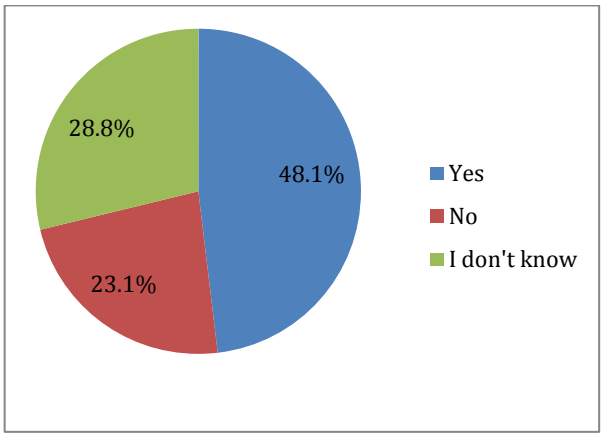
The most frequent reasons mentioned by participants to move abroad are the intention to continue further studies abroad, better living standards, and better employment and development opportunities. Other reasons mentioned are appreciation of quality and talent, more functional institutions, healthier environment, quality of education for themselves and for their children.

Figure 3.7. Likelihood of migration



The destination country is the same of the sojourn, mainly because of the contacts they have and further education opportunities. Participants also have indicated that they believe it is likely that they could find a job in the destination country. The most important finding is that 48 percent of the participants in this study are able to finance their move themselves.

Figure 3.8 Ability to finance migration



CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The migration experience for in this study is investigated from a different viewpoint. First, it attempts to identify the likelihood of students to migrate and the expectations of the students for migration experience, and second it reviews the experience of returnees in the home country. Another approach to get an insight on the topic was the view of the main stakeholders. The three methods and the results of the surveys suggest that migration patterns are continuously changing. The changes are in the context which in long term may be beneficial for the economy of Kosovo. This is because many of those who have had migration experiences, especially studying abroad and returned to home country are in general well positioned in terms of employment. Moreover, the students who would wish to migrate consider migration only for short-term period and aim to return right after they finish their education. These movements would benefit the economy of Kosovo mostly if the educated return to the home country, but also those working abroad bringing their know-how and work experience to the country.

The findings overall suggest that education and employment are the two main drivers for migration, while the latter is especially emphasized with the lower income families. In terms of the duration of stay, students expect to migrate few years which is also reflected by their aims of migration. This is because, those considering migration for education, have a goal of excelling professionally. However, those considering migration have not made concrete preparations, but instead, have only obtained general information about the process. Of the returned, majority are students who have finished their education abroad and returned to Kosovo. The level of the education of most of them is Master, while bachelor and PhD to a lesser extent. Moreover, most of the returned have migrated for educational purposes also since they finished their bachelor education in Kosovo. A significant number of the educated abroad benefited from special designed programs either from local or foreign governments or other foreign agencies that provided scholarships for students. Various factors affected the decision to return, however, predominantly family reasons and work related reasons were the main drivers for return of the educated to home country. Especially the work related reasons suggest a relatively good opportunities in the economy for the foreign educated students. Moreover, about half of the returned consider their overall well-being better than before leaving the

country, while 1/4th considers that they are in a similar situation, while about 1/4th percent considers it worse. However, concerning remains that a significant proportion of the returned still consider moving abroad again. Intentions to move abroad are generally related with the group of returned who feel worse off compared after the returned. Of the other groups, many consider migration to continue studies.

Given the return and the employability of students who studies abroad, it may be considered that the process of migration for the returned was a brain gain for the country. However, it should be pointed out that many of the participants view some obstacles upon their return, especially in implementing their new qualifications they have acquired and still, the lack of the overall influence in the society. Also, having in mind that many of the returned have had also contractual arrangements with the financing institutions of their education, it may be considered that such contractual arrangements and incentives are a good strategy to turn an investment in education in brain gain for the country.

By the stakeholders' survey, the data suggests that migration in could be considered as an opportunity for the economy of Kosovo, given the high unemployment rate in the economy and the lack of the capacities to absorb the continuously growing labor force. Migration from Kosovo by the stakeholders and experts is viewed more as a brain gain and an opportunity, rather than brain drain and a problem for the economy. This is especially having in mind that in long term, as migrants go abroad they acquire new skills and know-how, they may return and hence bring to the home country the new experiences, especially those of developed countries.

On the involvement of the migrants into Kosovo's economy, there have been several successful examples, with fewer unsuccessful cases. Many of the stakeholders and experts suggest specific policy measures which would increase their role into Kosovo's economy, especially having in mind the migrants' accumulated capital in the destination countries.

The recommended improvements into attracting a higher flow of migrants capital into the economy are of various natures. For instance, among the first improvements relates with the infrastructure in Kosovo, especially the supply of

electricity. Banking Sector is represents also a field where significant improvements could be undertaken and that relates to the deposit schemes as well as lending interest rates which at the current stage are considered very high to undertake investment activities. Another opportunity is the trade activity that Diaspora could induce. This is especially related to the investment activities of migrants in Kosovo, considering them as a very viable way of increasing exports in few areas. First, because migrants who invested have potential to export products to their destination countries, mainly targeting their compatriots. Second, the local populations of each country as a targeted market, especially if well known brands are created in Kosovo which would also promote the country at international level. Third the increased trading activity with foreign companies who in many cases are business partners in the destination countries. The last would also be very beneficial for the economy of Kosovo given that migrants businesses may signal a friendly business environment for foreign companies as well.

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APPENDIX 2.1

Table 2.2. Empirical Model on the likelihood to migrate

VARIABLES	Migration for Education	Migration for Employment	Migration to live in another country
Age	0.0463	0.00495	-0.446***
	(0.148)	(0.150)	(0.168)
Age^2	-0.00130	0.000962	0.00752***
	(0.00249)	(0.00253)	(0.00288)
Gender (1=Female)	-0.213	-0.375***	-0.219
	(0.132)	(0.136)	(0.154)
Marital Status (1=Married)	-0.641**	0.0261	0.608**
	(0.275)	(0.234)	(0.253)
Performance1 (1=Average)	1.032***	-0.446	0.0157
	(0.391)	(0.276)	(0.333)
Performance2 (1=Above Average)	1.355***	-0.512*	-0.456
	(0.404)	(0.293)	(0.360)
Income and Economic Conditions (1=Low)	-0.923***	0.866***	0.354
	(0.269)	(0.238)	(0.275)
Income and Economic Conditions (1=Average)	-0.588***	-0.170	-0.177
	(0.164)	(0.174)	(0.198)
University Encouraged Migration (1=Yes)	0.129	0.0921	0.130
	(0.143)	(0.147)	(0.167)
Relatives Encouraged Migration (1=Yes)	-0.232*	0.0555	-0.109
	(0.140)	(0.150)	(0.167)
Constant	-1.446	-1.005	4.994**
	(2.192)	(2.167)	(2.414)
Observations	1,184	1,184	1,184

PART TWO

Brain Circulation and the Role of Diasporas in the Balkans – Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia

Macedonia Country Report

Abdulmenaf Sejdini, Hristina Cipusheva, Luljeta Sadiku

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CHAPTER I

CONTEXT OF THE COUNTRY: MACEDONIA

1.1. Introduction

The process of transition from a socialist to a market economy in Macedonia has been long and remains unfinished. Individuals and companies alike have had to cope with the challenge of adjusting to a new economic, political, legal and social environment. As in many transition countries, a significant number of citizens found better prospects in the developed world, mainly in Europe. Several factors led to the increase in the number of emigrants (Markiewics, 2006; Mughal et al., 2009; Petkovski et al., 2012). The most prominent among these are: high levels of structural unemployment, continued poverty, and painful reforms affecting different groups of society differently.

Table 1: Quick Fact Sheet

Country	Macedonia
Resident Population	**2,060,563**
Stock of emigrants (2010)	**370,826**
Stock of emigrants as % of population (2010)	**21.9%**
Remittances as a share of GDP (2010)	**4.5%**

Source: **World Bank. (2011). Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011**

However, emigration from Macedonia is not a new phenomenon. Its roots lie in the Balkans wars of 1912-1913 and the First World War when a huge number of Macedonian citizens left the homeland (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2007).However, one can say that the type, source, regional and ethnic origin of migration have changed substantially over the years as a result of socio-economic and political developments in the country, the latest being the demise of the former Yugoslavia. Significant demographic, political, and socio-economic changes attended the breakup of the former Yugoslavia. It is to these changes that we now turn..

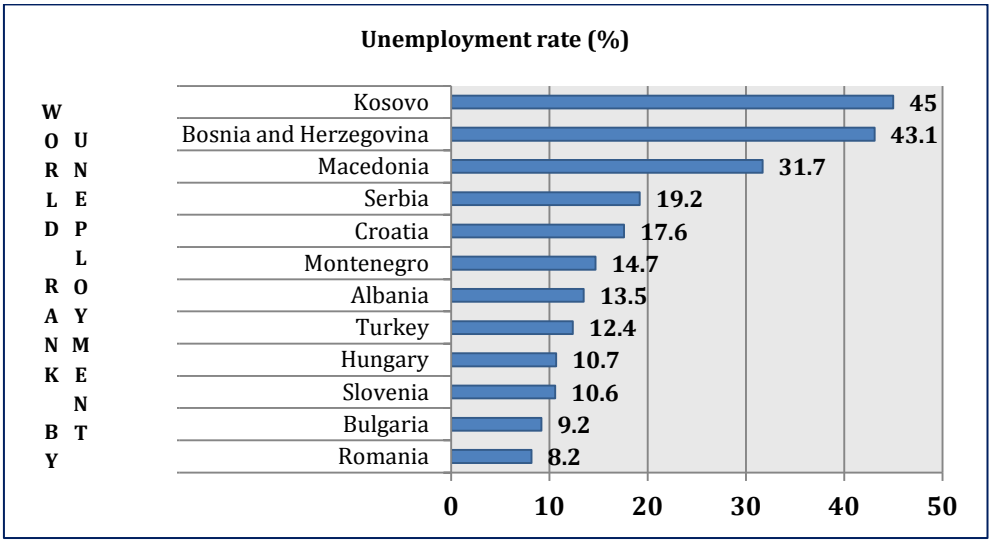
1.2. Transition to the market economy in Macedonia

In the early 1990's, when Macedonia gained its independence from former Yugoslavia, the Macedonian economy was ranked as a lower income economy by the World Bank thanks to the transformational recession that afflicted many transition economies. Beginning in 1996, the Macedonian economy began to show signs of recovery, with the real growth increase from 1.2 percent in 1996 to 4.5 percent in 2000. The ethnic conflict between the majority Macedonian and the minority Albanian population reversed the growth trend temporarily to -4.5 percent in 2001. Following

the Ohrid Agreement, the economy resumed its positive growth. Over the last 10 years, Macedonia has had an average of 3 percent growth rate. The highest growth rate of 6.1 percent was recorded in 2007. Increase in exports and higher household consumption are said to be the main contributors to this upsurge in GDP growth (see Table 2). While several indicators have shown significant improvement, the recent global financial crisis has had a dampening effect on the growth rate as the import demand for the metal and textile products, the main export earners for the country, declined. As a result, the GDP growth in 2009 was again negative at -0.9 percent. The economy slowly started to recover in 2010 as real GDP grew by 1.8 percent.

As in many ex-socialist economies, employment growth lagged behind output recovery. Thus, even though the real GDP in Macedonia went up in 2007 and in the first half of 2008, it wasn't accompanied with a significant increase in employment. The 0fficial unemployment rate is above one third of the labor force. During the post transition period, even today, the labor market and its dimensions in Macedonia are far from clear. In contrast to the other transitional South and East European (henceforth SEE) countries, Macedonia has one of the highest unemployment rates.

Figure 1:



Even though many programs have been implemented by domestic and donor financing assistance, still the high unemployment remains a serious problem. Although, the priority of economic policies of the government is the reduction of

unemployment, it declines slowly. Thus, the long term problems of unemployment and the emergence of migration are positively related, since a great number of populations are seeking alternative destinations for employment.

Over the last decade, pressure from international organizations has forced Macedonian government to a fostered macroeconomic stability and prudent fiscal discipline, with low inflation and a stable foreign exchange rate for the national currency "Denar". In contrast to other countries of former Yugoslavia, the Republic of Macedonia has attracted only modest inflow of Greenfield Foreign Direct Investments (FDI), with only a small impact on the expansion of output and exports (Mughal et al., 2009).

Table 2: Selected Macroeconomic Indicators of Republic of Macedonia (2000-2009)

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Real GDP growth (%)	4.4	5.0	6.1	5.0	-0.9	1.8
Average inflation rate	0.5	3.2	2.3	8.3	-0.8	1.6
Budget balance (% of GDP)	0.2	-0.5	0.6	-1.0	-2.8	-2.5
Current account balance (% of GDP)	-1.5	-0.4	-7.2	-13.1	-9.1	-2.2
GDP Per Capita (in EUR)	2,363	2,564	2,919	3,283	3,253	3,376
Nominal GDP (millions of EUR)	4,814	5,231	5,965	6,720	6,677	6,944
Consumption (% of GDP)	6.5	5.9	6.9	6.0	-0.7	-
FDI (% of GDP)	1.7	6.8	8.7	6.1	2.7	-
Unemployment rate	37.3	36.0	34.9	33.8	32.2	32.1

Source: NBRM, Ministry of Finance and State Statistical Office

In recent years, Macedonia has undertaken significant reforms of some economic aspects. These include tax system reforms and inspiring the development of the entrepreneurial sector. As reflected in the Doing Business Index, Macedonia scores favourably in terms of the ease of doing business relative to other countries in the region, ranking 38th out of 183 countries (DB, 2011). The country is among the 20 top countries in the world for investors' protection and has been upgraded to 14th position in the ease of paying taxes. It takes 3 days for a firm to get registered. Thus, the regulatory hurdles for business start up have been minimized and are the lowest in the region.

The freedom score of Macedonia is 66, making its economy the 55th freest according to the 2011 index. Its overall score has increased by 0.3 point compared to the previous year reflecting improvements in freedom from corruption and monetary freedom (DB, 2011).

Besides structural reforms, further integration and alignment with the European Union need to be reached (EU Commission assessment, 2011). Membership of the European Union is the highest strategic interest and priority for the Republic of Macedonia. This is an objective shared by an overwhelming majority of Macedonian citizens and all political parties. The dispute with Greece over the name of the country has slowed down the process of integration.

1.3. Migration and remittances

For more than a century, Macedonia has experienced many emigration spikes as a consequence of economic, social, ethnic and political factors.

Significant emigration flows can be traced back to the 19th century, when poor living conditions and high unemployment led to the "pechalbarstvo"[41] phenomenon – i.e. emigration of mainly unskilled males. Economic hardships and the political turmoil of the early 20th century resulted in a second wave of emigration. Estimates show that at this time around 30.000 (Gaber & Jolevska, 2004; p. 100) fled Macedonia mainly, to Bulgaria and a small number to USA, Canada, and Australia. A third wave of forced migration attended the end of the Balkan wars and division of Macedonia between Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. The Bulgarian government estimated that out of a total of 111.560 refugees that fled to Bulgaria, about 50.000 were from Macedonia (CRPM, 2007: p. 6).

After World War I, there was a new wave of migration caused by state initiated common policies of the forced deportation and so-called voluntary exchanges of populations *(ibid)*.

1.3.1. Migration from 1945 onwards

After World War II, Macedonia became an independent entity as one of the six federal members of the Socialist Federation of Yugoslavia. This new socio-economic regime, though temporary, did not change the trends, but changed the motives and

[41] *Directly translated 'pechalbar' means 'money earner'*

incentives of migration. Although the economic conditions did not improve much, the policies of social equity and income redistribution reduced unemployment and consequently, the economic motive behind migration was less eminent. However, migration continued to take place, namely, between 1940 and 1950 Macedonians that were expelled from Greece during the civil war of 1947-1949, found refuge in socialist Macedonia.

From 1948 to 1959, a significant number of the Macedonian Muslim population of Turks and Albanians migrated to Turkey which might be related to the worsened economic conditions reflected in the high unemployment rate visible during the two decades of the establishment of the Yugoslavian socialist federation, with its unique participatory socialism (which included some elements of the market system). In a preceding period, the 1963 Skopje earthquake created a migration wave to Australia, USA and Canada.

Macedonian citizens began to emigrate to Western European counties during the late 1960s and early 1970s as guest workers, in response to the demand for cheap and unskilled labor. Thus, until the mid-1970s, migration was relatively low skilled. Over time, this migration profile changed from unskilled to more skilled labor. A significant number of young Macedonians, mainly Albanians, began to migrate to European countries, especially to Germany as guest workers, or "gastarbeiter". Most of these 'guest workers' were Albanians that chose to emigrate for prospects of higher income and jobs due to the unavailability of employment at home. This emigration wave slowed down, when European countries imposed more restrictive migration policies, in comparison to Australia, Canada and USA.

At the beginning of 1991, Macedonia became an independent country, resulting in a changed political and economic system. It set for itself the goal of integration with the EU. The disorganization and transformational recession, following the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, increased the emigration flows and changed the profile of the emigrants. Therefore, more skilled and more educated workers began to search for their destiny abroad.

As for the actual number of emigrants, there is little agreement among scholars. Counting the Macedonians abroad can prove a daunting exercise. There are

several sources that provide data on emigrants. The problematic aspect is that the numbers differ even when these various sources cite, apparently, the same original source. The State Statistical Office underestimates the number of emigrants, because very small numbers of those who intend to stay abroad for more than 3 months report their absence to the Ministry of Interior. Table 3 presents the latest estimates from the World Bank.

Table 3. Migration snapshot of R. Macedonia, 2010

EMIGRATION, 2010	**Macedonia**
Stock of emigrants	447,100
Stock of emigrants as % of population	21.9%
Top 10 destination countries	Italy, Germany, Australia, Switzerland, Turkey, Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, France, Canada

Source: World Bank (2011). Migration and Remittances Factbook, 2011.

With the aim of estimating a more comprehensive and accurate number of Macedonian emigrants abroad, we compared two main data sources, namely, R. Macedonia Migration Profile (2008) and the latest migration profile done by IOM (2007). According to government figures, Macedonia has 443.726 migrants abroad and according to the IOM migration profile, there are 334.560 Macedonian migrants living abroad. Thus, the IOM figure is about 100.000 less in comparison with the government figure. Consequently, we can argue that in overall, the total number of emigrants from Macedonia is somewhere between 400 and 500 thousand.

As for the destination countries, Macedonian emigrants are scattered in more than 25 countries around the world. However, most of the emigrants to Europe are concentrated in Italy, Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, while overseas emigrants mostly live in Australia, USA, and Canada.

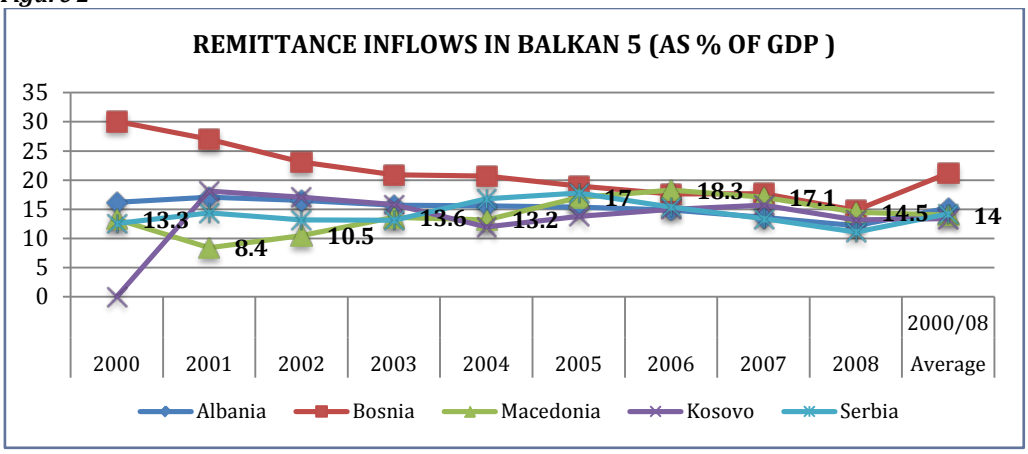
Migration and remittances tend to have a twin mirror relationship. As people move, so does money, albeit in the opposite direction. Workers' remittances are vital to a significant number of Balkan countries' households, including Macedonia. Although predominantly a source of consumption and fulfilment of current vital needs, recently, there is evidence that remittances have also modestly become a source of short and long-term investment.

Remittances played a major role in sustaining the citizens of Macedonia during the conflict time in 2001 and in recent years, they have continued to uphold the

living standards, while also contributing substantially to the country's economic growth and macroeconomic stability.

The significance of remittances for a country can be measured in terms of a variety of ratios, such as the ratio of remittances to GDP, the ratio of remittances to trade balance and the ratio of remittances to FDI respectively. The ratio of remittances to GDP indicates the importance of remittances as a source of income for the receiving economy. The ratio of remittances to trade balance illustrates their importance in financing external imbalances, whereas the ratio of remittances to FDI illustrates their importance relative to the source of external financing that is normally considered as the most sound in terms of long-term macroeconomic sustainability.

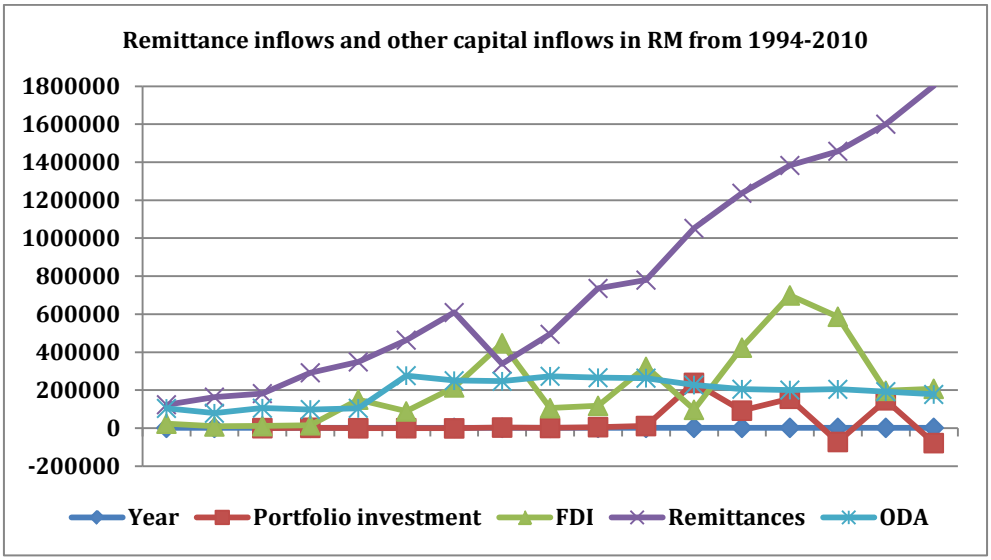
Figure 2



Source: Own calculations from WDI 2009 and respective central banks data. A: for Macedonia this data is Private transfers' data

Figure 2 indicates that all of the regional countries on average have received remittances more than 10 percent of their GDP. Observed comparatively, we can see that Bosnia and Albania have higher remittances to GDP ratio than Serbia, Macedonia and Kosovo. The ratio in all 5 countries is between 5 percent and 20 percent. When we look at the individual country, we can clearly see that Bosnia has experienced a higher decrease relative to the other countries, starting from 30 percent in 2000 and ending up with 14.8 percent, respectively.

Figure 3



Source: Own calculations based on NBRM data

It is obvious from figure 3 that remittances have played a very significant role in the balance of payments and the foreign exchange revenues of Macedonia. The figure shows that in the observed period, remittances accounted for 15 to 20 percent of Macedonian trade deficit and after the year 2000, remittances have exceeded FDI for more than one time, a fact that deserves close attention.

CHAPTER II

STUDENT INTENTIONS TO MIGRATE OR STAY

"…The world is in motion: people and ideas, products, technologies and diseases are travelling between regions and continents. Cities and cultures as well as family and labour market relations are changing in these processes of globalization. The movement of people is only one factor among others generating change, but one whose importance will rise over the next years…"[42]

[42] *http://www.settling-into-motion.org*

2.1. Introduction

In the era of globalization, the movement of people is a natural process. People are free to move, even though countries have a sovereign right to determine the conditions of entry and stay in their territories.

The developing countries could not stop the migration of the highly-skilled and highly-educated people to the more developed countries. This concept is usually perceived in a negative aspect for the developing country, though there are many benefits on micro (individual and household basis), as well as on macro (country basis) level, which may be attributed to the migration outflow of highly educated (skilled) individuals. The micro effect of highly educated migration on the domicile country could be noticed mainly through transfer of remittances, therefore in potential improvement of the household income, and consumption, education and health; and the macro effect is reached by transfer of remittances, reduction of unemployment rate, advancement of educational standards, reduction of social security transfers.

This chapter does not treat the whole issue of brain drain, but it focuses on the potential migration of highly educated people by analysing students' consideration to emigrate after finishing their tertiary education.

When it comes to student migration, the developing countries are supporting the idea of student mobility for the students to be able to advance their knowledge and skills, and to transfer that knowledge and skills in the domicile country when they come back. But, when temporary or permanent migration is considered, the countries' polices are directed towards preventing migration, since they do not want to lose the "brains" in which they invested during the educational process. The same policy applies to the highly qualified labor force.

The question that is always in the focus of the migration issue is whether the benefits of the export of a country's labor force skills and knowledge outweigh the loss of human capital.

Upon completing their studies, students become significant resources of human capital, essential for the development of the country. However, according to the human capital theory, individuals prefer to live in a country with the highest net utility.

The Republic of Macedonia has faced dramatic structural changes in the last two decades, since gaining its independence from former Yugoslavia. The transformation of the economy from planned to free-market, as well as the transformation of the political system from centralized to democratic, was done in order to support the development of a modern society, resulting in open markets, a competitive real sector and higher efficiency and employability. This development has reflected changes in the educational system to generate high quality human profiles that can sustain these changes. Those changes were evident in an increase of the number of tertiary education institutions (public and private) and the number of enrolled students. Although *"the offer"* is considered greater than is needed in such a small country, such as Macedonia with a 2 million population, still more and more students are going to foreign countries to seek quality education and to gain from greater opportunities offered in more developed countries.

The aim of this research is to study the migration potential of Macedonian students and to construct a profile of the potential student migrant. Even though in the past decades, the problem is estimated to be one of the country's high priorities, little is known about this specific group of potential migrants. The study has the ambition of contributing to fulfilling the gap in the local literature. Although there are some limitations stressed at the end of the chapter, still the survey provided helpful information on intentions, reasons, push and pull factors for potential migration, as well as on potential demographic and socio-economic defects that may generate policy recommendations directed towards using the influence of highly educated migration, and project their pre-emigration and post-emigration behaviour.

2.2. Theoretical background

Recent scholarship has shown that international student migration should be treated with the same attention as other forms of human mobility and that it is much less a matter of choice than people believe.

According to some scholars (Bauer and Zimmermann, 1999; Kalter, 1997), there are two major economic reasons why young people are considered to be more

mobile than older people. The first reason is that they have greater chances for return of investment, taking into consideration the "debt repayment period" related to their investment in migration. The second reason is that they have superior probability to find jobs in the destination country, even though they do not have working experience, since they are open to finding low qualified and low paid jobs. The young are much more mobile and eager to leave the home country, if they feel discouraged with the circumstances and opportunities that exist. They can integrate in the destination country with much fewer difficulties than older people.

According to Papademetriou (1991), the international migration of skilled human capital results from the complex interplay of economic, political, social, cultural, linguistic, and even religious forces. In addition, Dzimbo (2003) adds psychological factors to the equation, such as an environment conducive to professional autonomy in the universities, the research institutes and the workplace, and differences in individual's personality, goals, and personal history. Still, it is very hard to predict how these factors combine in order to result in a migration flow *(ibid).*

The theory of Hoffmann and Nowotny, treating the concept of the migration potential, suggests that migration depends on the interaction between two factors, the structural factor (the development differentials between nations) and the cultural factor, which measures the influence of "Western" values. Therefore, "*… if both factors' impact is high, then individuals conclude that migration is a favourable strategy of social upward mobility…*" (Kälin and Moser, 1989: p.29).

Among the main factors responsible for student mobility are: the conditions in the home country, such as the educational system, the labor market development and capacity, uncertainty about the future, technological development, the living standard in the country, as well as political unrest, armed conflict, lack of realistic manpower policies, and economic instability (Chang, 1999). Among the factors that attract people are the personal and the professional opportunities in the host country, such as favorable immigration policies for better-educated people, wage differentials, differences in the quality of life, and educational opportunities for children, interaction with other professionals, political stability, and job security (Hillman and Weiss, 1999; Portés, 1991). In order to deal with the migration of highly educated and highly skilled human capital, these issues must be treated as well (Zimmermann, 1996).

There are students who use international mobility in order to obtain international careers and to develop their knowledge by studying in locations which have a global reach or has a recognized niche in the global production system (King et al., 2004).

Still, student mobility is highly influenced by the availability of financial support (OECD, 2002). In addition, student mobility is restricted to those who have better educational performance.

There is a growing attraction for students as highly educated migrants, resulting in a positive trend of recruiting and retaining them in the host countries, prioritized by the OECD countries. Several considerations make international students an attractive human resource in the host countries. First, they could contribute to the better demographic balance in the developed countries, and fill the growing gap in the national demographic structure due to population aging. Second, they possess good employee characteristics – good host country language skills, advanced qualifications in the field, adaptability, readiness to accept lower paid jobs. Studies have shown that there are big differences in tertiary sectors among developed and developing countries, concerning academic quality, so that is why in general, the host countries prefer migrants who have studied there, not other migrants.

Many host countries have designed programs to attract international students to stay after their completion of studies, tailoring permanent and temporary visa categories to make the transition from education to employment much easier for foreign students. Therefore, students often stay in the host countries after finishing their education.

According to Glover (2001), the positive externalities of student migration are visible through benefits in intangible human and social capital, diversity and payment of taxes in the host countries. Negative externalities appear mainly in labour congestion and the consumption of public services.

As stressed by King (2002: 98-9), student migration is an important component of the *'…new map of European migration…'* and international student mobility is placed within a broader set of youth migration motivated less by traditional economic factors and more by a mixture of educational/ leisure/ experiential/ travel goals" (King and Ruiz-Gelices, 2003).

Students are strategically a very important population group in terms of migration.

2.3. The sample design and characteristics of the sampled population

The survey on students in The Republic of Macedonia aimed to examine the profile of the student as a potential migrant and draw some conclusions about the potential migration of the surveyed population. Specifically, it was conducted in order to see the correlation between the personal characteristics of the student, such as age, gender, year of study, academic performance and ethnic affiliation, student network and relationship with migrants, as well as the economic status of the family, the socio-economic and political conditions on one side, and on the other side, the propensity to migration – for education, for employment and to settle and live in another country.

The survey was conducted through a random selection of groups of students and fields of study in the pre-final and final year of undergraduate studies in all public and main private universities, since these students are close to graduation and will enter the labor market in the near future. The survey period was set between February – June, 2011 using an anonymous, self-administrative questionnaire. The sample consists of 1040 full-time students, therefore representing around 1.8 percent of the student population. The details about the distribution of the students in universities and faculties are given in the table below:

Table 1. The distribution of the sample by university

University	Frequency	Percent
University Goce Delcev	148	14
University St. Cyril and Methodius	125	12
University St. Clement Ohridski	245	24
SEEU	155	15
University of Tetovo	257	25
FON University	110	11
Total	**1040**	**100.0**

The distribution of the students by faculties demonstrate that both social and natural sciences, as well as humanities are covered in the survey, since all of them could produce highly qualified profiles that could turn out to be potential migrants. The survey included students from fields of studies with greater likelihood of emigrating, such as economics, medicine and technology.

The first section of the questionnaire collects information on the student's demographic as well as socio-economic characteristics. The sample consists of students with average age of 21.64 years, the majority of whom are in their final year of study (77 percent), with the middle grade point average (65 percent). In respect to household income, the greater part (71 percent) considers itself as living in households with an average household standard, according to their own perception. In the sample, there are 64 percent females and 36 percent males, 57 percent of whom are single, 56 percent are Macedonians, 39 percent are Albanians, and 95 percent of all students in the sample do not have second citizenship.

Table 2. Demographic characteristics of the respondents

Demografic & socioeconomic characteristics of the sample			
	Females	Males	Total
Gender	64%	36%	100%
Age (mean)	21.63	21.64	21.64
Marital status			
Single	55%	62%	57%
Married	3%	2%	3%
Divorced	0.00%	0.28%	0.10%
In a relationship	35%	24%	31%
Other	6%	11%	8%
Religion			
Ateist	1%	3%	2%
Cristian catolic	0.16%	0.00%	0.10%
Cristian ortodox	58%	52%	56%
Muslim	41%	46%	43%
Ethnicity			
Macedonian	58%	53%	56%
Albanian	38%	42%	39%
Other	4%	5%	5%
2nd citizenship or permanent residency			
Yes	4%	7%	5%
No	96%	93%	95%
Year of study			
Pre-final	23%	23%	23%
Final	77%	77%	77%
Grade point average			
Below average	1%	5%	3%
Average	64%	67%	65%
Above average	35%	28%	32%
Income group of the respondent household			
Very low	2%	2%	2%
Low	8%	14%	10%
Average	72%	70%	71%
High	16%	11%	14%
Very high	2%	2%	2%

2.4. Intentions, goals, reasons and motives for migration

The question of intentions to migrate give information about the importance of different migration factors, specifically about plans, migration experience, aspects of life in destination countries, as well as aims, incentives and barriers to migration related to the country's economic and political system and personal factors.

Migration potential was defined in terms of intentions to leave the country for one of the three emigration reasons: education, employment and simply *"to live in another country"*. The question was further examined by identifying the duration of emigration, with special focus on those who were planning to leave the country forever.

There is a small gender gap that appears in the results that show that males are more willing to move to another country, with 45 percent stressing that they would maybe leave in order to continue with their education abroad, and 35 percent showing certainty that they will do so for employment. Females have a more conservative approach towards migration, with 21 percent keen to migrate for employment purposes and 13 percent for educational purposes. The country's experience evidence demonstrates that males are those who traditionally go abroad to acquire employment and better living conditions for their families, while females join later. There is no significant number of females who have decided to leave the country on their own and settle in another country, to reunite with their families, or to establish a new one. The percentage of the students who are willing to go abroad to *"just to live in another country"* is low, as shown in the table below.

Table 3. The reasons to migrate by gender

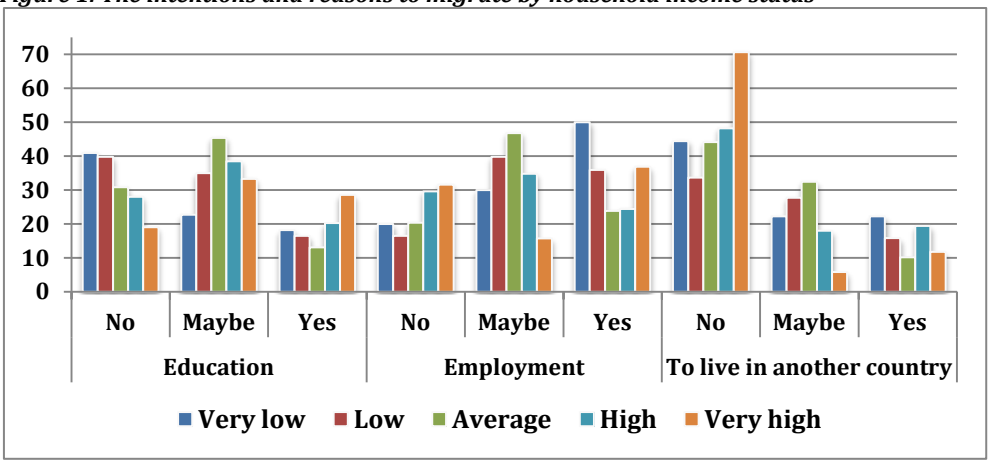
Female	**For education**	**For employment**	**To live in another country**
No	34	23	44
Maybe	41	46	29
Yes	13	21	11
Don't know	12	10	16
Male	**For education**	**For employment**	**To live in another country**
No	27	18	43
Maybe	45	39	29
Yes	19	35	16
Don't know	9	7	12
Total	**For education**	**For employment**	**To live in another country**
No	31	22	44
Maybe	42	43	29
Yes	15	26	13
Don't know	11	9	14

Regarding the ethnic distribution of the reasons for migration, we might observe that Albanian students are much more likely to go abroad for education (22 percent) than Macedonians students (10 percent). The percentage of those who are not certain, but still consider themselves to be potential migrants, is very high: 67 percent of Albanians and 43 percent of Macedonians. Regarding employment, as a reason to leave the country, more Macedonian students (77percent) answered with *"yes"* and *"maybe" compared to* Albanian students (60 percent). The ethnic ratio is approximately the same if the answer "*to live in another country"* is observed as a possible migration reason (47 percent vs. 35 percent).

Emigration from Macedonia in recent times, as well as the earlier waves of emigration has been mostly related to bad economic situation, visible in unemployment and poor living standards. Therefore, it is of our particular interest to examine the possible correlation between potential migration of students and the income status of their families. The results show that students who are members of households with lower living standards are less willing to go abroad for education (40 percent said that they did not plan to go abroad for education, vs. 20 percent and 29 percent of the members of the middle and the high living standard group respectively, who responded that they were planning to go abroad for education). This might be related to the costs required when going abroad for education.

When it comes to the reason of going abroad for employment, the picture is completely different. The respondents coming from lower income households are more enthusiastic to migrate for employment (50 percent), while those coming from higher income households are not so keen to migrate for employment (37 percent). There is a certain trend that could be noticed from the results, and that is, when it comes to the category consisting of those that would not emigrate for employment, the percentage increases with the increase of income status. However, there is an opposite trend when the reason is education (the percentage declines with the increase of the income status). A significant percentage of richer respondents (71 percent) are against going abroad for *"living in another country"*. The results are shown in the following figure:

Figure 1: The intentions and reasons to migrate by household income status



This indicates that students who come from poorer families assume that they would have more employment opportunities and possibilities to improve their income status if they migrate, compared to their expectations in their home country. They feel more uncertain about their employment future in the home country compared to their richer schoolmates.

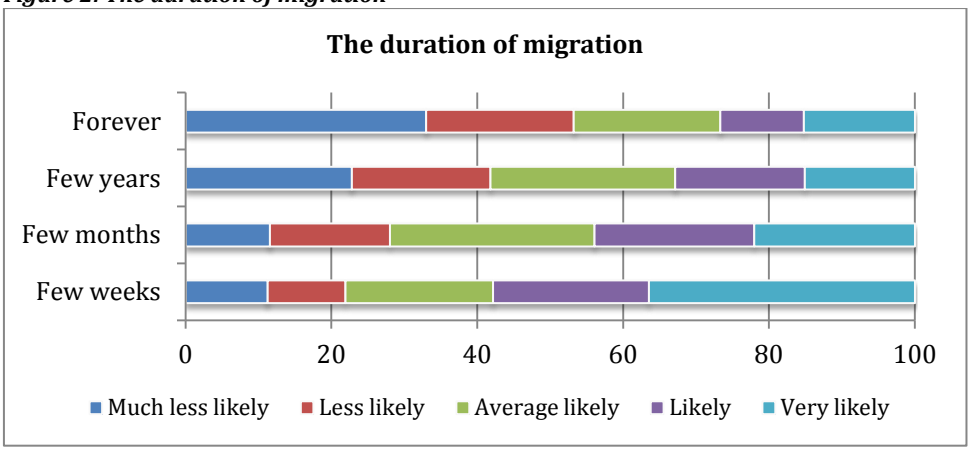
As expected, the students who are in the final year of their studies are more prepared to migrate for education than those in the pre-final year. However, contrary to our expectations, they were not as keen to go abroad for work or to leave the country as their pre-final year schoolmates.

Students who have a high grade point average are more prepared to go abroad for education and employment, probably because they feel that their knowledge and skills make a good basis for continuing their life in a foreign more developed country. But, they are not much interested to go abroad just to change the country of living (12 percent). The students who have a very low grade point average are much more interested in going abroad for employment (36 percent), probably expecting to work as non-qualified workers. The ethnic distribution over the same issue shows that the majority of both Macedonian and Albanian students who have low GPA are more willing to go abroad for employment (40 percent and 30 percent, respectively). These results are important policy indicators.

Regardless of the potential migration, the majority of the students projected that they would go abroad most certainly in 2-3 years. They probably consider that this period is sufficient to finish their education and to make preparation for leaving.

The duration of stay is an important indicator for defining the migration profile of the potential migrant. When asked whether they think to go abroad for the specified period of time, the majority (36 percent) answered that it was very likely for them to go abroad for a few weeks, while 22 percent would go for a few months, 15 percent for a few years and a significant part (15 percent) was likely to go forever. The duration of migration was specified as follows:

Figure 2: The duration of migration



As the Figure above shows, the likelihood of going abroad decreases with the duration of the period of stay. It is very likely that the significant part of the students would go abroad forever, since one fifth of the surveyed students showed a propensity to migrate and not come back in their home country, which is a likely indication of brain drain - unless there is enough induced accumulation of human capital to offset such a drain (See the literature on brain gain through brain drain). If the data is distributed over ethnicity, one might see that both ethnicities which are the subject of our interest have a great propensity to go abroad for a few weeks (Macedonians 38 percent, Albanians 32 percent), the majority of both ethnic groups are “average likely” to go abroad for a few months, Macedonians are “average likely” to go abroad for a few years (29 percent), while Albanians are much less likely to do so (24 percent), while when it comes to permanent migration, both ethnicities are much less likely to

emigrate forever (Macedonians 30 percent, Albanians 41 percent). The gender aspect of the permanent migration shows that females are much less likely to go abroad forever (37 percent), compared to the males (26 percent). The same applies when a few years emigration is considered (25 percent of females are much less likely to emigrate for a few years duration vs. 18 percent of males).

Table 4 presents the motives for migration. The students have chosen *"to see the world, get experience"* as a leading reason to go abroad (52 percent). The table below shows how each of the reasons for migration was valued by the students (the reasons were evaluated independently from each other as much less important, less important, average important, important, and very important). The results show very rough fact that 25 percent of the students stressed that *"simply does not want to live in the country"* is a very important reason for emigration. This means that 25 percent of surveyed students do not see their future in the country where they and their family live.

Table 4: Reason for migration

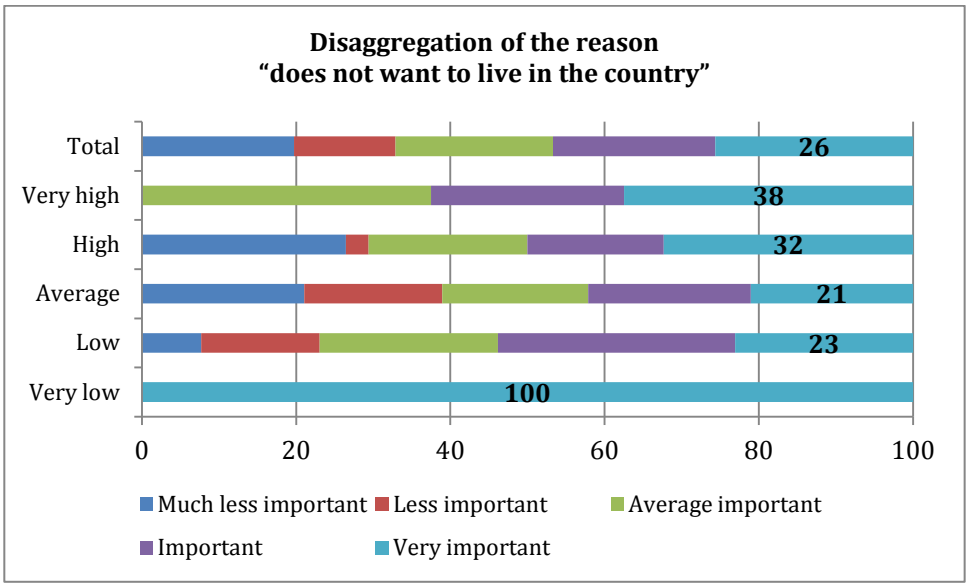
To live in a more developed country	39%
For better payment, even for a less qualified work	29%
For prospects of a better professional career (even with a lower payment as a start)	39%
To see the world/get experience	52%
Joining family/spouse/marriage	35%
Ensure better education for me / my children	48%
Simply does not want to live in Macedonia any more	25%

Note: (the distribution shows the percentages of those who answered with "very important reason" and each reason is evaluated independently from other reasons)

This issue was examined further by breaking this category into gender, household standard of living and into ethnicity and place of living, resulting in findings that demonstrate that only those who live in households with high living standards show a smaller tendency of emigration. This inclination varies over ethnicity (Macedonians 32 percent, Albanians 22 percent) and over grade point average status, those with a GPA above average are much keener to leave the country than others). This is in line with neoclassical theory a la Todaro that maintains 'differences' in 'expected' wages is the prime mover. Such an approach incorporates wage differences and the probability of finding jobs abroad. The disaggregation of the data by gender shows a stronger tendency of females (29 percent) to leave the country for the above

mentioned reason than that of males (20 percent). Some recent studies (Morokvasic, 1984; Ghosh, 2009) show evidence of a stronger propensity to migrate among highly educated females than males, ceteris paribus.

Figure 3: Disaggregation of the reason "does not want to live in the country"

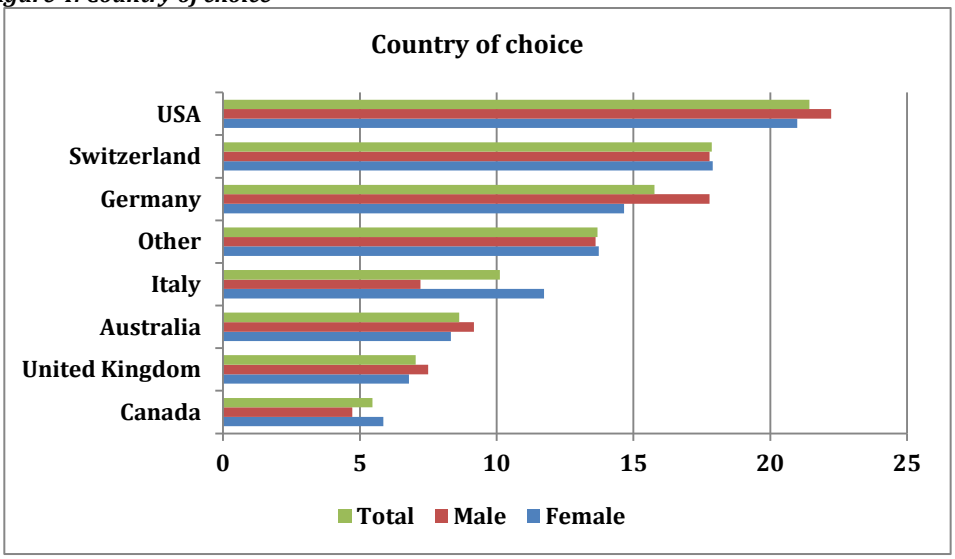


All other incentives for migration, except *"joining family/spouse/marriage",* should be given special attention in further research.

Further, we have investigated the preferred destination country of the potential student migrant. The countries with a priority choice seem to be the USA and Germany for Macedonians and the USA and Switzerland for Albanians. This shows that the pattern of migration appears to be more in line with the network theory. It seems that members of households with average and above average income status choose to emigrate to Switzerland, whereas members of households with income status below average prefer to migrate to the USA.

Only migrants to Italy show a significantly differential pattern by gender: female migrants to Italy greatly outweigh male migrants (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Country of choice



The most important goals for both males and females to be achieved after migration are: to excel professionally, to achieve long-term stability and security, to keep options open in terms of working in or outside Macedonia, as well as to prosper financially,. Prospering financially is one of the main goals of males, while professional recognition is the most important one for females. There is a big discrepancy among goals with respect to ethnicity. Long term stability is the most important goal for Macedonians and other ethnicities, while keeping options open for in and outside of Macedonia is the most important goal for Albanians. Excelling professionally abroad is the major priority for students with a GPA above average and those with high living standards, whereas financial prosperity is the goal to be achieved by those with a GPA below average and low household standard.

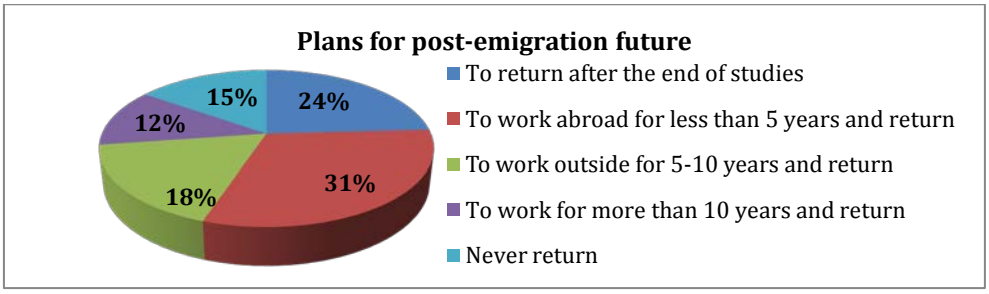
Table 5: The most important goal to be achieved abroad

	Female	Male	Macedonian	Albanian	Total
Excel professionally	26	27	16	42	26
Prosper financially	20	27	24	20	22
Establish myself quickly	4	7	5	4	5
Achieve long-term stability and security	24	20	32	8	22
Keep options open in terms of working in or outside RM	21	12	16	21	18
Obtain the citizenship of the country of migration	4	5	5	3	5
Other	1	3	2	1	2

The majority of students do not intend permanent migration. They would rather come back after 5 years of working abroad. It is surprising that more females

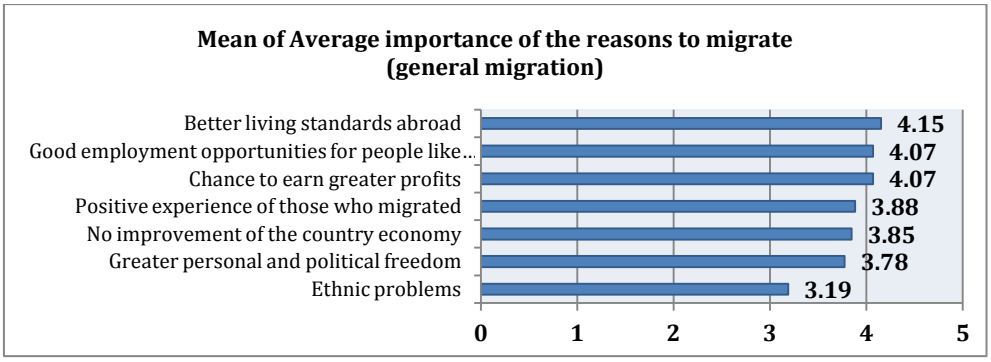
than males would never return to RM, having in mind that females are traditionally more attached to their families and homes. The ethnic distribution over the same issue shows that Macedonians are more likely to never return (20 percent) than Albanians (8 percent). If analyzed through the prism of the household living standard, one could say that with the increase of the level of the household standard, the inclination is for a smaller duration of migration, whilst those who consider themselves as members of households with very low living standards, or very high living standards would rather never return (27 percent and 37 percent respectively).

Figure 5: Plans for post-emigration future



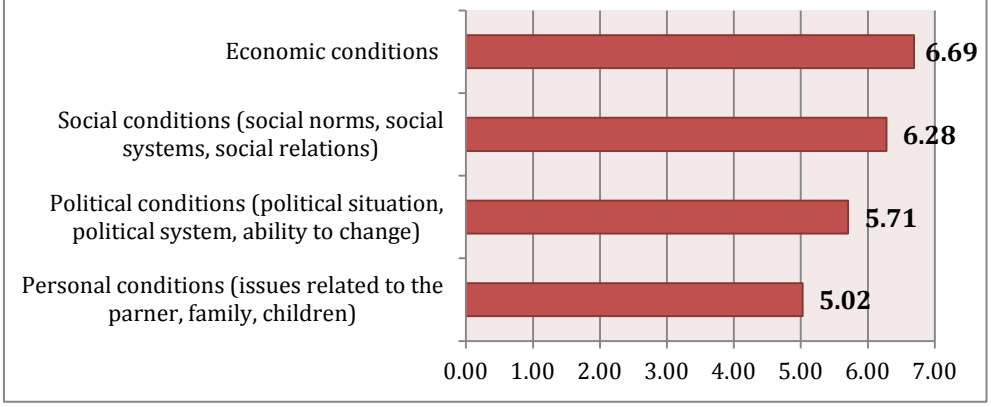
Students give much importance to all stated pull factors to emigrate, evaluating the greater personal and political freedom abroad as those that are less important. They express an expectation that they would have better economic conditions and living standards, therefore earning higher incomes, if they emigrate.

Figure 6: Importance of the factors that influence individual migration



Asked how they would rate the macro conditions, as well as the personal conditions (such as issues related to partner, parents and children) that would possibly impact as push factors and drive emigration, they answered as follows:

Figure 7. Mean importance of factors that influence individual migration



As for the push factors, most of them consider the economic conditions in the country as dominant. Next, with a non-significant difference, they rated the social factors, which is in line with the results obtained and presented in the text above. The political conditions together with personal conditions seem to be push factors that are given the lowest importance. There is no significant difference in the perception of macro factors between genders, but males rated personal conditions much lower than females.

Table 6. Average of the importance of factors that influence individual migration

		Conditions (mean)			
Distribution by:	**Different categories**	**Economic**	**Social**	**Political**	**Personal**
Household income status	Very low	8.00	6.62	5.08	5.00
	Low	7.22	6.22	5.93	4.93
	Average	6.76	6.37	5.75	5.11
	High	5.93	5.81	5.47	4.86
	Very high	5.73	6.47	5.40	3.93
Ethnicity	Other	7.57	6.84	6.00	5.05
	Albanian	6.06	6.11	5.74	5.52
	Macedonian	7.01	6.33	5.65	4.68
Academic performance	GPA below average	6.61	6.57	6.43	4.74
	GPA average	6.56	6.19	5.65	4.92
	GPA above average	6.95	6.42	5.76	5.28

2.5. Pre-migration plans and opportunities

Other questions related to pre-migration plans were asked to get an idea about the concrete steps taken towards migration. The number of those who have taken real steps towards realizing their migration plans could help us determine the real migration potential.

The questions about learning a language (65 percent), as well as the advancement of the qualification (59 percent) should be taken with caution, since these questions were asked in a general context, not directly related to preparation for migration. From all surveyed students, 59 percent have acquired some kind of information for migration (the percentage is the same over ethnicity and gender), 27 percent have applied for work abroad (34 percent Albanians and 22 percent Macedonians; there is a significant gender gap: 36 percent males and 22 percent females), and 34 percent have applied for a visa (38 percent Macedonians and 28 percent Albanians, 41 percent males and 30 percent females). The percentage of those who searched for a place to live abroad was 17 percent (the distribution over ethnicity shows the same proportion, while the gender distribution shows that more males than females searched a place to live abroad; 22 percent vs. 15 percent).

Regarding the sources of getting information for going abroad (each source was ranked independently from other sources), reports by family members or friends living abroad (78 percent), and reports by others who are educated abroad (72 percent) turned out to be the main ones, followed by reports by other students 69 percent, own observations 66 percent, and media (movies, TV series) 58 percent.

The proportion of those who have family members or friends living abroad, who would assist the potential migrant to emigrate, is very high (83 percent). If we take into consideration this percentage and the argument that social networks reduce the costs and risks of migration, resulting with the greater net gain (Stark, 1991), we might say that the propensity for migration would be greater.

2.6. Empirical investigation: what drives students' migration

2.6.1. The model

The econometric model that was built attempts to empirically identify the determinants of the probability of pre-final and final year students to migrate for education, employment, or permanent residency. The Logit model is applied for predicting the probability of emigration. The dependent variable is a dummy variable indicating the propensity to migrate or not for the given purpose (employment, education, permanent residency). The general model takes the following form:

$$Pr(Y=1|X) = \Phi(X'\beta)$$

Where: Pr denotes probability; Φ is the Cumulative Distribution Function of the standard normal distribution; β are the parameters that will be estimated by maximum likelihood and X is a vector of explanatory variables.

The control variables from the group of individual characteristics of the students include the age and the gender of the student. The household living standard is taken into consideration. This variable is measured through five dummy variables indicating the household income – very low, low, average, high, and very high. In order to control other effects, we included two dummy variables showing if someone at the university or other persons that have travelled, studied or live (d) abroad encourage the student to go abroad. The migration network effect is proxied by the presence of friends or relatives abroad and if the individual has ever been abroad for more than three months. The ethnic affiliation is also included among the explanatory variables, as it constitutes a special form of social capital, which may affect the propensity to migrate. In addition, the macroeconomic variables, such as the importance of economic, political and social conditions are included in the model as push factors. The results are given in Appendix I.

2.6.2. Findings

Regarding the first specification, the willingness to emigrate for educational purposes, results suggest that there is a significant difference concerning female and male students. Additionally, a student's age impacts negatively on the likelihood for emigration for education, with a non-linear effect, as indicated by the age-squared variable. Marital status does not influence the likelihood of emigration for education.

There is a difference in the ethnic background of the surveyed students, resulting in lower propensity for Albanian students. Other important variables, which significantly influence emigration of the students for educational purposes, are being encouraged by relatives and friends abroad (which has a negative effect, contrary to expectation), and the social conditions and social norms that have a strong impact on emigration for education.

When willingness for emigration for employment purposes is considered, age does not play a significant role over potential emigration. There is a significant influence of gender on willingness to migrate, which results with more males being potential emigrants for employment purposes than females. Marital status does not play a significant role, while, concerning employment, being Albanian increases the willingness to go abroad for employment. There is a significant influence from the grade point average status, which indicates that those who have a GPA above the average are more likely to emigrate for employment. This indicates that better students are more likely to use their knowledge and skills in foreign countries, where there are greater opportunities in terms of jobs and income. Those who have lived abroad and those who are encouraged by relatives have a greater propensity to emigrate for employment. None of the macroeconomic factors showed any significant influence on the desire to go abroad for work.

Emigration for settling and living in another country is not significantly related to age, marital status or ethnicity, while there is a slight influence from the difference in gender, showing that males are somewhat more willing to go and leave the country. Those who have a GPA above the average have lower ambitions to leave the country. Members of high income households show a greater propensity to leave the country, however, there is a significant negative impact of having lived abroad and of the potential emigration. Having in mind that macro conditions are supposed to be the main drivers of emigration, the results in our study also prove that, contrary to our expectations, when we consider the economic factors to be the main push factors, the social and political conditions in the country showed a significantly positive influence on potential emigration.

2.6.3 Limitations

There are several limitations recognized in this study. Firstly, even though the survey was realized in all public and major private universities in the country, and represents 1.8 percent of the student population randomly chosen, there is a selection bias resulting in oversampling of female students (almost 2/3rd of all), which does not correspond to the population of students in the pre-final and final years (in the population data about graduates by gender, they appear to be about equal). Secondly, from the aspect of the subject of the research, it should be emphasized that one could not be certain that the migration is going to be realized and when, where and for how long. Thirdly, the structure and the design of the questionnaire constrained making in-depth analysis of the perceptions of the push and pull factors identified in the findings; it may possibly be a subject for some other future research. Furthermore, the research does not cover the legal aspect of the migration potential that would rather change in the near future, due to the Macedonian EU agenda.

CHAPTER III

RETURNEES AND DIASPORAS

3.1. Introduction

For more than a century, Macedonia has experienced periodic waves of migration as a consequence of economic, social, ethnic and political events and conditions. The exodus of talent commonly termed as "brain drain" has been a significant part of these flows. The World Bank estimates that three out of ten emigrants from Macedonia can be considered as 'skilled', over three times more than from neighbouring Albania (WB, Factbook, 2011). According to the survey done by Janevska (2003), in 2002, around 15.000 highly educated Macedonian citizens lived and worked outside the country. Furthermore, the study indicates that high skilled migration is a permanent issue in Macedonia and it has significantly increased after the 1990's. Horvat (2004) also argues that Macedonia is suffering from a significant brain drain problem and that the earlier studies failed to note the paradox of brain drain: a country can end up having a larger stock of human capital as a result of initial outflow of talent.

Compared with neighbouring Albania, the Macedonian government has been slow in recognizing the phenomenon of skill migration (Mughal et al, 2009). The only important policy statement from the government pertaining to the issue of migration, in general, and brain drain in particular is the National Resolution on Migration Policy 2009-2014. The document highlights same theme of 'brain drain' as a 'problem' for the future of the country without fully recognizing the direct and indirect positive effects of the initial outflow (whether it is temporary or permanent). The only direct measure taken is in the field of brain circulation, namely, the scholarship scheme that the government provides to qualified students to complete their studies abroad and return home to serve for a specified number of years. Besides the scholarship scheme, there have been few other measures taken by the government. Consequently, the main experts and stakeholders of migration in Macedonia argue that the government has been active only on paper and some experts even argue that even the scholarship scheme itself is a corrupt one.

This chapter presents the results of the survey of highly skilled/educated returnees that was conducted from March to September 2011 in Macedonia. The survey included questions about social and demographic characteristics, the education, migration history, return experience and future migration intentions of the

returnees. The objective was to analyze and answer the question of why some educated and skilled migrants choose to return to their home country. The target population consisted of researchers, academics, entrepreneurs and other highly skilled migrants who had returned home having acquired education and/or work experience abroad. The survey included 72 returnees of whom 66 are highly educated and 6 of them were highly successful entrepreneurs. Of the total sample, 30 returnees are full time academic staff members of public and private universities and 2 are high school teachers, 8 of them are self-employed, 9 returnees are employed in public institutions, such as ministries and the central bank, others are employed in private companies and international institutions and NGOs and 2 of the returnees report themselves as unemployed.

The survey sample was not randomly selected, but rather chosen by the investigators through their social networks. As a consequence, the majority of the returnees have an academic background. However, with a view to capturing the characteristics and experiences of non-academic returnees, the survey included 6 highly successful entrepreneurs from Macedonia's Polog region. Due to the selection criteria, the results shall be interpreted with caution for they may apply mainly only to the groups investigated in the study.

3.2. Empirical results from the survey of returnees

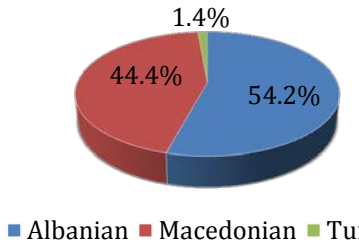
This section provides a brief social-demographic profile of the respondents. The majority of the interviewed returnees were males (58.3 percent). The average age of the surveyed returnees was 35.4 year; 77.9 percent were aged between 26 and 40 years old. As far as their marital (civil) status was concerned, 19.4 percent were single, while 65.3 percent were married, 19.4 percent were engaged and 5.6 percent were divorced.

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of the surveyed returnees

	N	Percentage
Total	**72**	**100**
Female	30	41.7
Male	42	58.3
Age		
21-25	3	4.2
26-30	19	26.4
31-35	21	29.2
36-40	16	22.2
41-45	6	8.3
46-60	7	9.7
Marital status		
Single	14	19.4
Engaged	7	9.7
Married	47	65.3
Divorced	4	5.6
Educational level		
Less than bachelor	4	5.6
Bachelor	16	22.2
Master	36	50
PhD	16	22.2

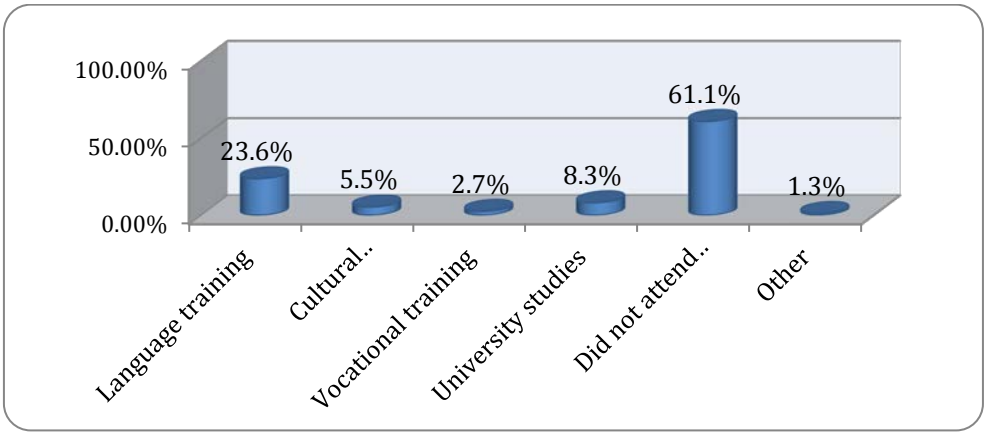
Regarding the educational profile of the surveyed returnees, it is obvious that they have completed more than an average education. From the total sample, 94 percent had completed either master's or bachelor's education and around 5.6 percent (4 of the returnees) had lower level education. Half of the returnees (36 returnees) had a master's degree, 22 percent (16 returnees) had a bachelor's degree and 22 percent had a PhD degree (16 returnees - Table 1). Returnees in the sample had degrees from a very wide range of fields, including, among others, architecture, political science, economics, physics, medicine and biochemistry. However, the main fields of study of the interviewed returnees were economics (27 returnees) and information technology (5 returnees).

Figure 1. What Language did you speak at home as a child?



Regarding the languages spoken by the interviewed returnees, the sample shows that 54 percent were native Albanian speakers and 44 percent were native Macedonian speakers and the other 1.5 percent had the Turkish language as their mother tongue (See Figure 1). Nearly all of the returnees spoke at least one foreign language, 50 percent spoke two foreign languages and 13 percent spoke three foreign languages. A very high majority, more than 91 percent of the interviewed returnees spoke English, 24 percent spoke German and 14 percent spoke the French language. Unlisted languages reported by the returnees were Turkish, Serbian, Croatian, Bulgarian, etc. (Table 3, Appendix II).

Figure 2. Did you attend any training before you went abroad specifically to prepare you for living or working abroad?



As far as the preparation for migration is concerned, a majority or more than 60 percent of returnees have not undertaken any preparation or training before migration. As shown in Figure 2, of those that had attended training (39 percent), the majority had attended language training (24 percent), university studies (8 percent) or cultural orientation (6 percent). In total, there were 28 returnees that had attended various trainings before migration and 23 of them (82 percent) received diploma or certificate for this training (Table 4, Appendix II).

The respondents were also asked about the usefulness of these trainings in finding a job abroad and 57 percent of them reported that it was useful and 40 percent reported that that these trainings were necessary for finding a job abroad (Table 6, Appendix II).

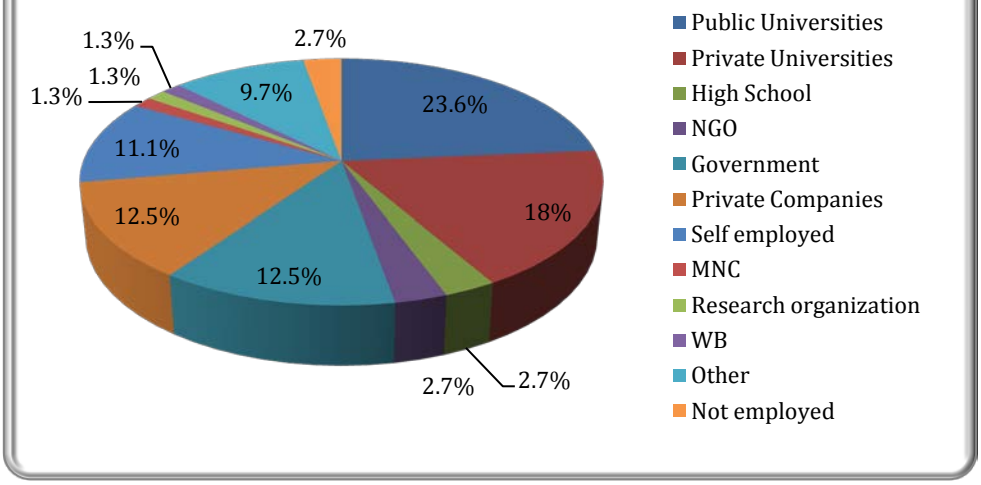
On average, the surveyed returnees stayed abroad for 4.9 years, a minimum of six months and a maximum of 26 years of migration (Table 7, Appendix II). More than 80 percent of the returnees stayed in one country while being abroad, and the remaining 20 percent stayed in more than one country (Table 12, Appendix II).

Returnees were also asked about the destination countries and the survey results show that the main destination countries were the United Kingdom, USA, Austria, Germany and Switzerland. Namely, 13 returnees went to the United Kingdom, 12 to the USA, 7 to Austria, 6 to Germany and 5 to Switzerland and 4 to Turkey. Other destination countries include Hungary, Italy, Sweden, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slovenia, Belgium, Denmark, Israel and Malaysia (Table 13, Appendix II).

The first destination country and the country where returnees spent most of their time abroad tended to be the same. The average length of stay in the first destination country was 3.8 years (Table 14, Appendix II), and the average length of stay in the overall period abroad was 4.9 years (Table 7, Appendix II). Thus the difference between the first destination country and the overall migration abroad was around one year, which showed that not all of the returnees had settled down in one country and achieved their education or qualification; some of them had changed the country of destination (Table 15 Appendix II).

As far as the current employment of Macedonian returnees is concerned, the survey results showed that nearly all of them were employed with the exception of only two unemployed recent returnees (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Current Employment of the Returnees



As figure 3 indicates, the main employers of returnees are the public and private universities, government and private companies, namely, more than 40 percent of returnees were employed either in public and private universities, 12.5 percent were employed in government institutions and private companies respectively, and more than 11 percent were self-employed individuals.

The survey asked the returnees to list three reasons and then to identify one of them as the most important reason for leaving Macedonia. As for the first reason, education was listed as the main reason (58 percent), followed by economic reasons and job opportunities (10 percent), professional development (5.5 percent), getting experience (7 percent), and scholarship and political reasons (5 percent each).

Regarding the second reason for leaving the country, again education topped the list followed by job opportunities and living standards. Other reasons included higher salary, financial issues, professional environment and career development, security, family, and new cultures (Tables 8, 9, 10 Appendix II).

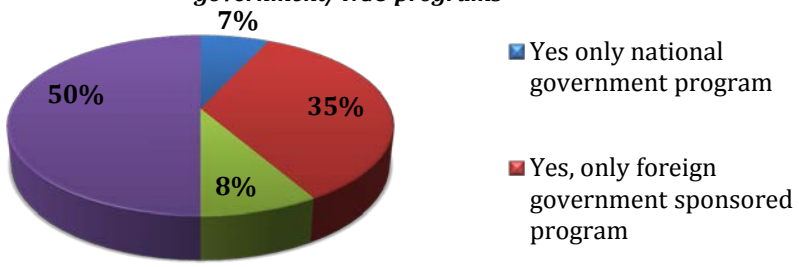
As for the third reason, even though not all of them had provided the third reason, again quality education, job opportunities, experience, trainings and meeting new cultures topped the list.

As for the question of listing the most important reason for leaving Macedonia, more than 72 percent of returnees reported education as the most important reason. Economic reasons (job and better life) and professional

development and training came second in the list of most important reasons with 11 and 7 percent respectively. Other most important reasons were family, homeland, experience etc. (Table 11, Appendix II).

Furthermore, 44 out of 71 (62 percent) returnees listed education as the most important reason for choosing the first destination country. Job opportunities abroad (10 percent) was the second most important reason. Other most important reasons for choosing the first destination country were family and relatives in the destination country (7 percent), getting experience (7 percent), scholarship (4.5 percent), and professional career development (3 percent) (Table 16, Appendix II). In addition to these reasons, there were also other ones listed, such as the cost of education, living standards and social conditions in the destination country, the specific characteristics of the city/country, and the desire to leave the home country.

Figure 4. Benefits from Macedonian government or foreign government/ NGO programs



The survey asked the returnees whether they had benefited from various scholarship schemes offered by the Macedonian and/or foreign government/NGO programs. The results showed that half of the returnees had not benefited at all from these programs. So, only 50 percent (36 returnees) of returnees had benefited from these scholarship schemes. From those who had benefitted from these schemes, private government programs had the highest share and national government programs had the lowest share (Figure 4 and Table 17, Appendix II).

The returnees that had not benefited from these schemes provided various reasons, namely, 9 of them reported the reason being the kind of work that they were doing, 11 reported that there was no supporting scheme in the country that they went to, and 3 of them argued that these programs were corrupt programs (Table 18, Appendix II).

3.3. Situation abroad and experience in the Diaspora

The married returnees were asked whether they were joined by their spouses while abroad and the majority reported that they went alone (Table 19, Appendix II). Namely, only 18 percent of the married returnees went with their spouses (6 out of 33 married returnees that replied to this question). Those migrating alone reported various reasons including financial, business related reasons, family and child care. Returnees who migrated with their spouses reported family union and child care as the main reason.

While abroad, returnees generally lived in areas where most or all of the inhabitants were local (76 percent), and about 60 percent of them reported having had frequent or very frequent contacts with local people (Table 20, Appendix II). Living in an area where natives lived and having frequent contacts with them is an index of integration into the new cultures.

More than 90 percent of returnees had studied or attended training abroad, while only 10 percent (7 returnees) had not studied or trained abroad (Table 21, Appendix II). Among returnees that had studied, 10 percent had completed university studies and more than 74 percent had completed postgraduate studies. None of the returnees attended orientation trainings, while 10 percent attended language, nearly 5 percent attended workplace training, and 3 percent attended training that brought their existing qualifications up to the local standards (Table 22, Appendix II).

From the total of 54 returnees who answered the question of work abroad, 30 had worked and 24 of them had not worked at all while they were abroad (Table 23, Appendix II). The working returnees reported doing various types of work, including university lecturing and teaching and research assistant, consulting, sales, restaurant business and journalism. About 67 percent of returnees had not changed their job while abroad, while more than 85 percent of returnees had no problem in finding a job (Table 25, 26. Appendix II). Macedonian returnees, during their employment period, on average had worked 29.2 hours per week. Returnees who had difficulty finding a job had been jobless on average for 4 months (Tables 27, 28, Appendix II).

As expected, nearly all of the surveyed returnees had had frequent contacts with Macedonia except two of them (Table 29 Appendix II). Regarding visits to Macedonia, 7.5 percent of returnees had not visited Macedonia while being abroad, 30 percent had visited at least once a year, and more than 25 percent of returnees visited Macedonia more than once a year. Of the total of 69 returnees that answered the question, only 13 (18 percent) had sent money to their parents and families at least once a year. The majority of the returnees who had sent remittances (75 percent) reported that the main purpose of sending was to cover the living expenses of their families and children (Table 30-32, Appendix II).

3.4. Experience back in the country of origin and future intentions

3.4.1. Experience back in the country of origin

The main reasons for returning to Macedonia included family bonds, contractual obligations from scholarships received, ending of the existing jobs or finding new job opportunities at home, and/or simply finishing their studies. Family bonds, as a reason for return, was cited by twenty one returnees (30 percent), while 8 returnees (11 percent) reported that they were obliged by the scholarship to return, 6 returnees (8 percent) reported the work as a reason, and last but not least, all of the 6 highly successful entrepreneurs reported investment in the home country as the main reason for their return to Macedonia. Other reasons included return to the existing job (4 percent), professional contribution to the home country (4 percent), and the expiration of the visas (Table 33, Appendix II).

Around 90 percent of returnees were not aware of any official return assistance program, only 10 percent (7 returnees) had knowledge of such programs and from those 7 returnees, only three benefited from such programs. From those who were aware of the programs, half of them did not benefit, due to the nature of their work, 3 of them reported that there were no such schemes for the countries that they went to, and 2 of the returnees reported that these schemes were corrupt (Table 34, 35, 36. Appendix II).

When asked about whether they brought money back when they returned from migration, only 27 percent of returnees (19 returnees) reported bringing money and savings with them. As for the use of money and savings brought back, 47 percent

of returnees used this money for living expenses, 15 percent used it for buying property, 16 percent saved it, and last but not least, 37 percent of returnees used the money in their business activity. Nearly, all of the successful entrepreneurs surveyed by the study used the money to start their own businesses (Table 37, 38, Appendix II).

Around 95 percent of returnees were employed and had found their job in an average of 3.6 months after their return, and since then, they had worked on average 36 hour a week (Table 39, 40, Appendix II). As for the question of how they had have found their jobs, 26 percent of returnees had found their job through media advertisement, 19 percent through their friends and relatives, 19 percent had found a job by sending CVs to potential employers, and again nearly all of the entrepreneur-returnees had set up their own businesses (11 percent).

Table 2. How did you find the job?

	Frequency	Percent
Advertisement	16	26
Offered a job by a friend or relative	12	19
Asked/sent CV to a number of employers	12	19
Set up own business	7	11
Other	15	24
Total	62	100

More than 85 percent of returnees reported that foreign earned experiences had helped them find better work opportunities since they had returned. More specifically, nearly half of the returnees thought that the education and training abroad had helped them most in finding their jobs, while 36 percent thought that general experience and 15 percent said skills learned at work were the most important factors respectively (Table 41, 42, Appendix II).

Returnees who thought that they had not had any advantage from their education or experience abroad gave various reasons, such as, not being able to promote their education, expecting more than they had gotten from abroad, or blaming the employers as doing the interviews just formally while people were already hired or them needing connections in order to be employed (Table 43, Appendix II).

Regarding their opinion about their situation before and after the migration, more than 80 percent of returnees felt better or much better than before migration

and only 8 percent felt worse or much worse. The survey also asked them to report their feeling about the ways that they were better or worse off than before. The majority of returnees felt better off mainly from the professional and financial perspectives - family bonds and patriotic feeling of being at home and contributing to the home county society. One of the returnees quoted an old saying, which says that "a stone weighs more on its own land than elsewhere". On the other hand, those feeling worse off reported pessimism about their future professional development, future income and inability to apply what they had learned abroad (Table 44,45,Appendix II).

3.4.2. Future intentions

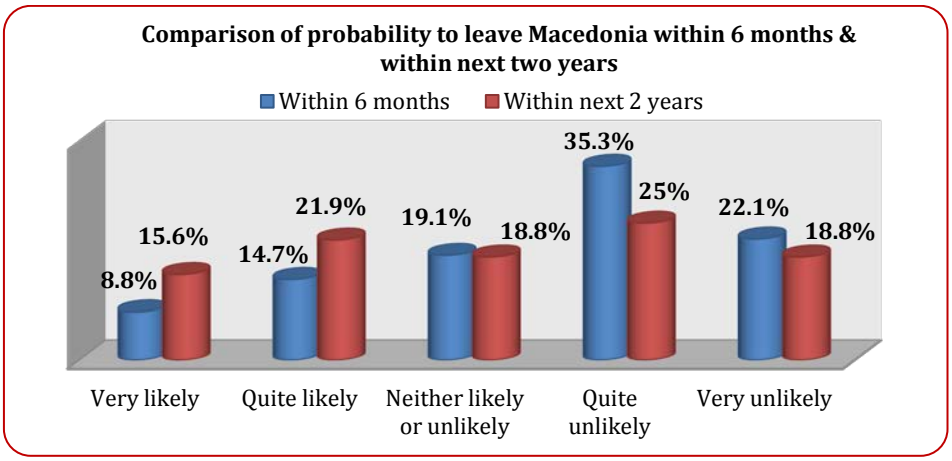
Regarding the consideration of moving abroad or migrating again, the returnees in the sample were nearly equally divided, namely, 42 percent were considering moving, and 58 percent wanted to stay in Macedonia. We must note once again that the results should not be generalized to the whole population of the returnees, since the sample was not representative. (Table 46, Appendix II).

Table 3. Why are you not looking to move abroad?

	Frequency	Percent
This is my country/I belong here	18	29
My family/relatives are here	31	50
People are not friendly abroad	2	3
Discrimination in other countries	1	2
I would feel lonely abroad	1	2
Homesickness	2	3
Low incomes abroad	1	2
Poor work conditions abroad	0	0
Impossible or very difficult to find work abroad	5	8
Other reasons: Old for a new start	1	2
Total	**62**	**100**

The most important factors that had an impact on the decision to stay in Macedonia, were family and relatives (50 percent), patriotic feeling of belonging (30 percent), difficulty in finding a job abroad (8 percent), and the unfriendliness of people abroad (Table 3).

Figure 5.



The survey asked the returnees about the likelihood of leaving Macedonia within the next 6 months and within the next two years. The responses were ranked from 1 'very unlikely' to 5 'very likely'. Nearly 9 percent of returnees reported that it was very likely and 15 percent reported that it was quite likely that they would leave Macedonia in the next six months. Looking at the migration probability within the next 2 years, the percentage was higher, namely, 16 percent thought that it was very likely and 22 percent thought that it was quite likely that they would leave Macedonia within the next two years.

The percentage of those who were neutral in terms of probabilities of migration and of those who had very low chances of migrating again were very similar, indicating that their re-migration did not depend on the time span (Figure 5). On average, the rank for the likelihood of leaving in the next six months (very unlikely, quite unlikely, neither unlikely nor likely, quite likely, very likely) was 2.5 in the five point scale, and that of leaving in the next two years was about 3 (Table 48, Appendix II).

When asked if they were to live abroad, the cited reasons were mainly economic, financial, a better life and better education. More than 25 percent of returnees would like to go abroad for a better salary and economic reasons, around 11 percent would go abroad for a better career, 11 percent would go abroad for education, and nearly 20 percent would go abroad for a better life and better work conditions (Table 49, Appendix II).

The main potential destination countries roughly match with the first destination country, namely the UK and United states were again the potential

destination countries. 18 percent (11 returnees) saw the UK as their potential destination country and 32 percent (19 returnees) saw the US as their potential destination country. Other potential destination countries included Austria, Germany, Belgium, Sweden and Canada (Table 50, Appendix II).

The main reasons for choosing a potential destination country were the quality of education, geographical proximity, past experience, as well as economic, social and political factors in the destination country. More specifically, 24 percent of returnees would choose a destination country for better job and career opportunities, 24 percent would choose for a better and higher quality education, 19 percent would choose for a better salary and income, and 11 percent would choose because of better living conditions. Among the reasons of a personal nature, having family members, friends or relatives abroad was often listed as an important factor influencing destination (Table 51, Appendix II). About 43 percent of returnees were able to finance their migration abroad, 26 percent were not sure whether they could finance migration and 30 percent were not able to finance the move abroad (Table 53, Appendix II).

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Student mobility is an important component of the exodus of talent. The majority of the students who were part of the survey would maybe go abroad for education (42 percent), and for employment (43 percent). A large part is certain that they would do so for work (26 percent), while 13 percent of the students in the sample have an intention to leave the country in order to settle and live in another country.

Some of the surveyed students, who were members of low level standards households, were keen to go abroad for the rest of their lives. Those who were coming from households with highest living standards would mostly go abroad for education and return after finishing it. There was a significant difference between students' intended purpose of emigration and their income status.

The majority of the students would look for better macro and micro conditions abroad (better living standards, financial prospects and good employment opportunities). Although, a big part of them would finish their studies and get diplomas before they migrate, a big part of them was ready to migrate for better payment, even for non-qualified jobs. However, those who had a better academic performance and higher GPA, would rather go for greater career prospects.

Regarding pre-migration plans, the majority of the students did not know when they would leave; yet, there was a big percentage that was planning to go in the next 2-3 years, no matter the reason for migration.

In relation to their past experience, the majority of them had not experienced being abroad for more than 3 months. Moreover, the majority were motivated to go abroad mainly to see the world and get experience.

Potential migrants preferred Western European countries (Switzerland, Germany), in addition to the USA, as countries of their destination. The typology of the potential migrant, analyzed through the prism of sample students, would rather be a short to middle-term migrant. The greater part was planning to return after 5 years migration experience.

Taking into consideration the conclusions from the survey, some policy recommendations might be developed for a successful migration policy for the

country. The retention of human capital is not an option, since in the era of globalization, people are eager to move to other places and countries to find their greater utility. Rather, the country should be focused on taking advantage of student mobility and engage in active policies for integration of the returnees, to use their human capital for its own development.

Specifically, the country should improve its educational system to offer quality education and enable students to gain competitive skills and knowledge in their home country. Distance learning options, as well as opening branches of foreign universities, together with study programs with international dimensions, would prevent migration for educational reasons, allowing the students to learn according to foreign standards. It would also maintain domestic educational institutions' competitiveness.

For those who chose to study or work abroad, the country should introduce attractive programs for their return and integration into the system to utilize their knowledge and skills gained abroad.

The country should try to alleviate the macroeconomic factors that negatively influence migration and push the students to foreign countries, while considering emigration as the only way of improving their lives. Economic development, accompanied by the development of the political system through exercising free democracy, is essential for young students to see a brighter future in their home country.

Finally, an integrated approach should be implemented for this special target group of potential future migrants, to harmonize the institutional policies and actions towards their integration into t Macedonian society.

The research and monitoring in the field, with greater scope, should be supported to display the trends and define strategies for utilizing the migration potential.

The surveyed returnees came from very different fields of studies and professions. However, not surprisingly, the main fields of study were economics, computes sciences and information technology, law, and political sciences. This survey provided information about the past experiences, current situation, as well as the

future prospects and expectations of the educated and highly skilled Macedonian returnees, which in turn, represents quite valuable information for policy makers.

The survey revealed information about several issues related to migration and the return of the educated and highly skilled Macedonian migrants. The key points can be summarized as follows:

In terms of enhancement of human capital, there is a high percentage of Macedonian returnees who have benefited from international governmental and non-governmental organizations, regarding their support for going abroad for education.

Most of the surveyed returnees went abroad for higher education (undergraduate and postgraduate), mainly to benefit from higher quality education and the variety of educational choices abroad. This finding underscores the potential for introducing reforms in higher education in Macedonia in order to increase quality.

When asked about future intention and moving abroad, the main push factors mentioned by returnees were the lack of career development opportunities, low quality education and bad economic conditions in the home country; the main pull factor were a better life, higher income, better quality education and better career development opportunities in the host countries. This results appeals to policymakers with regard to the increase of the rewards for the highly skilled, which must be incorporated in brain gain strategies in the future.

The survey results show that most of the returnees have not benefited from any government program, either when leaving, or when coming back to Macedonia. As a part of the project, experts and stakeholders were asked to comment on the actions, measures and steps taken by the Macedonian government as far as migration in general and highly skilled migration in particular was concerned. Most of them argued that the government had been active on paper but besides the scholarship scheme, there had not been any successful measures. Some experts even argued that the scholarship scheme itself was a corrupt one.

Nearly all of the highly successful entrepreneurs-returnees pointed out that they had not had any benefit or ease as far as their investment was concerned. Indeed, they complained about bureaucratic hurdles they faced while establishing their businesses.

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- http://www.doingbusiness.org/rankings
- http://www.mfa.gov.mk/
- http://www.oecd.org/
- http://www.iomskopje.org.mk/

APPENDIX I

PRESENTATION OF THE STUDENTS' SAMPLE

Table A1.

Student enrolment in Macedonia – data for the period of last 20 years			
Academic year	Number of enrolled students	Index (base year 1990/1991)	Number of faculties
1990/1991	24948	100	25
1991/1992	25440	101.9	26
1992/1993	24719	99.0	25
1993/1994	25657	102.8	26
1994/1995	26959	108.0	26
1995/1996	28766	115.3	31
1996/1997	29868	119.7	31
1997/1998	31053	124.4	28
1998/1999	34115	136.7	28
1999/2000	35995	144.2	29
2000/2001	39406	157.9	29
2001/2002	43587	174.7	29
2002/2003	44731	179.3	29
2003/2004	45677	183.0	29
2004/2005	48252	193.4	38
2005/2006	47092	188.7	39
2006/2007	55673	223.1	43
2007/2008	62440	250.2	78
2008/2009	61571	246.8	94
2009/2010	57894	232.0	101

Table A2.

Distribution by University		
University	Frequency	Percent
University Goce Delcev	148	14
University St. Cyril and Methodius	125	12
University St. Clement Ohridski	245	24
SEEU	155	15
University of Tetovo	257	25
FON University	110	11
Total	1040	100.00

Table A3.

Demografic & socioeconomic characteristics of the sample			
	Females	Males	Total
Gender	64 %	36%	100%
Age (mean)	21.63	21.64	21.64
Marital status			
Single	55%	62%	57%
Married	3%	2%	3%
Divorced	0.00%	0.28%	0.10%
In a relationship	35%	24%	31%
Other	6%	11%	8%
Religion			
Ateist	1%	3%	2%
Cristian catolic	0.16%	0.00%	0.10%
Cristian ortodox	58%	52%	56%
Muslim	41%	46%	43%
Ethnicity			
Macedonian	58%	53%	56%
Albanian	38%	42%	39%
Other	4%	5%	5%
2nd citizenship or permanent residency			
Yes	4%	7%	5%
No	96%	93%	95%
Year of study			
Pre-final	23%	23%	23%
Final	77%	77%	77%
Grade point average			
Below average	1%	5%	3%
Average	64%	67%	65%
Above average	35%	28%	32%
Income group of the respondent household			
Very low	2%	2%	2%
Low	8%	14%	10%
Average	72%	70%	71%
High	16%	11%	14%
Very high	2%	2%	2%

Table A4

Intentions

Female	For education	For employment	To live in another country
No	34	23	44
Maybe	41	46	29
Yes	13	21	11
Don't know	12	10	16
Male	For education	For employment	To live in another country
No	27	18	43
Maybe	45	39	29
Yes	19	35	16
Don't know	9	7	12
Total	For education	For employment	To live in another country
No	31	22	44
Maybe	42	43	29
Yes	15	26	13
Don't know	11	9	14

Table A5

Intentions and reasons to migrate by income status

Reason	Education				Employment				To live in another country			
	No	Maybe	Yes	Don't know	No	Maybe	Yes	Don't know	No	Maybe	Yes	Don't know
Very low	41	23	18	18	20	30	50	0	44	22	22	11
Low	40	35	17	9	17	40	36	8	34	28	16	23
Average	31	45	13	11	20	47	24	9	44	32	10	13
High	28	38	20	13	30	35	24	11	48	18	19	14
Very high	19	33	29	19	32	16	37	16	71	6	12	12
Total	31	43	15	11	21	43	26	9	44	29	12	14

Table A6

Duration of migration

	Go abroad for few weeks	Go abroad for few months	Go abroad for few years	Go abroad forever
Much less likely	11	12	23	33
Less likely	11	16	19	20
Average likely	20	28	25	20
Likely	21	22	18	11
Very likely	36	22	15	15

Table A7

Reasons to migration	
To live in a more developed country	87
For better payment, even for a less qualified work	85
For prospects of a better professional career (even with a lower payment as a start)	91
To see the world/get experience	96
Joining family/spouse/marriage	70
Ensure better education for me / my children	89
Simply does not want to live in Macedonia any more	71

Table A8

Disaggregation of the reason "does not want to live in the country"						
	Very low	Low	Average	High	Very high	Total
Much less important	0	8	21	26	0	20
Less important	0	15	18	3	0	13
Average important	0	23	19	21	38	20
Important	0	31	21	18	25	21
Very important	100	23	21	32	38	26
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table A9

Country of choice			
	Female	Male	Total
United Kingdom	7	8	7
USA	21	22	21
Australia	8	9	9
Canada	6	5	5
Switzerland	18	18	18
Germany	15	18	16
Italy	12	7	10
Other	14	14	14
Total	100	100	100

Table A10

The most important goal to be achieved abroad						
	Female	Male	Macedonian	Albanian	Other	Total
Excel professionally	26	27	16	42	26	26
Prosper financially	20	27	24	20	19	22
Establish myself quickly	4	7	5	4	4	5
Achieve long-term stability and security	24	20	32	8	26	22
Keep options open in terms of working in or outside RM	21	12	16	21	17	18
Obtain the citizenship of the country of migration	4	5	5	3	6	5
Other	1	3	2	1	3	2

Table A11

Plans for post-emigration future	
To return after the end of studies	24
To work abroad for less than 5 years and return	31
To outside for 5-10 years and return	18
To work for more than 10 years and return	12
Never return	15

Table A12

Mean importance of factors that influence individual migration	
Personal conditions (issues related to the parner, family, children)	5.02
Political conditions (political situation, political system, ability to change)	5.71
Social conditions (social norms, social systems, social relations)	6.28
Economic conditions	6.69

Table A13

Conditions					
		Economic	Social	Political	Personal
Household income status	Very low	8.00	6.62	5.08	5.00
	Low	7.22	6.22	5.93	4.93
	Average	6.76	6.37	5.75	5.11
	High	5.93	5.81	5.47	4.86
	Very high	5.73	6.47	5.40	3.93
Ethnicity	Other	7.57	6.84	6.00	5.05
	Albanian	6.06	6.11	5.74	5.52
	Macedonian	7.01	6.33	5.65	4.68
Academic performance	GPA below average	6.61	6.57	6.43	4.74
	GPA average	6.56	6.19	5.65	4.92
	GPA above average	6.95	6.42	5.76	5.28

Table A14

		Conditions (mean)			
Distribution by:	Different categories	Economic	Social	Political	Personal
Household income status	Very low	8	6.62	5.08	5
	Low	7.22	6.22	5.93	4.93
	Average	6.76	6.37	5.75	5.11
	High	5.93	5.81	5.47	4.86
	Very high	5.73	6.47	5.4	3.93
Ethnicity	Other	7.57	6.84	6	5.05
	Albanian	6.06	6.11	5.74	5.52
	Macedonian	7.01	6.33	5.65	4.68
Academic performance	GPA below average	6.61	6.57	6.43	4.74
	GPA average	6.56	6.19	5.65	4.92
	GPA above average	6.95	6.42	5.76	5.28

Table A15

y = Pr(mobility_employment (predict, p outcome(3))							
= .25364833							
variable	dy/dx	Std. err	z	P> |z|	95% CI	C.I.	x
Age	0.329151	0.18603	1.77	0.077	-0.035467	0.693769	21.6049
Age squared	-0.00679	0.00417	-1.63	0.104	-0.014969	0.001387	469.117
Gender	0.132547	0.03231	4.1	0	0.069225	0.19587	1.35092
Married*	0.108989	0.11048	0.99	0.324	-0.10754	0.325518	0.030675
Albanian*	-0.06086	0.03301	-1.84	0.065	-0.125565	0.003838	0.368098
GPA aabove average*	-0.03422	0.03342	-1.02	0.306	-0.099735	0.031286	0.322699
Highincome household	0.022483	0.0449	0.5	0.617	-0.065515	0.110481	0.159509
Lived abroad	-0.09343	0.03846	-2.43	0.015	-0.168813	-0.01804	1.80123
Encouraged_by university	0.038887	0.03425	1.14	0.256	-0.028248	0.106021	1.6773
Encouraged by relatives	-0.07349	0.03757	-1.96	0.05	-0.147121	0.000143	1.28589
Economic conditions	-0.11693	0.11067	-1.06	0.291	-0.333839	0.099977	0.942331
Social conditions	0.192864	0.04593	4.2	0	0.102837	0.282891	0.922699
Political conditions	0.027557	0.06104	0.45	0.652	-0.092071	0.147185	0.888344
Personal conditions	-0.00079	0.04094	-0.02	0.985	-0.081042	0.07946	0.746012
(*) dy/dx is for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1							
Marginal effects after mlogit							

Table A16

variable	dy/dx	Std. err	z	P> |z|	95% CI	C.I.	x

Age	0.1689777	0.17538	0.96	0.335	-0.17477	0.512724	21.6019
Age squared	-0.003968	0.00402	-0.99	0.324	-0.01186	0.00392	468.965
Gender	0.04274	0.02217	1.93	0.054	-0.00071	0.086187	1.34861
Married	-0.0562474	0.04797	-1.17	0.241	-0.15027	0.037775	0.030157
Albanian*	0.0961722	0.02654	3.62	0	0.044163	0.148181	0.37877
GPA_above_av*	0.0962542	0.02697	3.57	0	0.043385	0.149124	0.325694
Highincome household	0.0384688	0.03131	1.23	0.219	-0.0229	0.099838	0.162847
Lived abroad	-0.0883752	0.02367	-3.73	0	-0.13477	-0.04199	1.79976
Encouraged_by university	-0.0428293	0.0224	-1.91	0.056	-0.08673	0.00107	1.67551
Encouraged by relatives	-0.0851461	0.02734	-3.11	0.002	-0.13873	-0.03157	1.29071
Economic conditions	0.0028492	0.05233	0.05	0.957	-0.09972	0.105418	0.942099
Social conditions	0.0219821	0.04473	0.49	0.623	-0.06568	0.109646	0.920386
Political conditions	-0.0615459	0.05109	-1.2	0.228	-0.16168	0.038589	0.889023
Personal conditions	-0.0343881	0.03014	-1.14	0.254	-0.09346	0.024679	0.747889
(*) dy/dx is for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1							
Marginal effects after mlogit							
y = Pr(mobility_educ==3) (predict, p outcome(3))							
= .11572028							

Table A17

Marginal effects after mlogit							
y = Pr(mobility_resid==3) (predict, p outcome(3))							
= .1099873							
variable	dy/dx	Std. err	z	P> |z|	95% CI	C.I.	x
Age	-0.01196	0.0344	-0.35	0.728	-0.07938	0.055458	21.6213
Age squared	0.00039	0.00064	0.61	0.541	-0.00086	0.001639	470.314
Gender	0.030506	0.02259	1.35	0.177	-0.01378	0.074786	1.35396
Married	-0.03597	0.05612	-0.64	0.522	-0.14597	0.074023	0.030941
Albanian*	-0.01952	0.02258	-0.86	0.387	-0.06378	0.024747	0.375
GPA_above_av*	-0.02368	0.02237	-1.06	0.29	-0.06752	0.020154	0.325495
Highincome household	0.083652	0.03716	2.25	0.024	0.010817	0.156487	0.160891
Lived abroad	-0.07483	0.02467	-3.03	0.002	-0.12319	-0.02647	1.80198
Encouraged_by university	0.017977	0.02394	0.75	0.453	-0.02894	0.064889	1.68069
Encouraged by relatives	-0.02434	0.02598	-0.94	0.349	-0.07526	0.026571	1.29084
Economic conditions	-0.03608	0.0813	-0.44	0.657	-0.19543	0.123272	0.941832
Social conditions	0.07813	0.035	2.23	0.026	0.009527	0.146732	0.919554
Political conditions	0.05786	0.03563	1.62	0.104	-0.01198	0.127702	0.887376
Personal conditions	0.004733	0.0289	0.16	0.87	-0.05191	0.061375	0.747525
(*) dy/dx is for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1							
Marginal effects after mlogit							

APPENDIX II

PRESENTATION OF THE SAMPLE OF RETURNEES

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
How old are you?	72	24	58	35.35	7.635

Table 2. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

	Frequency	Percent
Less than bachelor	4	5.60
Bachelor	16	22.20
Master	36	50
PhD	16	22.20
Total	72	100.00

Table 3. Besides this language, which other languages do you speak?

Other Languages	Yes	Percent
English	66	91.67
French	10	13.89
German	17	23.61
Italian	7	9.72
Greek	2	2.78
Other	32	44.44

Table 4. Did you receive a diploma or certificate from this training?

Yes	%	No	%	Total
23	82.1	5	17.5	28

Table 5. Current Employment of the Returnees

Employment	Frequency	Percent
Public Universities	17	23.61
Private Universities	13	18.05
High School	2	2.78
NGO	2	2.78
Government	9	12.50
Private Companies	9	12.50
Self employed	8	11.11
MNC	1	1.39
Research center	1	1.39
WB	1	1.39
Other	7	9.72
Not employed	2	2.78
Total	72	100.00

Table 6. Valuable and necessary of training/studies to find a job abroad.

		Frequency	Percent
Was this training useful in order to get a job abroad?	Yes	13	56.5
	No	10	43.5
	Total	23	100
Was this training *necessary* in order to get a job abroad?	Yes	9	39.1
	No	14	60.9
	Total	23	100

Table 7. How long did you stay abroad?

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Period of Residence abroad	72	.58	26.00	4.9907	5.45817

Table 8. Please give me your first reason for leaving Macedonia

	Frequency	Percent
Professional career development	4	5.5
Education	42	58.3
Economic reasons	4	5.5
Getting experience	5	6.9
Scholarship	3	4.1
Family reasons	2	2.7
Political reasons	3	4.1
Job opportunities	4	5.5
Lottery	1	1.3
Language	1	1.3
Higher income	2	2.7
Diplomatic	1	1.3
Total	72	100.0

Table 9. Please give me your second reason for leaving Macedonia

	Frequency	Percent
Education	35	48.6
Living standards	6	8.3
Professional environment	3	4.1
Security	2	2.7
Job opportunities	9	12.5
Higher salary	4	5.5
Financial issues	5	6.9
Career development	3	4.1
Meet new cultural	2	2.7
Family	2	2.7
Challenge	1	1.3
Total	72	100.

Table 10. Please give me your third reason for leaving Macedonia

	Frequency	Percent
Experience abroad	3	11.1
Job opportunities	5	18.5
Education	6	22.2
Trainings	2	7.4
Living in foreign country	4	14.8
More opportunities in terms of social and cultural life	4	14.8
Professional Challenge	1	3.7
Research climate	1	3.7
To interact with students from other countries	1	3.7
Total	27	100.

Table 11. What was the most important reason for leaving Macedonia?

	Frequency	Percent
Economic reasons	8	11.1
Education	52	72.2
Father appointed to diplomatic post abroad	1	1.4
Getting experience	1	1.4
Lottery	1	1.4
My homeland	2	2.8
Professional upgrade and training	5	6.9
Total	72	100.0

Table 12. Did you live abroad in one country, or more than one country?

	Frequency	Percent
One country	59	81.9
More than one country	13	18.1
Total	72	100.0

Table 13. Which country did you (first) move to when you went abroad?

	Frequency	Percent
	2	2.8
Austria	7	9.7
Belgium	1	1.4
Bulgaria	2	2.8
Croatia	2	2.8
Denmark	1	1.4
France	1	1.4
French Polynesia	1	1.4
Germany	6	8.3
Greece	1	1.4
Hungary	3	4.2
Israel	1	1.4
Italy	3	4.2
Malaysia	1	1.4
Romania	1	1.4
Slovenia	1	1.4
Sweden	3	4.2
Switzerland	5	6.9
Turkey	4	5.6
United Arabian Emirates	1	1.4
United Kingdom	13	18.1
USA	12	16.7
Total	72	100.0

Table 14. How long did you stay there?

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
How long did you stay there?	72	.00	26.00	3.8461	4.18275

Table 15. Distribution of length of stay abroad in the first destination country

	Length of stay in the first destination		Length of stay in the country they spent most of the time	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Less than 1 year	14	19.45	16	22.8
1 - 3 years	24	33.33	20	28.5
3 - 5 years	12	16.67	16	22.8
5 – 7	9	12.5	10	14.2
7 – 10	6	8.33	2	2.8
More than 10 years	7	9.72	6	8.5
Total	72	100.0	70	100.

Table 16. Why did you move to destination country in particular (most important reason)?

	Frequency	Percent
Professional career development	2	2.8
Education	44	61.9
Economic reasons	2	2.8
Getting experience	5	7.0
Scholarship	3	4.2
Have family in that country	5	7.0
Job opportunities	7	9.8
Lottery	1	1.4
Professional trainings	1	1.4
Correspondent for a national TV	1	1.4
Total	71	100.

Table 17. Benefits from national or foreign government programs

	Frequency	Percent
Yes only national government program	5	6.9
Yes, only foreign government sponsored program	25	34.7
Yes, both	6	8.3
No, I have not benefited	36	50.0
Total	72	100.0

Table 18. Why could you not benefit from a programme?

	Frequency	Percent
Not for the right kind of work	9	32.1
I did not have the required qualifications	11	39.3
No schemes for the country I went to	3	10.7
Too expensive	3	10.7
Other	2	7.1
Total	28	100.0

Situation abroad and experience in the Diaspora

Table 19. Did you go to FDC [foreign destination country] with your spouse, or did s/he stay here?

	Frequency	Percent
Spouse stayed here	27	81.8
Went with spouse	6	18.2
Total	33	100.0

Table 20. When you live in (name MNC), did you live in an area where a lot of migrants live?

	Frequency	Percent
Mostly migrants	4	5.8
Equal numbers of migrants and locals	13	18.8
Mostly locals	42	60.9
Hardly any migrants at all	10	14.5
Total	69	100.0
Did you have contact with local people?		
Very frequent contact	21	30
Frequent	21	30
Neither frequent nor infrequent	25	35.7
Not much/barely	2	2.9
None at all	1	1.4
Total	70	100

Table 21. Did you study or attend training abroad?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	65	90.3
No	7	9.7
Total	72	100.0

Table 22. Kind of studies or trainings completed abroad

	Frequency	Percent
Undergraduate studies	6	9
Postgraduate studies	49	74.2
Orientation training	0	0
Language training	6	9
Training to bring existing qualifications up to local standards	2	3
Workplace training	3	4.5
Other (specify)	0	0.00
Total	66	100.00

Table 23. What was the first work you did when you were abroad?

	Frequency	Percent
	18	25.0
Academic level, consultancy	1	1.4
Architecture services	1	1.4
Babysitter	1	1.4
Bar waiter	1	1.4
Business analyst	1	1.4
Construction	1	1.4
Construction office in finance	1	1.4
Construction Site, Project engineer	1	1.4
Did not work	24	33.3
Electronics company	1	1.4
Journalism	1	1.4
Milk production	1	1.4
News assistant producer	1	1.4
Private firm in finance	1	1.4
Restaurant business	2	2.8
Salesman	4	5.6
System analyst-programmer	1	1.4
Teaching/research assistant	7	9.7
University lecturer/researcher	2	2.8
Video sound editor	1	1.4
Total	72	100.0

Table.24. for how long did you do this work?

Descriptive Statistics	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
For how long did you do this work?	54	1	26	4.70	4.424

Table 25. Did you change and do another job while you were abroad?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	13	33.3
No	26	66.7
Total	39	100.0

Table 26. Was there ever a period when you were abroad when you could not find any work?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	5	15.2
No	28	84.8
Total	33	100.0

Table 27. For how many months, approximately, were you without work?

N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
16	0	20	4.06	5.615

Table 28. On average, about how many hours did you normally work per week when you were abroad?

Descriptive Statistics	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
On average, about how many hours did you normally work per week when you were abroad?	24	4	72	29.29	17.662

Table 29. Did you keep contact with Macedonia whilst you were abroad?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	70	97.2
No	2	2.8
Total	72	100.0

Table 30. Did you send money home whilst you were abroad?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	13	18.8
No	56	81.2
Total	69	100.0

Table 31. How often did you send money?

	Frequency	Percent
Less than once a year	3	21.4
At least once a year	6	42.9
At least once a month	5	35.7
Total	14	100.0

Table 32. What was the money used for?

	Frequency	Percent
Living Expenses	12	75.0
To buy property	1	6.3
To but furniture/household goods	1	6.3
Savings	1	6.3
Education	1	6.3
Total	16	100.0

4.4. Experience back in the country of origin and future intentions

Experience back in the country of origin

Table 33. Talking about your return to (name survey country), please give me the reasons for your return?

	Frequency	Percent
Because of personal reason	1	1.4
Continue my career	1	1.4
End of program	2	2.8
Family	21	29.2
Finished the studies	7	9.7
Hoping I could use the best of my knowledge in the country	1	1.4
I wanted to invest in my homeland	6	8.3
I wanted to give contribution to my country and my family	3	4.2
I was obliged by scholarship contract	8	11.1
I went to study abroad not to live there	1	1.4
Never planned to stay abroad	1	1.4
No reason in particular	1	1.4
No visa	2	2.8
Obtained University degree	1	1.4
Private, professional	1	1.4
Project finished	1	1.4
Return to my existing job	3	4.2
Social reasons	1	1.4
Still in Sweden	1	1.4
Work	6	8.3
Total	72	100.0

Table 34. At the time you returned, were you aware of any official programs or schemes to assist people to return?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	7	10.4
No	60	89.6
Total	67	100.0

Table 35. Did you benefit from such a scheme?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	3	18.8
No	13	81.3
Total	16	100.0

Table 36. Why you don't benefit from such a scheme?

	Frequency	Percent
Not for the right kind of work	5	50.0
No schemes for the country I went to	3	30.0
These schemes are corrupt	2	20.0
Total	10	100.0

Table 37. When you came back, did you bring money/savings with you?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	19	27.1
No	51	72.9
Total	70	100.0

Table 38. What did you use these savings for?

	No/Total	Percent
Living expenses	9/19	47.3
To buy property	3/19	15.7
To rent property	1/19	5.2
For a business activity	7/19	36.8
Savings	3/19	15.7
Education	2/19	10.5

Table 39. Have you worked since you came back to Macedonia?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	68	94.4
No	4	5.6
Total	72	100.0

Table 40. On average, how many hours do you normally work each week since you returned?

Descriptive Statistics	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
On average, how many hours do you normally work each week since you returned?	53	8	65	35.74	14.050

Table 41. Have your experience abroad helped you find better work opportunities since your return?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	54	85.7
No	9	14.3
Total	63	100

Table 42. Of all your experiences abroad, which have helped you most?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Experiences in general	21	35.6
Formal education/training	29	49.2
Skills learned at work	9	15.2
Total	59	100.0

Table 43. If No, Why have your experiences abroad not helped you?

	Frequency
As most of the interview I was invited to, were for people they already hired	1
Because you need connection for everything	1
I didn't succeed to promote it	1
It is not that they have not helped me but I was really looking for better...	1
No really value added.	1
Not applicable	1
Not at all.	1
You have to have connections to get a job	1
Total	8

Table 44. When compared to the time before you left, do you consider yourself better or worse off since your return?

	Frequency	Percent
Much better off than before you left	33	54.1
Better off than before you left	17	27.9
About the same as before you left	6	9.8
Worse off than before you left	3	4.9
Much worse off than before you left	2	3.3
Total	61	100.0

Table 45. Why do you feel worse/better?

	Frequency	Percent
Academic qualifications and understanding the administration of the education	1	1.4
Advance in the career	1	1.4
Because I found the job that I wanted	1	1.4
Better - more experience	1	1.4
Better formal knowledge	1	1.4
Better off because I got a really good education from very prestigious universities	1	1.4
Context not really for knowledge I attended	1	1.4
Develop skills, networks and employment possibilities	1	1.4
Education	1	1.4
Experience	1	1.4
Experience and knowledge	1	1.4
Experience and knowledge obtained abroad	1	1.4
Experiences in general, better work opportunities due to study abroad	1	1.4
Feel better for gained education, Skills, Trainings, social environments	1	1.4
Financial, professional family reason	1	1.4
Financially, employed, educated, experienced	1	1.4
Formal education, working experience	1	1.4
Got a master degree, had a job before I left, now I don't have one	1	1.4
Higher qualifications and knowledge, more opportunities for finding better job	1	1.4
I am at my homeland, I have qualification	1	1.4
I am better person	1	1.4
I am closer to my family and I have good life	1	1.4
I am good qualified in my field	1	1.4
I am more qualified for my job	1	1.4
I am together with my family in my homeland and I am satisfied with my work I do	1	1.4
I can compare 2 completely different types of doing business and 2 completely.	1	1.4
I have a solid and great experience gathered from school and workplace abroad	2	2.8
I have higher education, feel more experienced and more skillful	1	1.4
In Macedonia I don't have opportunity to improve what I learned in USA.	1	1.4
In my profession	1	1.4
In Switzerland is better	1	1.4

Increase working cooperation opportunities	1	1.4
Less potential income.	1	1.4
More confident on schedule, open minded, developing new ideas, get new risks.	1	1.4
More educated	1	1.4
Much better since I have international recognized diploma/qualifications but	1	1.4
My job position, my earnings	1	1.4
Now I am manager, but in Germany I was employer	1	1.4
Obtain great education.	1	1.4
Professionally	1	1.4
Professionally more efficient	1	1.4
Professionally	1	1.4
Skills experience, life, perspective	1	1.4
The culture here made me to feel worse	2	2.8
The education experiences I have gained are helping considerably improve my work.	1	1.4
There is not big difference from here to there	1	1.4
Work experience	1	1.4
Worse: in professional capacities, Better: In health	1	1.4
Total	72	100.0

Future Intentions

Table 46. Are you currently considering moving abroad to live and work again?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	29	41.4
No	41	58.6
Total	70	100.0

Table 47. Why are you not looking to move abroad?

	Frequency	Percent
This is my country/I belong here	18	29.0
My family/relatives are here	31	50
People are not friendly abroad	2	3.2
Discrimination in other countries	1	1.6
I would feel lonely abroad	1	1.6
Homesickness	2	3.2
Low incomes abroad	1	1.6
Poor work conditions abroad	0	0
Impossible or very difficult to find work abroad	5	8.0
Other reasons: Old for a new start	1	1.6
Total	62	100.0

Table 48. How likely or unlikely is it that you would leave Macedonia within:

Within	No	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
The next 6 months	68	1	5	2.40	1.340
The next 2 years.	64	1	5	2.91	1.365

Table 49. If you were to leave Macedonia, please give me the reasons you would have for living?

	Frequency	Percent
Better life	6	13.0
Better salary	5	10.8
Better work opportunities	3	6.5
Security issues	2	4.3
Don't feel my knowledge and capacities used appropriately	1	2.1
Economic	7	15.2
Education	5	10.8
Family	3	6.5
Career	5	10.8
Getting experience	2	4.3
Political climate	3	6.5
Poor governance and institutions	1	2.1
Other	3	6.5
Total	46	100.0

Table 50. If you were to move abroad, which country would you be best likely to go?

Country	Frequency	Percent
Austria	4	6.5
Belgium	3	4.9
Canada	2	3.2
UK	11	18.0
EU	2	3.2
France	1	1.6
Germany	4	6.5
Holland	2	3.2
Sweden	2	3.2
Norway	1	1.6
Malaysia	1	1.6
Italy	2	3.2
Slovenia	1	1.6
Croatia	2	3.2
Switzerland	1	1.6
USA	19	31.1
Australia	1	1.6
Other	2	3.2
Total	61	100.0

Table 51. What is your most important reason to go in this country?

	Frequency	Percent
Better living conditions	4	10.5
Better understanding and appreciation of highly education	1	2.6
Better work opportunities	7	18.4
Education	9	23.6
Income	7	18.4
Job opportunities and career	9	23.6
Style of life	1	2.6
Total	38	100.0

Table 52. How likely or unlikely is that you would move abroad to live and work?

	Frequency	Percent
Very unlikely	12	20.0
Quite unlikely	8	13.3
Neither likely or unlikely	19	31.7
Quite likely	20	33.3
Very likely	1	1.7
Total	60	100.0

Table 53. Are you able to finance your move abroad?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	24	42.9
No	17	30.4
Don't know	15	26.8
Total	56	100.0