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Brain Drain – A Future Threat in Kosovo? A Minor Field Study in Prishtina

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ABSTRACT: This thesis primarily examines the risk for brain drain in the future in Kosovo through survey data collected during March-April 2014 at the Public University of Prishtina. Differences in current emigration intentions between university students and a control group from a practical school are investigated. Also differences between fields of study are assessed in order to determine whether Kosovo risks future labor shortages in any specific sector. Further, the emigrations intentions under the hypothetical but plausible future scenario of European Union entrance is introduced and examined. Lastly, it is assessed whether Kosovo might benefit from future emigration through potential brain gain effects. No indications of potential brain have been found, but the generally high level of emigration intentions across all investigated groups is notable. The most important push factor for emigration from Kosovo today is unemployment, why development of functioning labor markets is of most importance for creating a sustainable society in the future. However, the results from investigating potential brain gain support that future emigration might not be solely harmful, but also benefit Kosovo in the future.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Objectives	1
2. BACKGROUND	2
2.1 International Overview	
2.2 Kosovo	
2.2.1 Current Situation	3
2.2.2 Historic Migrations	4
2.2.3 Current Diaspora, Governmental policy and Migration Trends	4
3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH	5
3.1 Neoclassical Economic Theory	
3.1.1 Macro Perspective	5
3.1.2 Micro Perspective	6
3.2 Brain Drain and Brain Gain	
4. MAIN QUESTION AND HYPOTHESIS	7
5. METHOD	
5.1 Survey and data collection process	
5.2 Model specifications	
5.3 Assessing Brain Drain	
5.3.1 Dependent Variables	
5.3.2 Control Variables	
5.3.3 Regressions	
5.4 Assessing Differences in Emigration Intentions	
5.5 Assessing Brain Gain	
5.6 Robustness	
6. RESULTS	19
6.1 Econometric results	
6.2 Summery statistics	
6.2.1 Converging Emigration Intentions	21
6.2.2 Suggestive Evidence for Brain Gain	
6.3 Other Descriptive Statistics	
6.4 Summery of results	
7. DISCUSSION	24
8. LIMITATIONS	
9. CONCLUSIONS	
10. REFERENCES	29
11. APPENDIX	

1. INTRODUCTION

Will Kosovo be able to retain its most educated youth and the next generation of workers, or lose the battle for the brains?

Scholars seem to agree that creation and retention of human capital is of great importance and an inevitable factor for generating growth and prosperity in a nation (Barro, 1980; Romer, 1984; Elseive, 2008), which in turn motivates public spending on education. However, in an increasingly globalized world the yields of investments in education are not guaranteed for individual countries. Namely, the choice to emigrate with the aim to achieve higher personal benefits has become much more accessible overall, but especially for the highly educated individuals— increasing the risk of experiencing 'brain drain'. Brain drain becomes an issue when educated people constitute a disproportional share of total emigration from a country and was recognized as a problem as early as the 1960's (Grubel and Scott, 1966). Today, high-skilled emigration represent one third of the total migration in the world, making the issue of brain drain more present than ever.

Previous literature and research on emigration from Kosovo is scarce, something that can largely be explained by the country's very recently established status of independence. Since the declaration of the independent Republic of Kosovo, two main contributions have been published on the subject. The first contribution was based on a survey conducted by King and Ivlevs (2008). They investigated the effect of schooling on propensity to emigrate from Kosovo and found significant indications of potential future brain drain. On the contrary, Mrika and Kotorri (2010) found no such indications based on a household survey conducted in 2007. The diverging views of whether Kosovo risks brain drain motivate more and updated research on the topic. Further, Kosovo is not only the youngest state in Europe but also the state with the youngest population (Vathi and Black, 2007). This implies that the country will soon experience a large inflow to the domestic labor market, without much experience of handling such irregularities. As of now, the unemployment rate among young people is already reaching alarming levels (UNDP, 2012). At the same time, Kosovo is on the official list of potential European Union (EU) members, which implies that the circumstances for emigration may change completely in the near future. Hence, the economic situation and the emigration patterns under current and future circumstances lie largely in the hands of the young people of Kosovo- the group of focus in our study.

1.1 Objectives

With this thesis, the aim is to contribute by providing policy relevant results. With a forwardlooking perspective measuring emigration intentions among current students, we aim to map likely future migration flows in this specific part of the population—a group that has never before been investigated specifically in Kosovo. In the light of a current and a future EU perspective, we aim to ease understanding of the factors behind the decision of staying or emigrating in the studied generation. We contribute to the theory by extending existing emigration decision models and by allowing external migration policies explicitly to affect the migration decision process.

2. BACKGROUND

In this section, the objective is to put the issue in a broader context by presenting an international overview of brain drain and international migration policies. The circumstances in Kosovo are also presented, both from a current point of view and by a brief description of historical migration trends.

2.1 International Overview

The two greatest causes of migration in general are crises in the home country (such as war) and labor (economic) migration. Brain drain occurs when a disproportional percentage of highly skilled labor leaves a country, which can occur both in times of crises and during an overall stabile situation, but usually for different reasons. In times of political stability, an important cause of brain drain is the skill-selective policies of migrant receiving countries. Namely, many counties have concrete policies and action plans to screen and attract high-skilled¹ labor and these policies can be divided into two strategies—'immigrant driven' implemented in e.g., Australia, and 'employer driven' implemented in e.g., Sweden (Boeri, Brücker, Docquier, and Rapoport, 2012). If the former is applied, the immigrant is selected on the basis of desirable human capital attributes, without having to have an explicit job offer. The latter, on the other hand, demands that an employer has explicitly offered the immigrant a job for the immigration application to be approved (Chaloff and Lemaitre, 2009). Generally, the immigrant driven strategies lead to a higher skill level among the immigrants of a country, since job offers also can be made to low-skilled workers.

In the EU, free internal labor mobility is one of the fundamental freedoms and is subject to EU level legislation. The immigration from non-EU countries is instead part of national policy, which can vary a lot between the member states. However, some initiatives have been kept on EU level, such as the common policy for highly skilled foreign migrants. Historically, most countries in the EU have not pursued a skill-selective immigration policy, but the trend has been changing during the last decade. In Germany, for example, the policy has become strictly favorable for skilled workers, stating that eligible workers initially are granted temporary residence permit or a "blue card" for working in Germany. If the worker is still employed when the temporary permit runs out, the permit will be extended to finally become a permanent settlement permit after five years. On the contrary, unskilled or low-skilled workers may stay in the country only temporarily and cannot be granted permanent residence. (Boeri et al 2012).

In 2008, Docquier and Rapoport estimated that highly skilled migrants represent one-third of total immigration to the OECD countries and that the trend is going towards a larger increase of highly skilled immigrants compared to the increase of low-skilled or unskilled immigrants. A focus in recent literature is observed brain drain of medical professionals. A problem has been identified in the fact that many countries with already stressed healthcare systems have experienced a net outflow of health workers, such as nurses and doctors. Other countries, such as the countries in Europe and the US, then pick up this labor "outflow" from other countries in order to sustain their own healthcare systems. This is supported by the fact that almost 23 percent of Sweden's doctors are foreign-trained, while the equivalent number is almost 34 percent for the United Kingdom. (Aluttis, Bishaw, and Frank, 2014). The specific immigration regime in Sweden states explicitly that labor migration is one of the means to fill general labor shortages (EMN, 2010). The United States have a special temporary-worker category (H-1B) that

¹ Foreign-born workers with a tertiary education.

aim to allow employers to temporarily hire individuals with "specialty occupations," where computer programmers and engineers, medical professionals and accountants are pointed out as main examples (Espenshade, 2001).

Overall, the general trend seems to be turning towards higher skill-selection in many receiving countries of the world.

2.2 Kosovo

2.2.1 Current Situation

Kosovo has one of the youngest populations in the world and the youngest in Europe. As much as 28 percent of the total population is younger than 15 years of age, while half of the population is younger than 28.2 years of age according Kosovo Population Projection in 2010 (Kosovo Agency of Statistics, 2010).

Kosovo is considered to be one of the poorest countries in the Europe, with an estimated GDP per capita of \$3566.7 in 2012. Relatively to the country's total GDP, nearly 10 percent of the economy is sustained by international support packages while 9.3 percent of the economy is sustained by remittances. (UNDP, 2013)

Since the independence in 2008 the country has experienced positive GDP growth every year, which is partly explained by the fact that the country is not well integrated into the world economy (and thereby insensitive to general macro economical patterns) and receives a constant in-flow of remittances (due to a large diaspora). Nevertheless, the overall productivity in the country remains low, while the unemployment rates remain high. Only 23.9 percent of the working age population is employed today and 35.1 percent are actively seeking employment. It is however assumed that a substantial "shadow economy" employs a large part of the registered unemployed. Amongst the population with less than upper secondary school the employment rate is only 9.3 percent for the total population. The same rate is 34.9 percent for individuals with an upper secondary degree and 76.9 percent for individuals with tertiary education. Youth unemployment represents the greatest problem with as many as 73 percent of the population aged 15-24 being unemployed, compared to the overall 45.4 percent unemployment rate on country level. (UNDP, 2012)

Kosovo has been recognized by 23 out of the 28 EU member states and is officially on the list of potential EU candidates. However, since neither China nor Russia has recognized the country, integration in UN seems to be a more remote ambition. Further, Kosovo is the only country in Southeastern Europe, which has travel restrictions to the Schengen Area. Progress towards liberalizing the visa restriction is slow and the European Commission has raised doubts whether Kosovo has the capacity to efficiently fight corruption and organized crime—two important requirements in order for the liberalization to be implemented. (World Bank, 2014)

Kosovo has a high enrollment rate is school with as much as 99.9 percent in lower secondary school i.e. 6th-9th grade and 92.1 percent continue to upper secondary school. The upper secondary education in Kosovo is divided into general schools (gymnasiums) and vocational schools (VET). In 2012-2013, approximately 56.9 percent of all upper secondary students were enrolled in vocational schools and the remaining 43.1 percent in gymnasiums. The enrollment in university education is however among the lowest in Europe with an enrollment rate at 16 percent of the relevant age group in 2008. (World Bank, 2008). However, the percentage of the total population enrolled in tertiary education is steadily increasing each year and 2011/2012 the estimated number was approximately 4 percent (3753 per 100 000 inhabitants) compared to 2.7 percent in 2009/2010 (Kosovo Agency of Statistics, 2012). Kosovo

has harmonized the domestic education system with the EU by adopting the Bologna System². However, the country has not been able to sign the Bologna Declaration due to the incomplete country status. (The Education Reform Initiative of South Easter Europe, 2014). More than 80 percent of the students enrolled in tertiary education are students of a public school or university. The largest university in Kosovo is the Public University of Prishtina with a total of 44 130 students enrolled across 16 faculties (Kosovo Agency of Statistics, 2011).

Kosovo has increased the percentage of public spending on education, going from 3.3 percent in 2007 to 4.1 percent in 2012. However, according to the World Bank (2014), the education system does not yet provide its students with adequate curricula to match the evolving labor market requirements. A recent concern is the international transferability of the diplomas obtained by students in Kosovo (Kotorri, 2010). The "National Curriculum Framework" is currently being revised with the aim to redirect teaching from subject-based to competency-based curricula and to provide students with transferable skills (World Bank, 2014).

2.2.2 Historic Migrations

In modern times, after the formation of Yugoslavia³ in 1918, five distinct waves of large emigrations from Kosovo can be identified. The first phase of emigration occurred between 1945 and 1966 when many Albanians left Kosovo and fled to Turkey due to repressive politics of the Serbs. The second phase occurred during the late 1960s when the wave of "gastarbeiters" (guest workers) moved to Western Europe (mostly Switzerland and Germany) to work. These were mostly rural, low-skilled men, who were seldom integrated into the culture of the host country due the outspoken goal of only temporal residence. The death of the Yugoslavian leader, Tito in 1981 marked the starting point of the third period of large migration, mostly due to the political instability and persistent underdevelopment of the country. This caused emigration of all ethnicities from Kosovo, amongst them an estimated 350 000 Albanians between 1991-1998. This time, the emigrants were more highly educated and more skilled-the first recorded occasion of brain drain in the area. In 1998, the war between Kosovo and Serbia started officially and between March and June 1999, an estimated 850 000 refugees fled Kosovo, mostly to neighboring countries (Haxhikadrija, 2009). NATO airstrikes on Serbia followed and displaced another 245 000 non-Albanians, of whom many fled in fear of reprisals after the withdrawal of Yugoslav troops from Kosovo in mid-1999 (IDMC 2012).

In the post conflict period, there are indications that low or semi-skilled workers have mostly left illegally, whilst students and highly skilled workers have emigrated to study abroad or through employment in international organizations (Vathi and Black, 2007).

The return migration to Kosovo has been of both voluntary and forced character. The main flow of voluntary returns was noted during the immediate three years after the termination of the war in 1999. The forced returns have mostly been due to illegal immigration or legal immigration without all criteria fulfilled (Central Bank of Kosovo, 2008).

2.2.3 Current Diaspora and Governmental policy

As a consequence of the different emigration waves from Kosovo, a distinction can be made between the so called "old diaspora," which are the labor migrants that left during the Yugoslav regime, and those that left the country later due to conflicts and political instability. The size of the current diaspora is estimated to consist of around 315 000 Kosovo-Albanians and around 100

² The Bologna Process framework contains three cycles of higher education qualifications, first cycle being a

Bachelor's Degree, second a Master's Degree and the third a doctoral degree.

³ Kosovo was a part of Yugoslavia.

000 individuals of Serbian and other ethnicities. A majority of the diaspora currently lives in Germany (39 percent) and Switzerland (23 percent) (King and Vullnetari, 2009). In 2008 about 60 percent of the diaspora were permanent citizens of the country where they were living, 34 percent had temporary stay (2-10 years) of which 1.3 percent had a student visa. The remaining 6 percent have a not defined status.

A general trend on the Balkans, also observed in Kosovo, is a strong link between the diaspora and the home country. The diaspora of Kosovo does not only send back money (remittances), but the frequency of their visits to the home country is notable. The main reason for this trend is the presence of close family members still living in Kosovo. 43 percent of the Kosovars report that they have family members that live outside of Kosovo (UNDP, 2013). Of these emigrants, 63.86 percent report that they visit Kosovo three to four times a year, and most of them, 90.2 percent, stay in the country for a period of two weeks to a month spending an average of 2715 Euro per year during their visits (UNDP, 2012).

Currently, the biggest focus of the government is to stop the illegal emigration and to develop strategies for establishing and maintaining close contact with the diaspora. Less emphasis is put on the policy for potential emigrants (Government of Kosovo, 2013).

3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

In this section, a brief theoretical overview of the subject of migration based on the neoclassical assumptions will be provided. The concepts of brain drain and brain drain are then described from a theoretical perspective.

3.1 Neoclassical Economic Theory

3.1.1 Macro Perspective

In a neoclassical economic framework, migration is driven by differences in labor to capital ratios. The implication is that people living in a labor abundant country should strive towards emigration to a country where labor is scarcer and hence where higher returns to labor can be obtained. Capital should in turn relocate in the opposite direction. In this setting, migration (international movement of labor) is a perfect substitute to trade (movement of capital) as the both will lead to factor price equalization. Factors price equalization denotes wage convergence and therefore equality in wealth in the world (Ohlin, 1933). By introducing the accumulation of knowledge (Romer, 1984), countries differ not only in labor to capital ratios but also in the levels of technology (total factor productivity) through the growth of ideas. In this setting, difference in wealth can persist over time and give incentives for migration.

When analyzing driving forces for migration at macro level, a distinction is commonly made between push and pull factors, a framework introduced by Lee (1966). Pull factors are positive aspects of destination countries observed by potential migrants. These observations in turn increase the expected utility of emigration. Examples of pull factors mentioned are job opportunities, improved living conditions, political and/or religious freedom and education. Push factors are instead negative aspects of the society in the home country that also increases the utility of emigration. Examples of push factors are lack of job opportunities and famine. From a more recent theory called The Dual Labor Market Theory (Reich, Gordon, and Edwards, 1973), it could be derived that the pull factors are stronger forces in practice compared to push factors and hence makes international migration demand driven. Further, the theory implies that

migration is triggered by developed countries' need for low-skilled workers that can perform jobs that the domestic population is not willing to perform.

3.1.2 Micro Perspective

In the microeconomic paradigm, the external conditions are taken as given and migration flows are seen as the aggregation of individual rational migration decisions. The benefits of an emigration decision today are expected to accrue over time, which implies that the decision can be seen as an investment (Schultz, 1961). The aim of this investment is to relocate in order to receive higher returns on labor and hence increase the human capital⁴, why modeling migration as an investment decision is referred to as The Human Capital Model (Sjastaad, 1962 and Schultz, 1961). Based on the human capital approach, DaVanzo (1980) published a decision rule for emigration:

Migrate if
$$PV_{ij} = \sum_{t=1}^{T} \frac{U_j^t - U_i^t - C_{ij}^t}{(1+r)^t} > 0$$
 for at least one area $j \ (\neq i)$ (1)

In this framework, the individual decides to emigrate if the expected utility (U_j) in any possible destination country is larger than the expected utility (U_i) in the home country and the initial moving costs C_{ij} . Future benefits and costs are discounted with a discount rate (r), where r is a function of the individual's risk-aversion, the riskiness of the investment and the individual's subjective valuation of current verses future utility. The expected time horizon (t) of the investment is equal to current life expectancy. Migration decisions are, as in DaVanzo's model, commonly modeled as a one-time investment decision. The underlying assumption is that an individual makes a rational decision based on the information currently possessed (Bowles, 1970). Due to information constraints, an individual can typically only consider a few potential destinations in the decision process and the estimations of utilities, costs and risks involved may be very rough.

Another aspect is liquidity constraints that might hinder emigration, even when the investment is estimated to have a positive net present value, as it is often difficult to lend financial resources for a high-risk investment such as emigration (Mesnard, 2004).

A possibility not explicitly accounted for in (1) is that an emigration can be of temporary and/or recurrent character. In such cases, the analysis of the decision remains the same but the relative values of the factors involved might change. As an example, the psychic cost of leaving family and friends behind can be smaller if an emigration is only for a limited period of time (called seasonal migration). Further, individuals who emigrate and return to the home country multiple times (called circular migration) are expected to possess more accurate information about conditions in the destination country, changing the expected utility and the risk factor involved. (DaVanzo, 1980)

A common critique towards The Human Capital Model is that migration is modeled as an individual investment decision. In a household with shared incomes and expenses, it is argued that migration decisions should be analyzed from a household perspective (Mincer, 1978). An extension to the household view is The New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) theory, which argues that country-level differences in earnings are not necessarily the driving force of emigration. Instead, the main reason for emigration can be to diversify the household's

⁴ Productivity per hour worked.

investments by e.g. securing an inflow of remittances, and in that way protect the family from economic shocks (Stark and Bloom, 1985).

3.2 Brain Drain and Brain Gain

The traditional view of brain drain is based on an externality argument, implying that there are several costs and benefits at a societal level associated with emigration (Grubel and Scott, 1966). Many of these externalities are not accounted for in the private investment decision (Sjastaad, 1962). For example, education increases the level of human capital and thereby private earnings (wages), which in turn benefits the society through increased taxes and increased overall productivity resulting in growth for the nation. As trends have shown, the emigrants predominantly leave relatively poor countries to work in richer ones, which implies that the social benefits mentioned above are transferred from poor to rich countries. In this way, brain drain, contributes to increased inequalities in the world (Bhagwati and Hamada, 1974).

This idea of brain drain has increasingly been challenged by the opposite view of 'brain gain', which proposes that emigration of high skilled people could contribute to the development of their home countries through three different mechanisms. Firstly, the availability of the option to emigrate provides an additional incentive for people to invest in education to improve their marketability abroad. If only a fraction of those that initially intended to emigrate are able to pursue their plans, a country might be left with more educated citizens than without the option to emigrate (Mountford, 1997). Secondly, people may want to emigrate only for a limited period of time. Upon return, the home society will gain the benefit of the individual's new skills, ideas and perspectives obtained abroad (Mayr, 2008). Thirdly, the diaspora can contribute to their home countries through feedback effects, such as financial remittances, but also through social remittances such as ideas, values and information. Under this last category, the impact of money spent during visits to the home country and foreign direct investment is also found as another stimulus of the domestic economy.

Whether or not the positive brain gain effects out way the brain drain is a currently debated subject and no consensus has been reached among scholars. (Hunter, 2013)

4. MAIN QUESTION AND HYPOTHESIS

As the employment opportunities in Kosovo are scarce, education mainly increases expected earnings through improved chances of employment and not through significantly higher wages (Hoti, 2011). Today's high youth unemployment rate is expected to be an important push factor towards emigration for the age group in general, independent of educational level. However, due to the relatively enhanced likelihood of employment in the home country for the highly educated, these young individuals should be less motivated to emigrate. On the other hand, the higher educated individuals are also more likely to be successful on the foreign labor market, where the return to their education could be substantially higher. This in turn implies that highly educated should be more motivated to emigrate than the low-skilled individuals, who are relatively less likely to be successful abroad (Ivlevs and King, 2011). Hence, education increases the expected utility both in the home country and abroad, so the net effect of education on emigration intentions is unclear.

The probability to successfully emigrate can as well vary with the educational level. Given that Kosovo is assessed to be a stable country and that many potential destination countries

today have skill-selective immigration policies and, the legal route of emigration is predominately available for individuals with high human capital.

Due to the immense youth unemployment rates, the push factors are estimated to be high for the entire young population. However, education can increase the probability of employment and hence reduce these push factors. The pull factors are higher for the educated people due to the skill-selection of other countries and the relative higher probability of success in a foreign labor market.

All the above effects should be apparent already upon enrollment in higher education, since the enrolled student knows by then which degree he/she will have and thereby which opportunities will be given in the future.

Given this, the first hypothesis is formed:

Hypothesis I: Enrollment in higher education in Kosovo is expected to affect current emigration intentions positively, potentially causing future brain drain.

Further, some professions are more successful in the home country labor market and these may or may not coincide with the labor demand in foreign countries. Different fields of study provide skills that are more or less country specific, and are demanded to different extents on the international and domestic labor markets. Based on the high international demand for health professionals and engineers, students enrolled in these fields of study are expected to have both higher expected utility abroad and higher probability to successfully emigrate. Other fields of study, such as law, are very country specific and hence these degrees are not as transferable to other countries (Friedberg, 2000). On these premises the second hypothesis is formed:

Hypothesis II: Among those enrolled in higher education, some fields of study is expected to have higher emigration intentions under the current circumstances. Due to specific labor shortages in other countries, enrollment in medicine and engineering studies are expected to affect emigration intentions positively and affect them to a greater extent than other fields of study.

Kosovo is officially on the list of potential candidates for membership in the EU. One of the core principles of the EU is freedom of movement, which would also become one of the perks for Kosovars. The skill-selection of today would not apply anymore, resulting in convergence in possibilities to emigrate between individuals with higher education and the control group. The labor demand for different professions within Kosovo and the EU, and hence the relative differences between utility abroad and in the home country, should however remain the same in the near future. Given this, three additional hypothesis about the emigration intensions of the different groups in the case of an EU entrance are formed:

Hypothesis III: Enrollment in higher education in Kosovo is expected to affect emigration intentions positively, even under potential EU membership due to the remaining higher demand for high-skilled labor in other countries.

Hypothesis IV: Even in the case of Kosovo becoming a member of the EU, due to the unchanged labor shortages in other countries, enrollment in medicine and engineering studies are still expected to affect emigration intentions positively and affect them more than other fields of study.

Hypothesis V: Differences between educational levels in emigration intentions given EU membership should be smaller than under current circumstances due to convergence in emigration possibilities between the groups. In the same manner, differences between fields of study in emigration intentions should be smaller as well.

The general trend in Kosovo has been to receive remittances up to a value of 9.3 percent of GDP in 2012. The trends of the current diaspora are frequent visits to Kosovo, at the same time as the government in the country works intensely to improve these connections even further (UNDP, 2013). At the same time, as mentioned, the new emigration trend in Kosovo is to emigrate only temporarily for work or studies. The fifth hypothesis is formed on these premises:

Hypothesis VI: Future emigration of young Kosovars will benefit Kosovo through brain gain effects.

5. METHOD

In this section the survey process, the model specification and the econometrical approach will be presented. Hypothesis I, II, III and IV are tested by using a linear probability model (LPM) with two different dependent variables, embodying the two investigated scenarios. The first variable represents the current situation and the second represents the hypothetical scenario of Kosovo becoming a member of the EU. Hypothesis V is tested using a t-test that allow us compare mean values of differences in emigration intentions in the two scenarios. Finally, hypothesis VI is not tested econometrically. Instead, the answers to the relevant questions about potential brain gain will be presented in a summery statistics. Further, additional interesting data will be presented as a complement to the econometric analysis.

5.1 Survey and data collection process

A survey instrument was used to collect the data for the field study. The data of the treatment group, containing university students, was collected from the five largest faculties of the Public University of Prishtina. The chosen faculties were the Faculty of Economics, Law, Education, Engineering and the Faculty of Medicine. The Faculty of Engineering and Medicine have several sub-faculties, but due to time limitations we chose one department from each, as representatives for the faculties. As representatives for engineering we have chosen to survey students from the Department of Electrics and Computer Studies, while the representatives for the medicine faculty are future physicians. The questionnaire containing 72 main questions was distributed in paper format to exclusively first-year students during lectures, ensuring an unbiased collection process. A small bias could result from the fact that the students answering the questionnaire actually attended the lecture, something that could imply a higher level of ambition. The level of ambition can in turn be correlated with emigration intentions. Otherwise, there are no reasons to suspect biasedness in the collection process.

The control group consists of students enrolled in the vocational education and training school (VET), Shtjefën Gjeçovi. The VET students are last year students and are therefore of similar age as our treatment group. The control group represents the youth that will face the labor market without a higher education. A problem faced when using the VET students as a control group is that the students eventually may apply for higher education studies. This problem is partly solved by explicitly asking the students whether they plan to pursue higher education after their VET studies⁵. Seven individuals displayed such ambitions and were for that reason not accounted for in our estimations. Again, this questions does not erase the problem completely, since this information only represent the students' current intentions to not pursue higher education, which may not conform with the reality later on.

When the data collection was completed, four students from the faculty of economics assisted the process of inserting all the questionnaire answers into Excel, which were then inserted and analyzed in STATA in a second step.

⁵ Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, Question 49.

5.2 Model specifications

The model used is based on the view that emigration is an individual investment decision and not a common household decision. This approach is chosen due to the low average age in the investigated group, which is consequently less likely to have formed own households yet. The model is an extension of the DaVanzo model (1) in which we have chosen to allow for different discounts rates for the option to emigrate and for the option to stay in the home country. The two discount rates are allowed for since we expect the risk to vary, for some individuals, in the two options. The following net present value (NPV) equation is then derived:

NPV(emigration) =
$$\sum_{t=1}^{T} \left(\frac{U_{Abr}}{(1+r_{Abr})^t} - \frac{U_{Home}}{(1+r_{Home})^t} \right) - C_0$$
 (2)

Where U_{Abr} represents the expected utility of living abroad, U_{Home} is the expected utility of living in home country, r_{Abr} and r_{Home} are the discount rates for living abroad and home respectively, while C_0 represents the initial disutility of moving. The decision rule is to emigrate if NPV(emigration) > 0, i.e. when migration intentions arise, since:

Migration intentions = Max{NPV(emigration), 0}

The net present value of the expected utilities includes all the monetary and non-monetary costs and benefits of living abroad or in the home country. These utilities persist over time, examples being income level, cost of being far from family and the benefit of access to good institutions. The initial disutility of moving include monetary and psychic costs incurred around the time of emigration.

Actual emigration is further a consequence of both an active decision to emigrate modeled as above and exogenous circumstances, such as restrictions in international emigration policies and accessibility of illegal emigration routes. To include the effect of external circumstances a factor P is introduced, representing the probability of successful emigration. Also, the initial disutility of emigration depends on whether the emigration attempt will be successful. Some of these costs are incurred before emigration and should be interpreted as all the costs involved in the realization of a serious emigration attempt. These are then realized regardless whether or not the emigration attempt is successful. Examples are information search, visa application process and studies with the aim to facilitate emigration. Other costs are incurred, with the probability P, only when the emigration is actualized and include examples such as loss of earnings during the establishment on the foreign labor market and learning a new language. Given the introduction of the factor P and the division of initial disutility of emigration the equation can be rewritten as:

NPV(emigration) = P
$$\left(\sum_{t=1}^{T} \left(\frac{U_{Abr}}{(1+r_{Abr})^t} - \frac{U_{Home}}{(1+r_{Home})^t} \right) - C_{AE} \right) - C_{BE}$$
 (3)

where $P \leq 1$, C_{BE} are the costs incurred before and C_{AE} are the costs incurred after the point of emigration.

If the chance of a successful emigration (P) is less than 1, the term effected by P (utility abroad less the utility in the home country less costs incurred after the emigration) must be larger in order for an individual to choose to emigrate. Consequently, the external factors reflected in P then diminish the international emigration flows. This effect operates both directly through

decreasing the possibility for intended emigration to be actualized, and indirectly through lowering the number of individuals intending to emigrate. Further, the P can vary for different groups in society, e.g. due to skill-selection implemented by potential destination countries. The decision rule remains the same. In our analysis the current scenario with limited possibilities to emigrate will be compared to the scenario of EU membership, and thereby an assessment can be made on how differences in P affect emigration intentions.

5.3 Assessing Brain Drain

5.3.1 Dependent Variables

The dependent variable used for assessing brain drain is self-reported emigration intensions under the present circumstances, and in the potential case of future EU membership.

To test hypothesis I and II, emigration intentions under the current circumstances are assessed. In the current situation the possibilities to emigrate are on average limited and skill-selection exists implying that P is on average low and differs between educational levels. To create the dependent variable, the question "Where do you plan to live after graduation?"⁶ is posed. This question is used to reflect a decision the respondent has already made. A dummy is formed to adopt the value of 1 if respondents has answered that he/she plans to live abroad and 0 if the respondents has answered any of the other alternatives⁷.

To address hypothesis III, the same procedure at above will be used, but the dependent variable will reflect the emigration intentions if Kosovo were to enter the EU. To create this variable, the question "If Kosovo were to enter into the EU, it would be possible for Kosovars to live and work anywhere in the EU. If Kosovo were a member state in the European Union when you graduate, how likely would it be for you to go and live abroad?"⁸ is posed. The dummy is constructed to adopt the value of 1 of respondents have answered "very likely" or "rather likely" and 0 if respondents have answered "rather unlikely" or "very unlikely".

5.3.2 Control Variables

To identify the variables, other than education, that might affect the emigration decision, the NPV equation (2) is used:

NPV(emigration) =
$$\sum_{t=1}^{T} \left(\frac{U_{Abr}}{(1+r_{Abr})^t} - \frac{U_{Home}}{(1+r_{Home})^t} \right) - C_0$$

The first important factor of the NPV equation is the investment horizon of the individual evaluating the emigration decision. A young person is expected to live longer than an old person leaving the NPV expression decreasingly likely to be positive with age, which is controlled for by including "Age" as a control variable in the model.

Another factor affecting the NPV of emigration is the discount factor needed to compute the present value of the utilities. The discount factor depends on the riskiness of the investment, the individual's risk-aversion and the individual subjective valuation of future verses current utility (Berk and DeMarzo, 2013). Utility abroad is expected to exhibit higher risk due to lack of knowledge about the living conditions in the potential destination country. However, the

⁶ Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, Question 21.

⁷ The other answering options: 1= In my hometown (if Kosovo but not Prishtina), 2= In Prishtina, 3= In Kosovo but not in my hometown or Prishtina. Response rate 96.5%.

⁸ Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, Question 25.

riskiness should decrease with reliable information about the host country, which can be obtained e.g. when an individual has a network abroad. The expected major source of information is family and friends living abroad, why the variable "frequency of contact with relatives abroad" is used as a control variable. The individuals who stated that they "have lived most of their life abroad" are also controlled for since they are expected to possess accurate information about living conditions abroad and thus their discount factor should be lowered. Further, lower riskaversion is expected to result in higher preparedness for emigration. To account for the level of risk aversion a combined measure of "self-efficacy" and "sensation seeking" is used. The respondents were asked to assess to which degree their own behavior cohere with six different statements on a Likert Scale⁹. This self-assessment was then analyzed in accordance with the predetermined grading of the level of self-efficacy and sensation seeking used by Dalen and Henkens (2008). Self-efficacy is a measure of how confident a person is about handling unexpected situations (Sherer, 1982), while sensation seeking measures to what extent an individual is actively looking for new experiences, adventures and their promptness to take on risks (Horvath and Zuckerman, 1993). A high level of self-efficacy and sensation seeking are expected to correlate with a smaller risk-aversion and hence higher migration intentions. The individual subjective valuation of future verses current utility affects the valuation of both utility in the home country and abroad by the same magnitude and is therefore not controlled for.

The subjectively assessed utilities in the NPV model can be of both monetary and nonmonetary character. The expected monetary utility in the home country is affected by an individual's perception of the own economic situation and how it has developed over time. The perceived current situation is controlled for with the results from the anchoring technique used in the survey instrument. The respondent was asked to assess own family's financial situation directly after having assessed the financial situation of three other fictive characters¹⁰. The development of the economic situation is controlled for using the question "How is your family's current situation compared to three years ago?"11. The loss-aversion hypothesis implies that a loss in income has a larger absolute impact on household utility than an equivalent gain. To allow for these different effects, two separate dummy variables are used. One of them takes on the value of 1 if conditions have improved for the family and other one takes on the value of 1 if conditions have worsened. In order to avoid multicollinearity, respondents that have answered "no difference" in the situation today compared to three years ago are excluded. Ceteris paribus, the effect of worsened conditions is expected to be greater in magnitude than that of improved conditions (Tversky and Kahneman, 1991). The utility in the home country can also depend on the respondent's current establishment on the labor market. The question "Do you work extra in parallel to your studies?"12 was posed to control for this. An individual currently working will have more working experience when entering the labor market, which might increase the possibility of employment after the studies. In turn, this can increase their utility of staying in the home country. However, a student that works might do so in lack of other options if e.g. an extra income is needed in the household. In this case, the financial situation might be a driving factor for this individual to emigrate both because of dissatisfaction and the urge to send back money to their families. Another aspect is that a person working in parallel to their studies is more likely to be extra driven with high work ethics-abilities that can make individuals more successful both

⁹ Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, questions 1-6.

¹⁰ Appendix 2, The Anchoring Technique. Majority of answers were within the expected intervals.

¹¹ Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, question 34.

¹² Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, question 16.

on the domestic and the foreign labor market. The expected effect of the variable "work" on migration intentions is therefore unclear. Further, an important aspect concerning the specific situation in Kosovo is that Kosovo is a country that has recently undergone a long struggle for independence (O'Rourke and Sinnott, 2006). One non-monetary benefit of staying in the home country can therefore be a feeling of unity and proudness. To control for this factor, a variable for patriotism is used which is based on the variable is based on the answers to the question "How proud are you to be a Kosovar?"¹³.

The initial disutility of migration includes the need to learn a foreign language. Therefore, the number of foreign languages mastered by our respondents is controlled for, as this fact would lower the cost of moving. Also, people that have answered that they have not lived most of their lives in Prishtina are expected to have a lower social cost of moving as they have already left friends and family to study in another city. The downside of this approach is that the region of origin with high probability is correlated with many other factors, why the interpretation of the variable should be done with caution. Further, people with a solid network abroad should be expected to have lower initial migration costs, since they e.g. could make sure to have somewhere to live in the beginning of the stay in the new country (McKenzie and Rapoport, 2007). This is again controlled for using the variable "frequency contact with relatives abroad". Some of the individuals in our sample have reported that they have lived most of their lives outside of Kosovo, which might lower disutility of emigration, due to already established networks and experience of emigration. To control for this, the variable "origin abroad" is used.

According to the New Economies of Labor Migration theory (NELM), an increase in earnings modeled as above does not have to be the driving force for migration given that a household shares incomes and expenditures. In these cases the main reason for emigration can be to diversify the family's income streams and thereby protect the family from economic shocks (Stark et al. 1985). As the Kosovo-Albanian family culture largely can be described as an economic unit (Rrapi, 2003; Kotorri, 2010), household size is included as variable in the regression.

The expected effect of the control variables on emigration intentions are summarized in the Table 1, below:

¹³ Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, Question 67.

Table 1: The expected effect of the control variables on emigration intentions

Control	Affecting factor	Expected effect on EI
Age	Decrease time horizon of investment	_
Sex	General check	
Origin Prishtina	Increase social moving cost	_
Origin abroad	Decrease riskiness of investment and migration cost	+
Household size	Decrease migration costs and Increase incentive to migrate for diversification	+
Assessment of current living standard	Increase expected utility in home country	_
Language skills	Decrease migration costs	+
Current family situation compared to 3 years ago, improved	Increase expected utility in home country	-
Current family situation compared to 3 years ago, worsened	Decrease expected utility in home country	+
Frequency of contact with relatives abroad	Decreases riskiness of investment and migration costs	+
Work parallel to studies	Increase/decrease expected utility in home country	+/-
Risk seeker	Decrease discount factor	+
Proudness	Increase expected utility in home country	_

5.3.3 Regressions

In the regressions, a linear probability model (LPM) is used due to the binary character of our dependent variables, but also due to the intuitive interpretations this model facilitates. To test hypothesis I and II, the dependent variable for emigration intentions under current circumstances is used in a regression. To investigate how the effect of education on emigration intentions changes under a potential EU membership in accordance with hypothesis III and IV, a second regression is conducted. The dependent variable in the regression represents emigration intentions if Kosovo were to become member of the EU. In both of the two separate regressions, a dummy called "University" is created to be 1 for individuals enrolled in higher education and 0 otherwise. The Faculty of Economics (Econ) is chosen to be the base group for university students and the constant contain the prediction for the control group. The dependent variable is regressed on the dummy for university students and the fields of study. A vector X, including control basic control variables is part of the short specification. As a second stage, vector Z is added, including supplemental variables to test the hypothesis.

Vector X =

 $\gamma_1Age + \gamma_2Sex + \gamma_3Origin Prishtina + \gamma_4Origin abroad + \gamma_5Household + \gamma_6Current standard$

Vector Z =

 δ_1 Languages + δ_2 Improved standard + δ_3 Worsened standard + δ_4 Contacts abroad + δ_5 Work + δ_6 Risk seeking + δ_7 Proudness

The main specifications for the two dependent variables are:

EI current =

 $\alpha_0 + \alpha_1 University + \alpha_2 Education + \alpha_3 Law + \alpha_4 Engineering + \alpha_5 Medicine + \alpha X + \alpha Z + \epsilon_i$ (4)

 $EI EU = \beta_0 + \beta_1 University + \beta_2 Education + \beta_3 Law + \beta_4 Engineering + \beta_5 Medicine + \beta X + \beta Z + \varepsilon_i$ (5)

To illustrate the function of the university dummy, for instance, the point estimate for the probability for a medicine student to have reported migration intentions is: $\beta_0 + \beta_1 + \beta_5$

5.4 Assessing Differences in Emigration Intentions

To test hypothesis V, regarding converging differences in emigration intentions, a t-test is performed to establish whether the differences in emigration intentions between university students and the control group are smaller when the EU scenario is introduced compared to under the current circumstances. It is the sample mean of the emigration intentions that is used in the t-test and not the estimated betas. This choice is motivated by the fact that we test for differences in the sample groups, containing the same individuals in both scenarios and thus other factors does not need to be controlled for. The procedure has been conducted in two steps. Firstly, the difference between the mean values of current emigration intentions between the groups are estimated:

$$\left(\overline{EI_{Current(Uni)}} - \overline{EI_{Current(VET)}}\right)$$

Secondly, the same is done for the EU scenario:

$$\left(\overline{EI_{EU(Uni)}} - \overline{EI_{EU(VET)}}\right)$$

The hypothesis is that the differences will become smaller under the EU scenario (**Hypothesis V**):

$$\left|\left(\overline{EI_{Current(Uni)}} - \overline{EI_{Current(VET)}}\right)\right| > \left|\left(\overline{EI_{EU(Uni)}} - \overline{EI_{EU(VET)}}\right)\right|$$
(6)

The t-test is used to find whether the absolute differences have significantly decreased. The same procedure is used to test whether the hypothesized differences between engineering students and the other fields of study decreases under the EU scenario. The same is done with the medical students against the other fields.

$$\left|\left(\overline{EI_{Current(Engin)}} - \overline{EI_{Current(Uni)}}\right)\right| > \left|\left(\overline{EI_{EU(Engin)}} - \overline{EI_{EU(Uni)}}\right)\right|$$
(7)

$$\left|\left(\overline{EI_{Current(Med)}} - \overline{EI_{Current(Uni)}}\right)\right| > \left|\left(\overline{EI_{EU(Med)}} - \overline{EI_{EU(Uni)}}\right)\right|$$
(8)

5.5 Assessing Brain Gain

To assess hypothesis VI, we simply present the answers to the questions used in the survey instrument to assess potential brain gain amongst those that has reported noteworthy likeliness to emigrate.

The first type of brain gain discussed earlier, is the theory that people educate themselves with the specific purpose to increase their changes to emigrate, but that at least some of them later choose to stay in the home country, increasing the overall educational level. To show whether we can find such tendencies in our sample, we illustrate the percentage of the sample that has stated that their main reason for choosing higher education and/or field of study is to increase the possibility to find a job abroad¹⁴. This is measured independent of the answer to the questions assessing self-reported likeliness of emigration.

Monetary and social remittances are another type of potential brain gain. In this case we illustrate the distribution of the answers to the question "If you emigrated, how often do you think you would come back and visit your family and friends?" and the question "If you emigrated, how likely is it that you would send back remittances (send back money to family/friends living in Kosovo)?"¹⁵.

Brain gain also occurs when an individual that has once emigrated, choose to move back to their home countries with new experiences and knowledge. To assess whether such tendencies exist in our sample, we have posed the question *"If you were to live abroad, for how long would you want to stay?*"¹⁶, with the response options ranging from *"less than three months"* up to *"permanently"*. In both the case of intended future remittances and intended brain circulation, the tendencies for

¹⁴ Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, Questions 45-46.

¹⁵ Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, Questions 57-58.

¹⁶ Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, Question 53.

brain gain have been based on the portion of the sample that has reported that it is "*rather likely*" or "*very likely*" to emigrate if Kosovo were to enter into the EU.

5.6 Robustness

The empirical model used is a liner probability model (LPM) with an integrated assumption of linear relationship between the explanatory variables and emigration intentions. The real relationship can however not be observed and to compensate for this, a logit regression is run as a robustness test¹⁷. Besides LPM, the logit model is commonly used to estimate binary dependent variables and allow for a logistic functional form, which can be harder to interpret. Still, this test should indicate the same patterns in the regressions in order to establish robustness.

Another issue demanding attention is that the LPM, per definitions, generates heteroscedasticity (Wooldridge, 2009) why robust standard errors are reported for all the regressions.

Further, the relative sizes of the fields of study in our sample are not completely representative for the relative sizes of the real population, which threatens to cause a bias in the results. To ensure that this is not a severe problem, another regression is run in which observations have been randomly chosen to mirror the actual relative sizes of the faculties in the sample¹⁸. Then, the results of this test regression are compared to the main specifications with the hope that the two indicate the same patterns.

¹⁷ Appendix 5, Robustness Test I: The Logit Regression.

¹⁸ Appendix 6-6.1, Robustness Test II: Weighted Sample Regression.

VARIABLES	Current plans with	Current plans with	EU with	EU with
	vector X	vector X+Z	vector X	vector X+Z
	EI_current	EI_current	EI_EU	EI_EU
Education	-0.0187	0.000611	-0.0582	-0.0378
	(0.0497)	(0.0525)	(0.0605)	(0.0669)
Engineering	0.0197	-0.0505	-0.107	-0.152*
	(0.0628)	(0.0614)	(0.0711)	(0.0826)
Law	0.0441	0.0841	0.0303	0.00332
	(0.0742)	(0.0885)	(0.0726)	(0.0822)
Medicine	0.158**	0.117	-0.0170	-0.000886
	(0.0799)	(0.0886)	(0.0784)	(0.0894)
University	-0.113	-0.171*	-0.171***	-0.174**
	(0.0840)	(0.103)	(0.0557)	(0.0681)
Age	0.00509	0.00317	0.00481	0.00709
	(0.00785)	(0.00847)	(0.00835)	(0.00911)
Sex	-0.0249	-0.0154	0.00945	0.0189
	(0.0439)	(0.0487)	(0.0457)	(0.0548)
Origin_Prishtina	0.0226	0.0168	0.0420	0.0400
	(0.0400)	(0.0419)	(0.0442)	(0.0495)
Origin_Abroad	0.294**	0.428	-0.135	0.364***
	(0.142)	(0.261)	(0.154)	(0.0902)
Household	-0.0184	-0.00865	-0.00589	-0.00936
	(0.0198)	(0.0222)	(0.0196)	(0.0235)
Current_standard	-0.00971	-0.0110	0.000494	-0.00696
	(0.0189)	(0.0205)	(0.0187)	(0.0213)
Languages		0.0393* (0.0222)		0.00172 (0.0214)
Improved_standard		-0.0467 (0.0488)		-0.0734 (0.0517)
Worsened_standard		0.0202 (0.0899)		-0.0270 (0.0930)
Contacts_abroad		-0.00992 (0.0189)		0.0427* (0.0229)
Work		0.135** (0.0636)		0.100* (0.0578)
Risk_seeking		-0.0109 (0.00853)		0.0123 (0.00941)
Proudness		-0.107*** (0.0325)		-0.0302 (0.0315)
Constant	0.304	0.849***	0.811***	0.614**
	(0.192)	(0.266)	(0.198)	(0.279)
Observations	496	401	500	399
R-squared	0.034	0.120	0.030	0.064

6. RESULTS Table 2: The Results from the Regressions Addressing Hypothesis I-IV

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

6.1 Econometric results

This section is based on the results found in **Table 2**¹⁹. Hypothesis I, proposing that university students have higher emigration intentions than other Kosovars of the same age under current circumstances, is not supported by the regressions. In the short specification with vector X, there is a negative, though insignificant, coefficient implying that university students are less likely to have current emigration plans. When adding the vector Z the negative factor becomes even more negative and significant at a ten percent level. This indicates that enrollment in higher education decreases an individual's likelihood to have specific emigration plans. When the EU scenario is introduced, there is again a negative effect of higher education on migration intentions. This holds significant in the short and the long specifications on a 1 respectively 5 percent level, and goes against hypothesis III. The findings suggest a negative effect of enrollment in higher education in the short and the long specifications, the estimated effects of university studies on emigration intentions are very similar, 17.4 percent versus 17.1 percent.

Under current circumstances a larger proportion of those enrolled in medicine plan to live abroad upon graduation than university students enrolled in the other faculties. These findings support hypothesis II that enrollment in the medical studies affects emigration intentions positively. In the short specification the effect is significant at the 5 percent level, but this does not hold significant in the main specification. The control group report emigration intentions in level with the medicine students, holding other factors, included in vector X and Z, constant. Engineering has a negative and insignificant effect on emigration intentions, providing no support for hypothesis II. Under the EU scenario, both the effect of medical and engineering studies have negative estimated effects on emigration intentions, contrary to what was expected in hypothesis IV. While the effect of medicine studies is insignificant in both regressions, the effect of engineering studies is significant at the 10 percent level in the main specification.

The control variables that turned out to significantly explain emigration intentions under current circumstances are 'language skills', 'proudness of being a Kosovar' and 'work parallel to studies'. Language skills and proudness had the expected sign and to work was positively correlated with higher emigration intentions. Under a potential EU membership, the control variables that turned out to significantly explain emigration intentions are 'origin abroad', 'frequency of contact with relatives abroad' and 'work parallel to studies'. Origin abroad and frequency of contact with relatives abroad have the expected sign and to work was also in this case positively correlated with higher emigration intentions²⁰.

¹⁹ For definitions of all variables, see Appendix 1: Definition of Control Variables.

²⁰ For more on the outcomes of the control variables, see Appendix 4: Control Variables, Expected Effects and Outcomes.

6.2 Summery statistics

Table 3

Faculty	Econ	Educ	Engin	Law	Med	University	Control Group
Dependent variables							
EI current circumstances	20%	19%	23%	21%	36%	21%	35%
EI EU Entrance	75%	67%	61%	81%	67%	71%	91%
Other Descriptive Statistics							
VISA as biggest obstacles for emigration	62%	59%	51%	53%	36%	57%	55%
Preference to live in Kosovo	25%	22%	13%	14%	18%	21%	6%
Employment abroad before choosing FOS	21%	9%	29%	23%	48%	22%	20%
Brain Gain Effect							
Choice FOS due to opportunities abroad	19%	9%	18%	14%	30%	17%	20%
Likely/very likely to send remittances	92%	99%	98%	86%	97%	94%	88%
Visits two or more times a year	79%	90%	92%	63%	89%	82%	68%
Prefer to stay max. 3 years abroad	58%	68%	54%	59%	33%	58%	44%
General							
Number of Observations	240	110	65	57	44	516	62
Percentage female students	48%	90%	32%	61%	50%	56%	57%
Average age	19.3	19.8	19.1	19.6	18.9	19.4	19

6.2.1 Converging Emigration Intentions

By briefly observing the emigration intentions in Table 3, it is notable that a EU membership would cause a considerable increase in emigration intentions overall. We can also notice that emigration intensions under EU have a wider spread than under current circumstances. This implies at a first sight that there is no support for hypothesis V. From equation (6)-(8) we can test whether the differences will converge:

University students compared the control group, from equation (6):

$$|(21\%-35\%)| \le |(71\%-91\%)| \rightarrow 14\% \le 20\%$$

Engineering students compared to all university students, from equation (7):

 $|(23\% - 21\%)| < |(61\% - 71\%)| \rightarrow 2\% < 10\%$

Medical students compared to all university students, from equation (8):

$$|(36\%-21\%)| > |(67\%-71\%)| \rightarrow 15\% > 4\%$$

Since the expected outcome was that the difference between groups would be smaller in the EU scenario, hypothesis V is not supported neither when university students are compared to the control group, nor when comparing engineering to all university students. However, when comparing between medical students and all university students the differences in emigration intentions decrease, as predicted by the hypothesis. However, this decrease was not significant in a t-test since the t-statistic generated (0.14) was lower than the critical value (1.96).

6.2.2 Suggestive Evidence for Brain Gain

The results from our survey indicate that future emigration from Kosovo would benefit the country through the three investigated brain gain effects, which is apparent in **Table 3**.

University students reported that employment opportunities abroad was important when choosing their field of study²¹, indicating incentive effects. Among medicine students, this percentage was especially large. As many as 30 percent of the future doctors answered that employment possibilities abroad were one of the three most important reasons for them to choose their field of study. The corresponding number for the education students was 9 percent, which was the lowest share observed in our analysis. However, 20 percent in the control group also states that employment opportunities abroad motivated them to choose their field of study. It is then unclear whether the option of emigration really increases the incentives to pursue higher education.

In the sample, strong indications of feedback effects were also found. 54 percent of the university students and 49 percent of the control group report that they would be likely or very likely to send remittances if they were to live abroad²². Only 2 percent of the University students and 7 percent of the control group state that they would be unlikely or very unlikely to send remittances. 97 percent of the student enrolled in higher education reported that they would visit Kosovo at least once a year if they would emigrate and most (65 percent) reported that they would visit between two and four times a year²³. Within the control group, 91 percent reported that they would visit five or more times every year. All figures above are based on the part of our sample that have reported to be likely or very likely to emigrate in case Kosovo were to become a member of the EU.

Around 40 percent of both University and the control group (43 percent of university students and 41 percent of the control group) state that they would like to stay abroad for at most three years²⁴, giving strong indications of substantial return migration patterns and thereby circular emigration.

6.3 Other Descriptive Statistics

In the survey the question "*What is your biggest obstacle of towards emigrating was included*"²⁵ and the fraction that answered, "*there is not obstacle I just want to live in Kosovo*" is reported in the table. In the Faculty of Economics a quarter of the students report that they would like to live in Kosovo and not emigrate. In the control group however, only 6 percent reported that they would like to live in Kosovo and that there is an obstacle for emigration, visa restrictions were the most commonly identified obstacle. Further, data is presented of the fraction that has examined employment opportunities abroad before choosing field of study²⁶, indicating that medicine students are the most informed subgroup.

²¹ Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, Question 46.

²² Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, Question 57.

²³ Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, Question 58.

²⁴ Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, Question 53.

²⁵ Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, Question 59.

²⁶ Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, Question 48.

6.4 Summery of results

A summery of all hypotheses with results is presented in the table below.

Table 4: Summery of Results

	Hypothesis	Result	Effect found	Significance
I	Enrollment in higher education in Kosovo is expected to affect current emigration intentions <i>positively</i>	Failure to accept	Enrollment in higher education is found to affect current emigration intentions <i>negatively</i>	Significant in the main specification at the 10 percent level.
II	Enrollment in medicine and engineering studies are expected to affect emigration intentions under current circumstances <i>positively</i> and affect them to a greater extent than other fields of study.	Partly accepted	*Enrollment in medicine is found to affect current emigration intentions <i>positively</i> *Enrollment in engineering is not found to affect current emigration intentions significantly.	The positive effect of medicine is only significant in the short specification at the 5 percent level
III	Enrollment in higher education in Kosovo is expected to affect emigration intentions positively under EU membership	Failure to accept	Enrollment in higher education is found to affect emigration intentions <i>negatively</i> also under EU membership	Significant in short and main specification at the 1 respectively 5 percent level.
IV	Enrollment in medicine and engineering studies are expected to affect emigration intentions <i>positively</i> and affect them more than other fields of study also under EU membership.	Failure to accept	*Enrollment in medicine is not found to affect current emigration significantly *Enrollment in engineering is found effect emigration intentions under EU membership <i>negatively</i> .	The negative effect of engineering is significant in the main specification at the 10 percent level
V	Differences between educational levels in emigration intentions given EU membership should be <i>smaller</i> than under current circumstances. Also differences between fields of study in emigration intentions should be <i>smaller</i> .	Failure to accept	*The differences in emigration intentions between university students and the control group are <i>larger</i> under EU membership than under current circumstances. *The differences in emigration intentions between medicine students and university students are <i>larger</i> under EU membership than under current circumstances. *The differences in emigration intentions between engineering students and university students and university students and university students and university students are <i>smaller</i> under EU membership than under current circumstances.	The smaller differences in emigration intentions between engineering students and university students is insignificant when performing a t-test.
VI	Future emigration of young Kosovars will benefit Kosovo through brain gain effects.	Suggestive evidence	Indications of substantial effects through all three channels.	No statistical analysis performed

7. DISCUSSION

The maybe most important result with important implications in this study is the generally high emigration intentions among all studied groups, which could imply high dissatisfaction among the current youth. Another interesting and important result is that the difference between the number of individuals who are planning to emigrate today and under the EU scenario is large. This implies that external migration policies are very important determinants for emigration intentions and therefore probably for the actual future emigration flows.

From these results then, it can be concluded that brain drain is not a primary concern for Kosovo. Contrary, the less educated exhibit higher emigration intentions than university students both today and under potential EU entrance. This implies that the expected gain from emigration is larger for the control group than for the university students. Since it is unlikely that low-skilled workers will receive higher utility abroad, the driving force for this effect must be the control group's lower utility in Kosovo. Expected utility both in the home country and abroad is determined by how the individual perceives his/her future opportunities. The higher emigration intentions in the control group can then be explained by higher pessimism in the group about future possibilities in Kosovo. This is likely to be a consequence of the relatively lower employment opportunities for people without higher education within Kosovo. If Kosovo were to enter into the EU, the probability to emigrate P would approach one, 91 percent of the students in the control group have stated that they would likely or very likely emigrate. This underline just how pessimistic they are and the immense effect of push factors in the emigration decision.

Medicine students exhibit higher emigration intentions than the other fields of study under current circumstances. This effect does not hold significant in the regressions main specifications, but it can still indicate a shortage of doctors in the future given external policies remain the same. Interestingly, this pattern is not sustained under the EU scenario. In this case we can observe higher emigration intentions for others fields of study than among medicine students. This implies that the relatively higher likeliness for medicine students to have plans to migrate today is largely a consequence of external migration policies and not due to higher expected increase in relative utility medicine students to move abroad. This is supported by the fact that the fraction of students that perceive visa regulation as the biggest obstacle for migration is lower for the medicine students (36 percent) while the other groups are around the same level as the control group (around 50-60 percent). This indicates that the only group that benefit from skill-selective policies of other countries are the medicine students. An alternative interpretation is that the medicine students are more aware about their marketability abroad, which is also supported by the high number of medicine students that was informed about their employment opportunities abroad before their choice of field of study (48 percent compared to e.g., 9 percent among the education students)²⁷.

Engineering students report lower emigration intentions under the EU scenario than the other university students. The effect is only significant at the 10 percent level in the main regression, but if true, it implies that students at the engineering faculty have the least motivation to emigrate if there would be no problem to obtain a visa. This implies that they have a lower perceived gain from emigration than the other fields of study. A plausible explanation could be low transferability of the degree, which does not enable them to work with their profession

²⁷ Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, Question 48.

abroad, as they could within Kosovo. Another explanation is that, contrary to the medicine students, engineering students are not aware of their marketability abroad. All in all, relatively to other professions, Kosovo does not risk a large loss of engineers.

One relevant policy implication based on the results of this study is that most of the surveyed want to emigrate if Kosovo were to become a member of the EU, regardless of educational background. This shows that there is a substantial risk of loosing important human capital, in a country, which needs competence to develop and prosper. However, this study shows indications that this emigration also could benefit Kosovo through brain gain channels.

The government of Kosovo as of today focus is not to prevent emigration but to increase the positive effects of it through close cooperation with diaspora. The indications are that emigration from Kosovo will continue to be substantial, why these efforts seem highly adequate. However, if Kosovo becomes a EU member country, emigration could potentially explode why just as adequate efforts should be made to retain labor. The most important push factor for emigration seem to be unemployment, why the future major focus in the country should be on development of a functioning labor market. In order to develop specific policies, future research should focused on determining future shortages and abundance on the domestic labor market. With this overview of future demand in combination with the knowledge of the emigration intentions of different groups indicating future supply on the labor market, the government could develop policies in accordance.

8. LIMITATIONS

The first and maybe most obvious limitation of this study, is that it is based on an assumption of rationality. It is assumed that emigration intentions are adaptive to information about the possibilities of different groups in the society to emigrate. The actual possibilities to emigrate are not investigated in this study, but the individual's perceived and self-reported possibility. This might vary not only with international migration policies but also with an individual's level of information and optimism. In turn, this might imply that the conclusions are not generally applicable.

The conclusions might potentially also suffer from reversed causality as people with initially high emigration intentions may choose to pursue higher education, and their field of study based on what would increase the possibility for them to emigrate. There are indications that such individuals also exist in our sample, due to the high frequency of individuals who answered that they have chosen their field of study specifically to increase their chances to emigrate. Because of this problem, causal effect of education on emigration intentions cannot be established. However, regardless of the exact causality, the findings hold policy relevant as an indication of how the labor market will develop in Kosovo with and without entrance into the EU.

There is further a high probability that inherent abilities among individuals, such as intelligence, are correlated with both the dependent variable (emigration intentions) and the main independent variable (willingness to pursue higher education). We tried to account for this by including a question about the "Matura" results²⁸ and high school GPA. These variables were however not included in our main regression since the data for these result measures were not available for our control group that is yet to complete their high school degree. Because of this problem of measuring these inherent abilities, we can be rather sure that an important control variable is missing in the regressions and should interpret the results accordingly.

The results are based on different measurements that may or may not perfectly mimic the underlying variables that we aim to investigate. For example, brain drain as such modeled as a function of schooling is based on an underlying assumption of that education increases human capital more than other alternative activities. This is clearly only the case if the education efficiently develops skills that are demanded on the market. There are indications of that higher education in Kosovo is of mixed quality why doubts could be raised whether higher education is a good proxy for human capital.

Another accuracy problem is the use of stated preferences to foresee future emigration. There are earlier findings, which suggest that these preferences are good enough predictors to provide policy relevant results and indications of future trends (Borjas, 1987, 1991; Hatton and Williamson, 1998, 2004). However, interpretations should always be conservative as both an individual's preferences and the situation that surrounds him or her is changeable over time.

Furthermore, our sample contains almost solely individuals appertain to the Albanian ethnicity. Our choice of University and city in Kosovo has contributed to this issue, since the ethnicities of Kosovo today often live parted from each other. It is therefore important to notice that out results are not of universal worth, since they are not representative for all the ethnicities living in the country. Another issue of our sample is that we have collected data only in Prishtina, which is the capital city of Kosovo. Individuals living in the capital city can have systematic

²⁸ Both the general secondary education and the vocational education are finalized by a standardized exam called "Matura," monitored and assessed in order to prove the completion of the upper secondary school level.

similarities, which can bias our results. This is however a larger problem for our control group, containing high school students. These students originate to a higher degree from Prishtina, while many of the University students move to Prishtina from their hometowns to study. We can of course also not know if the University students are representative for their hometowns. All in all, our results may suffer from self-selection biases.

We have in this study chosen to use first-year university students as our treatment group. It can be argued that these students are far from the labor market, but also very far from the decision to emigrate. Also, the majority of these students are under the age of 20, making them less mature and therefore more insecure about their future plans. All of this makes this group less suitable for investigation than e.g. last-year university students. This was however a strategic choice, since it was very challenging to find a control group to last-year university students. The VET students are the same age as our university students, making them more comparable. Further, given the point of departure for this study, the mere enrollment in a higher education should affect emigration intentions. This, in turn, should make the problem negligible.

Last but not least, it is important to keep in mind that the measures used for assessing potential brain gain for Kosovo are quite weak since these statistics are based on answers with dual uncertainties. The respondent is asked to first assess how likely it is for him/her to emigrate and then, given their emigration decision is implemented, how likely it is for them to e.g. send back money to their relatives in Kosovo. However, we are confident that these numbers still indicate potential brain gain.

9. CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, this section will be divided into a discussion about the current situation, one about the near future not including a EU scenario, and finally the implications in a EU scenario.

Kosovo is today a country in which a large part of the young population sees their future in other countries, independent of skill-level. It is likely that migration policies of other countries, or at least young people's perception of their possibilities to emigrate, has a large impact on current emigration intentions. As of today, Kosovo is not at risk of a general future brain drain, but the medical field is over-represented among the university students that has specific current plans to emigrate. This may prove to be cumbersome given the need for medical professionals and the high costs involved in educating doctors. The current focus of the government in Kosovo is not to prevent emigration but to increase the positive effects of it through close cooperation with the diaspora. Since the indications are that emigration will continue to be substantial from Kosovo, these efforts are adequate in the current state.

Given that the trend in Europe is going towards more skill-selective migration policies, the outflow of doctors in particular and other demanded academics in general could very well increase over time and cause future brain drain. In addition, Kosovo is currently focusing on improving the higher educational system in order to provide students with skills that are more adapted to the domestic labor market and more internationally transferable. If these efforts prove to have desired effect, the student's marketability both within Kosovo and at the international labor market would increase. This in turn could decrease the motivation to emigrate but also increase the possibility for successful emigration, causing increased emigration intentions. Emigration intentions of young people should therefore be continuously investigated in order to have an updated overview of how improved higher education changes emigration intentions. In order to develop specific policies for the labor market, future research should focused on determining future shortages and abundance on the domestic labor market. With this overview of future demand in combination with the knowledge of the emigration intentions of different groups indicating future supply on the labor market, the government could develop policies in accordance.

If Kosovo were to enter the EU, emigration could potentially explode and Kosovo is at risk of loosing a substantial part of their human capital across all sectors. In this case it could be motivated to complement the current policies with specific efforts to retain competence within Kosovo.

The most important push factor for emigration is unemployment why development of functioning labor markets is of most importance for creating a sustainable society in the future.

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11. APPENDIX

.

Appendix 1: Definition of Control Variables

Variable	Explanation		
MI_currentplan	Migration Intentions given current situation	1=Yes	0=No
MI_workpermit	Migration Intentions given working permit	1=Yes	0=No
MI_EU	Migration Intentions given working EU entrance	1=Yes	0=No
University	Enrolled in the University	1=Yes	0=No
FOS_Educ	Enrolled in the Faculty of Education	1=Yes	0=No
FOS_Law	Enrolled in the Faculty of Law	1=Yes	0=No
FOS_Engin	Enrolled in the Faculty of Engineering	1=Yes	0=No
FOS_Med	Enrolled in the Faculty of Medicine	1=Yes	0=No
Age	Stated in years		
Sex	Sex	1=Women	0=Man
Origin_Pr	Lived most of the life in Pristina	1=Yes	0=No
Origin_Abr	Lived most of the life outside of Kosovo	1=Yes	0=No
Household	Number of other people living in the household	1=Live alone	8=More than 8
Stand_current	Assessment of family's current living standard	1=Lower sixth	6=Higher sixth
Languages	Number of spoken languages other than Albanian		
Stand_improved	Current living standards compared to three years ago	1=Improved	0=Not improved
Stand_worsened	Current living standards compared to three years ago	1=Worsened	0=Not worsened
Freq_contabr	Frequency of contact with family abroad	1=Every day	6=Never
Risk_seeking	Combined score of self- efficacy and sensation seeker	1=Very risk averse	20=Risk lover
Proudness	Proudness over being a Kosovar	1=Not at all proud	4=Very proud

Appendix 2: The Anchoring Technique²⁹

An anchoring technique has been used to align the respondents' assessment of the own economic situation and thereby make the answers more comparable. The respondents were asked to assess the living standard of three different fictive characters on a six step latter where the first step represents the poorest sixth of the population and sixth step represent the richest sixth. The first fictive character, Sadik, represent the lower third of the population, the second character Edona represent the middle third, and Brikena represent the richest third. The scenarios were based on statistics from the "Results of Household Budget 2012" conducted by the Kosovo Agency of Statistics. Thereafter, the respondents were asked to assess their own economic situation in comparison with these described characters. As can be seen in the three scenarios below, the response rate has mostly been within the expected intervals indicating that the anchoring technique served the purpose well.

Scenario 1

78 percent chose the response one or two (the intended interval)



Scenario 2

69 percent of the respondents choose the response three or four (the intended interval)





Scenario 3

85 percent of the respondents chose response five or six (the intended interval)

²⁹ Appendix 7, Survey Instrument, Question 32.

Appendix 3: Mean Values and Standard Deviations of Control Variables

	All		Econ		Educ		Engin		Law		Med		Contro Group	ol
Variable	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Origin_Pr	0.48	0.5	0.47	0.5	0.47	0.5	0.34	0.48	0.53	0.5	0.16	0.37	0.87	0.34
Origin_Abr	0.03	0.16	0.02	0.14	0.04	0.19	0.02	0.12	0.04	0.19	0.02	0.15	0.03	0.18
Household	2.84	1.02	2.86	1.03	3.03	1	2.61	1.03	2.85	1.05	2.86	0.89	2.68	1.02
Stand_current	4.15	1.1	4.27	1.1	4.27	0.98	4.14	0.93	3.85	1.13	4.24	0.89	3.5	1.47
Languages	1.36	1.12	1.35	1.01	1.27	0.98	1.45	1	1.36	0.92	1.66	1.01	1.23	1.84
Stand_improved	0.63	0.48	0.62	0.49	0.67	0.47	0.57	0.5	0.61	0.49	0.6	0.5	0.71	0.46
Stand_worsened	0.08	0.27	0.08	0.27	0.06	0.23	0.11	0.32	0.12	0.33	0.05	0.22	0.04	0.19
Freq_contabr	5.16	1.06	5.13	1.11	5.28	1.02	5.12	0.92	5.11	1.13	5.07	0.79	5.23	1.18
Risk_seeking	7.96	2.48	7.84	2.43	7.88	2.09	8.06	2.84	8.29	2.13	8.72	3.33	7.62	2.43
Proudness	3.52	0.75	3.55	0.72	3.51	0.76	3.59	0.67	3.33	0.9	3.39	0.79	3.62	0.78

Control	Expected effect on EI	Effect on EI current circumstances	Effect on EI EU membership
Age	_	Unexpected sign, insignificant	Unexpected sign, insignificant
Sex	+/-	Positive insignificant	Negative insignificant
Origin Pristina	_	Unexpected sign, insignificant	Unexpected sign, insignificant
Origin abroad	+	Expected sign, insignificant	Expected sign, significant at 1% level
Household size	+	Unexpected sign, insignificant	Unexpected sign, insignificant
Assessment of current living standard	_	Expected sign, insignificant	Expected sign, insignificant
Language skills	+	Expected sign, significant at 10% level	Expected sign, insignificant
Current family situation compared to 3 years ago, improved	-	Expected sign, insignificant	Expected sign, insignificant
Current family situation compared to 3 years ago, worsened	+	Expected sign, insignificant	Expected sign, insignificant
Frequency of contact with relatives abroad	+	Unexpected sign, insignificant	Expected sign, significant at 10% level
Work parallel to studies	+/_	Positive, significant at 10% level	Positive, significant at 5% level
Risk seeker	+	Expected sign, insignificant	Expected sign, insignificant
Proudness	_	Expected sign, significant at 1% level	Expected sign, insignificant

	Current plans with	Current plans with	EU with	EU with vector
	vector X	vector X+Z	vector X	X+Z
VARIABLES	EI_currentplan	EI_currentplan	EI_EU	EI_EU
EOS Engin	0.128	0.414	0.498	0.718**
100_Lingin	(0.365)	(0.496)	(0.314)	(0.364)
FOS Law	0.261	0.509	0.168	0.000971
105_Law	(0.308)	(0.443)	(0.308)	(0.457)
EOS Med	0.83/**	0.694	0.0851	(0.+57)
105_Med	(0.384)	(0.462)	(0.382)	(0.443)
University	-0 588	-0.953*	-1 386**	-1 457*
Oniversity	-0.300	(0.501)	(0.636)	(0.779)
Age	(0.407)	0.0175	0.0253	(0.775)
nge	(0.0532)	(0.0568)	(0.0548)	(0.0578)
Sov	(0.0552)	0.0308)	0.0526	(0.0378)
JEX	-0.138	-0.0039	(0.0320)	(0.071)
Origin Dr	(0.247) 0.142	(0.303)	(0.231)	(0.273)
Oligin_F1	(0.142)	(0.282)	(0.21)	(0.245)
Origin Abr	(0.242)	(0.262)	0.629	(0.243) Omittad
Oligin_Abi	(0.611)	(1, 200)	-0.028	Omitteu
Household	(0.011)	(1.309)	(0.015)	-
Household	-0.110	-0.0338	-0.0317	-0.0508
C 1 ((0.113)	(0.140)	(0.103)	(0.122)
Stand_current	-0.0567	-0.0702	0.00384	-0.0410
т	(0.104)	(0.121)	(0.0995)	(0.115)
Languages		0.229*		0.00876
0, 1, 1		(0.124)		(0.121)
Stand_improved		-0.285		-0.389
0.1.1		(0.298)		(0.279)
Stand_worsened		0.132		-0.144
D 1		(0.509)		(0.489)
Freq_contabr		-0.0583		0.210**
XX77 1		(0.118)		(0.106)
Work		0.749**		0.568
N ' 1 1 1		(0.340)		(0.362)
Risk_seeking		-0.0741		0.0644
~ .		(0.0555)		(0.0500)
Proudness		-0.595***		-0.166
_		(0.165)		(0.169)
Constant	-0.864	2.266	1.908	1.153
	(1.213)	(1.695)	(1.306)	(1.704)
Observations	496	401	500	396

Appendix 5: Robustness Test I: The Logit Regression

	Current plans with	Current plans with	EU with vector X	EU with vector X+Z
	vector X	vector X+Z		
VARIABLES	EI_currentplan	EI_currentplan	EI_EU	EI_EU
FOS_Educ	-0.0128	0.0138	-0.106	-0.0783
	(0.0699)	(0.0731)	(0.0794)	(0.0907)
FOS_Engin	0.0235	-0.0150	-0.0854	-0.192
	(0.113)	(0.121)	(0.123)	(0.158)
FOS_Law	0.0411	0.103	-0.000677	-0.0297
	(0.0843)	(0.0983)	(0.0809)	(0.0959)
FOS_Med	0.134	0.187	-0.125	-0.155
	(0.110)	(0.115)	(0.120)	(0.134)
University	-0.0773	-0.137	-0.160**	-0.182**
	(0.0922)	(0.116)	(0.0670)	(0.0844)
Age	-0.00421	-0.00558	0.00801	0.0123
	(0.00560)	(0.00669)	(0.00847)	(0.00950)
Sex	-0.131**	-0.0786	0.0630	0.0889
	(0.0633)	(0.0694)	(0.0594)	(0.0733)
Origin_Pr	0.0303	0.0506	0.0535	0.0568
	(0.0589)	(0.0663)	(0.0624)	(0.0719)
Origin_Abr	0.224	0.0610	-0.196	0.434***
	(0.163)	(0.216)	(0.172)	(0.160)
Household	0.00318	-0.00659	0.0223	-0.00152
	(0.0276)	(0.0323)	(0.0253)	(0.0322)
Stand_current	-0.000897	-0.00749	0.0133	0.0140
	(0.0257)	(0.0297)	(0.0220)	(0.0258)
Languages		0.0774***		0.00319
		(0.0267)		(0.0294)
Stand_improved		-0.0469		-0.142**
		(0.0731)		(0.0708)
Stand_worsened		0.105		-0.0311
		(0.129)		(0.141)
Freq_contabr		-0.00388		0.0275
		(0.0266)		(0.0259)
Work		0.168*		0.0353
		(0.0923)		(0.0842)
Risk_seeking		-0.0229*		0.00925
		(0.0131)		(0.0153)
Proudness		-0.0359		-0.0199
0		(0.0473)		(0.0433)
Constant	0.424**	0.740**	0.603***	0.525
	(0.193)	(0.350)	(0.223)	(0.344)
er i	• (0	2 4 4	274	
Observations	269	214	271	214
K-squared	0.048	0.145	0.060	0.092

Appendix 6: Robustness Test II: Weighted Sample Regression

To run the regression, the weights have been set according to Appendix 6.1 below. As noticeable, the weights of the population resemble that of the sample.

Appendix 6.1 Sample and real proportions

	Econ	Educ	Engin	Law	Med	Sum
Number of students enrolled in faculty	5703	4006	2084	3464	1560	16817
Proportion of total number of students	34%	24%	12%	21%	9%	100%
Number of observations in weighted sample	95	67	20	57	27	266
Proportion of total number of observations	36%	25%	8%	21%	10%	100%

Questionnaire

Aleksandra Dennier & Sara Harmenberg Public University of Prishtina Kosovo 2014 Institution: Stockholm School of Economics Supervisor: Anders Olofsgård - Deputy Director, SITE & Associate Professor, Stockholm School of Economics Contact in Kosovo: Maria Melbing - Counselor - Head of Development Cooperation, Embassy of Sweden in Kosovo

Anders.Olofsgard@hhs.se
Maria.Melbing@gov.se

Dear Student,

We are two students from Stockholm, right now completing our third year of Bachelor studies. In order to complete our Thesis, we kindly ask you to help us by answering the questions below. This survey is answered anonymously will only be used in our analysis, and will not be shared with any third party. If nothing else is specified, please choose only one alternative per question. Thank you very much for your participation. Kind Regards, Aleksandra Dennier and Sara Harmenberg Please assess to which degree you agree/disagree with the following statements (choose one alternative per statement): New and unexpected experiences give me the excitement I need in life. (Choose one alternative) Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree Strongly agree Agree When I make plans, I am convinced that I will succeed in carrying out these plans. (Choose one alternative) Strongly disagree Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree 3 People or things that always stay the same, bore me. (Choose one alternative) Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree Strongly agree When I decide to do something, I firmly cling to that decision. (Choose one alternative) Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree 5 When I have to work according to fixed rules, I easily get fed up with them. (Choose one alternative) Disagree Strongly disagree Strongly agree Neutral Agree 6 When unexpected problems occur, I do not handle them well. (Choose one alternative) Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree 7 Sex (Choose one alternative) Female Male 8 Age 9 Ethnicity (Choose as many alternatives as true) Albanian Serbian Turkish Bosnian Gorani Roma Ashkali Other 10 What is you current marital status? (Choose one alternative) I have a boyfriend/girlfriend Engaged Married Single, never married Widowed Separated Divorced 11 Do you have children? (Choose one alternative) Yes, 1 child Yes, 2 children Yes, 3 children Yes, 4 or more children No 12 How many people are there in the household where you currently live? (including yourself) 7 to 8 people 5 to 6 people 1 person 2 to 4 people 8 or more people 13 Who do you currently live with? (Choose one alternative) I live with my family I live with a friend/friends I live with my partner I live by myself Other

14 Which is your *main* source of income? (Choose one alternative)

and/or relatives

	My own wage	My family supports me	I receive social assistance from the Government	I receive a scholarship/ study grant	Other		
15	Do you receive the Uni QUESTION 15 IS NOT A	versity Grant? (Choose one a SKED TO CONTROL GROUP	lternative)				
	Yes	No]				
16	Do you work extra in p	arallel to your studies? (Choo	ose one alternative)				
	Yes	No]				
17	Where have you lived n	nost of your life? (Choose on	e alternative)				
	District of Gjakova	District of Gnjilane	District of Kosovska Mitrovica	District of Peć]		
	District of Pristina	District of Prizren	District of Ferizaj	Outside of Kosovo*			
18	* If you answered "Outs	ide of Kosovo" in question 17,	, please specify in which country ye	ou have lived most of your life?			
19	How do you best descri	be the area where you have l	- ived most of your life? (Choose on	e alternative)			
	City or town (approx. >10 000 inhabitants)	Village (approx. <10 000 inhabitants)	Countryside (less than 20 households in your absolute proximity)				
20	Is your family a farmin	g family? (Choose one alterna	ative)				
	Yes	No]				
21	Where do you <i>plan</i> to l	ive after graduating? (Choos	e one alternative)				
	In my hometown (if Kosovo but not Pristina)	In Pristina	In Kosovo but not in my hometown or Pristina	Outside of Kosovo**]		
22	** If you answered outs	ide of Kosovo please specify i	n which country you plan to live:	•	-		
			_				
23	If you were to vote toda	ay, would you vote for Kosovo	o to apply to become a member of	the European Union (EU)? (Cho	ose one alternative)		
23	If you were to vote toda Yes	ay, would you vote for Kosovo No	o to apply to become a member of I do not know	the European Union (EU)? (Cho]	ose one alternative)		
23 24	If you were to vote toda Yes Which of the following	ay, would you vote for Kosova No statements best describe wh	o to apply to become a member of I do not know at the EU means to you personally	the European Union (EU)? (Cho] /? (Choose one alternative)	ose one alternative)		
23 24	If you were to vote toda Yes Which of the following Peace and security in	ny, would you vote for Kosova No statements best describe wh Loss of national sovereignty	o to apply to become a member of I do not know at the EU means to you personally A way to improve environment	the European Union (EU)? (Cho] /? (Choose one alternative) A way to create jobs	A way to protect the	A better quality of life	
23 24	If you were to vote toda Yes Which of the following Peace and security in Europe A means to have good relations with all our peighboring countries	No statements best describe wh Loss of national sovereignty Freedom to travel, study, work and live anywhere in the FU	o to apply to become a member of I do not know at the EU means to you personally A way to improve environment A better future for the youth	the European Union (EU)? (Cho] /? (Choose one alternative) A way to create jobs A lot of bureaucracy, a waste of time and money	A way to protect the rights of citizens A means of improving the economic situation	A better quality of life Other	
23 24 25	If you were to vote toda Yes Which of the following Peace and security in Europe A means to have good relations with all our neighboring countries If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were a m	No statements best describe wh Loss of national sovereignty Freedom to travel, study, work and live anywhere in the EU into the European Union, it ember state in the European	o to apply to become a member of I do not know at the EU means to you personally A way to improve environment A better future for the youth would be possible for Kosovo's to Union when you graduate, how li	the European Union (EU)? (Cho (Choose one alternative) A way to create jobs A lot of bureaucracy, a waste of time and money live and work anywhere in the kely would it be for you to go	A way to protect the rights of citizens A means of improving the economic situation	A better quality of life Other	
23 24 25	If you were to vote toda Yes Which of the following Peace and security in Europe A means to have good relations with all our neighboring countries If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were a m and live abroad? (Choo	No statements best describe wh Loss of national sovereignty Freedom to travel, study, work and live anywhere in the EU into the European Union, it ember state in the European se one alternative)	o to apply to become a member of I do not know at the EU means to you personally A way to improve environment A better future for the youth would be possible for Kosovo's to Union when you graduate, how li	the European Union (EU)? (Cho] /? (Choose one alternative) A way to create jobs A lot of bureaucracy, a waste of time and money live and work anywhere in the kely would it be for you to go	ose one alternative) A way to protect the rights of citizens A means of improving the economic situation	A better quality of life Other	
23 24 25	If you were to vote toda Yes Which of the following Peace and security in Europe A means to have good relations with all our neighboring countries If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were a m and live abroad? (Choo Very likely	No statements best describe wh Loss of national sovereignty Freedom to travel, study, work and live anywhere in the EU into the European Union, it ember state in the European se one alternative) Rather likely	o to apply to become a member of I do not know Mat the EU means to you personally A way to improve environment A better future for the youth would be possible for Kosovo's to Union when you graduate, how li Rather unlikely	the European Union (EU)? (Cho (Choose one alternative) A way to create jobs A lot of bureaucracy, a waste of time and money live and work anywhere in the kely would it be for you to go Very unlikely	A way to protect the rights of citizens A means of improving the economic situation	A better quality of life Other	
23 24 25 26	If you were to vote toda Yes Which of the following Peace and security in Europe A means to have good relations with all our neighboring countries If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were a m and live abroad? (Choo Very likely Where would you prefe	No statements best describe wh Loss of national sovereignty Freedom to travel, study, work and live anywhere in the EU into the European Union, it ember state in the European se one alternative) Rather likely er to live, if you were to live a	o to apply to become a member of I do not know at the EU means to you personally A way to improve environment A better future for the youth would be possible for Kosovo's to Union when you graduate, how li Rather unlikely broad? (Choose one alternative)	the European Union (EU)? (Cho (Choose one alternative) A way to create jobs A lot of bureaucracy, a waste of time and money live and work anywhere in the kely would it be for you to go Very unlikely	A way to protect the rights of citizens A means of improving the economic situation	A better quality of life Other	
23 24 25 26	If you were to vote toda Yes Which of the following Peace and security in Europe A means to have good relations with all our neighboring countries If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were a m and live abroad? (Choo Very likely Where would you prefe Within the Balkans	No statements best describe wh Loss of national sovereignty Freedom to travel, study, work and live anywhere in the EU into the European Union, it ember state in the European se one alternative) Rather likely er to live, if you were to live a Outside of Balkans, within EU	o to apply to become a member of I do not know at the EU means to you personally A way to improve environment A better future for the youth would be possible for Kosovo's to Union when you graduate, how li Rather unlikely broad? (Choose one alternative) Outside of EU and the Balkans	the European Union (EU)? (Cho (Choose one alternative) (Choose one alternative) (Choose one alternative) (A way to create jobs (A lot of bureaucracy, a waste of time and money (Ivery and work anywhere in the kely would it be for you to go (Very unlikely) (I do not know)	ose one alternative) A way to protect the rights of citizens A means of improving the economic situation	A better quality of life Other	
23 24 25 26	If you were to vote toda Yes Which of the following Peace and security in Europe A means to have good relations with all our neighboring countries If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were a m and live abroad? (Choo Very likely Where would you prefet Within the Balkans	No statements best describe wh Loss of national sovereignty Freedom to travel, study, work and live anywhere in the EU into the European Union, it ember state in the European se one alternative) Rather likely rt to live, if you were to live a Outside of Balkans, within EU	o to apply to become a member of I do not know at the EU means to you personally A way to improve environment A better future for the youth would be possible for Kosovo's to Union when you graduate, how li Rather unlikely broad? (Choose one alternative) Outside of EU and the Balkans	the European Union (EU)? (Cho '? (Choose one alternative) A way to create jobs A lot of bureaucracy, a waste of time and money live and work anywhere in the kely would it be for you to go Very unlikely I do not know	A way to protect the rights of citizens A means of improving the economic situation	A better quality of life Other	
23 24 25 26 27	If you were to vote toda Yes Which of the following Peace and security in Europe A means to have good relations with all our neighboring countries If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were a m and live abroad? (Choo Very likely Where would you prefet Within the Balkans How many siblings do	No statements best describe wh Loss of national sovereignty Freedom to travel, study, work and live anywhere in the EU into the European Union, it ember state in the European se one alternative) Rather likely er to live, if you were to live a Outside of Balkans, within EU you have? (Choose one altern	o to apply to become a member of I do not know at the EU means to you personally A way to improve environment A better future for the youth would be possible for Kosovo's to Union when you graduate, how li Rather unlikely broad? (Choose one alternative) Outside of EU and the Balkans mative)	the European Union (EU)? (Cho '? (Choose one alternative) A way to create jobs A lot of bureaucracy, a waste of time and money live and work anywhere in the kely would it be for you to go Very unlikely I do not know	A way to protect the rights of citizens A means of improving the economic situation	A better quality of life Other	
23 24 25 26	If you were to vote toda Yes Which of the following Peace and security in Europe A means to have good relations with all our neighboring countries If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were a m and live abroad? (Choo Very likely Where would you prefe Within the Balkans How many siblings do o	No statements best describe wh Loss of national sovereignty Freedom to travel, study, work and live anywhere in the EU into the European Union, it ember state in the European se one alternative) Rather likely r to live, if you were to live a Outside of Balkans, within EU you have? (Choose one altern 1	o to apply to become a member of I do not know That the EU means to you personally A way to improve environment A better future for the youth would be possible for Kosovo's to Union when you graduate, how li Rather unlikely broad? (Choose one alternative) Outside of EU and the Balkans native) 2	the European Union (EU)? (Cho ? ? (Choose one alternative) A way to create jobs A lot of bureaucracy, a waste of time and money live and work anywhere in the kely would it be for you to go Very unlikely I do not know 3	A way to protect the rights of citizens A means of improving the economic situation	A better quality of life Other More than 4	
23 24 25 26 27 28	If you were to vote toda Yes Which of the following Peace and security in Europe A means to have good relations with all our neighboring countries If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were a m and live abroad? (Choo Very likely Where would you prefe Within the Balkans How many siblings do o What is the highest edu	No statements best describe wh Loss of national sovereignty Freedom to travel, study, work and live anywhere in the EU into the European Union, it ember state in the European se one alternative) Rather likely r to live, if you were to live a Outside of Balkans, within EU you have? (Choose one altern 1 icational level obtained by you	o to apply to become a member of I do not know at the EU means to you personally A way to improve environment A better future for the youth would be possible for Kosovo's to Union when you graduate, how li Rather unlikely broad? (Choose one alternative) Outside of EU and the Balkans native) 2 cur father? (Choose one alternative)	the European Union (EU)? (Cho ? ? (Choose one alternative) A way to create jobs A lot of bureaucracy, a waste of time and money live and work anywhere in the kely would it be for you to go Very unlikely I do not know 3 e)	A way to protect the rights of citizens A means of improving the economic situation	A better quality of life Other More than 4	
23 24 25 26 27 28	If you were to vote toda Yes Which of the following Peace and security in Europe A means to have good relations with all our neighboring countries If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were a m and live abroad? (Choo Very likely Where would you prefe Within the Balkans How many siblings do o What is the highest edu No formal education	No statements best describe wh Loss of national sovereignty Freedom to travel, study, work and live anywhere in the EU into the European Union, it ember state in the European se one alternative) Rather likely to to live, if you were to live a Outside of Balkans, within EU you have? (Choose one altern i cational level obtained by you Elementary education	o to apply to become a member of I do not know at the EU means to you personally A way to improve environment A better future for the youth would be possible for Kosovo's to Union when you graduate, how li Rather unlikely broad? (Choose one alternative) Outside of EU and the Balkans native) 2 our father? (Choose one alternative Secondary education	the European Union (EU)? (Cho ? ? (Choose one alternative) A way to create jobs A lot of bureaucracy, a waste of time and money live and work anywhere in the kely would it be for you to go Very unlikely I do not know 3 e) Tertiary education (college/university)	A way to protect the rights of citizens A means of improving the economic situation	A better quality of life Other More than 4	
 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 	If you were to vote toda Yes Which of the following Peace and security in Europe A means to have good relations with all our neighboring countries If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were a m and live abroad? (Choo Very likely Where would you prefe Within the Balkans How many siblings do o What is the highest edu No formal education What is the highest edu	No statements best describe wh Loss of national sovereignty Freedom to travel, study, work and live anywhere in the EU into the European Union, it ember state in the European se one alternative) Rather likely r to live, if you were to live a Outside of Balkans, within EU you have? (Choose one altern i. Leational level obtained by you cational level obtained by you	o to apply to become a member of I do not know at the EU means to you personally A way to improve environment A better future for the youth would be possible for Kosovo's to Union when you graduate, how li Rather unlikely broad? (Choose one alternative) Outside of EU and the Balkans native) 2 our father? (Choose one alternative Secondary education	the European Union (EU)? (Cho ? ? (Choose one alternative) A way to create jobs A lot of bureaucracy, a waste of time and money live and work anywhere in the kely would it be for you to go Very unlikely I do not know 3 e) Tertiary education (college/university) ive)	A way to protect the rights of citizens A means of improving the economic situation	A better quality of life Other More than 4	
 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 	If you were to vote toda Yes Which of the following Peace and security in Europe A means to have good relations with all our neighboring countries If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were to enter Within the abroad? (Choo Very likely Where would you prefe Within the Balkans How many siblings do o What is the highest edu No formal education What is the highest edu	No statements best describe wh Loss of national sovereignty Freedom to travel, study, work and live anywhere in the EU into the European Union, it ember state in the European se one alternative) Rather likely rt to live, if you were to live a Outside of Balkans, within EU you have? (Choose one altern i teational level obtained by you Elementary education Elementary education	o to apply to become a member of I do not know at the EU means to you personally A way to improve environment A better future for the youth would be possible for Kosovo's to Union when you graduate, how li Rather unlikely broad? (Choose one alternative) Outside of EU and the Balkans native) 2 bour father? (Choose one alternative Secondary education our mother? (Choose one alternative)	the European Union (EU)? (Cho (Choose one alternative) (Choose one alternative) (A way to create jobs A lot of bureaucracy, a waste of time and money live and work anywhere in the kely would it be for you to go (Very unlikely I do not know I do not know I do not know I fertiary education (college/university) I ertiary education (college/university)	A way to protect the rights of citizens A means of improving the economic situation	A better quality of life Other More than 4	
 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 	If you were to vote toda Yes Which of the following Peace and security in Europe A means to have good relations with all our neighboring countries If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were to enter EU. If Kosovo were to enter Within the abroad? (Choo Very likely Where would you prefe Within the Balkans How many siblings do o What is the highest edu No formal education Is your father currently	No statements best describe wh Loss of national sovereignty Freedom to travel, study, work and live anywhere in the EU into the European Union, it ember state in the European se one alternative) Rather likely rt o live, if you were to live a Outside of Balkans, within EU you have? (Choose one altern tational level obtained by you Elementary education Elementary education Functional level obtained by you Elementary education Functional level obtained by you F	o to apply to become a member of I do not know at the EU means to you personally A way to improve environment A better future for the youth would be possible for Kosovo's to Union when you graduate, how li Rather unlikely broad? (Choose one alternative) Outside of EU and the Balkans native) 2 our father? (Choose one alternative) Secondary education our mother? (Choose one alternative)	the European Union (EU)? (Cho ? (Choose one alternative) A way to create jobs A lot of bureaucracy, a waste of time and money live and work anywhere in the kely would it be for you to go Very unlikely I do not know Gue a a b Comparison b	A way to protect the rights of citizens A means of improving the economic situation	A better quality of life Other	

31 Is your mother currently working? (Choose one alternative)

Yes, as an employee	Yes, self-employed	No	My mother is not alive]				
2 READ: Imagine a siz	x step ladder where on the botto k the following families stand: (m (1st_step) are the poorest peop Choose one alternative for each fa	le and on the highest step (6th st amily)	ep) are the richest peop	le. Please select on			
Sadik lives together v and they never have l occasions. Sadik's fat	Sadik lives together with his two brothers, one uncle, the uncle's wife, and his parents. Sadik has to sleep in the kitchen. During the winter the family cannot keep the house warm and they never have hot running water. The family cannot afford to send any of its' children to university or to go on vacation away from home. They eat meat on special occasions. Sadik's father owns a cellular phone and the family does not own a car. Where would you place Sadik's family's living standard on the six step ladder?							
1	2	3	4	5	6			
Edona lives with her the time. Her family l occasions (such as we computer in the hous ladder?	family where she shares her bedroo had to save money for many years i eddings) they prioritize and travel. sehold, and Edona has her own Sma	om with her sister. In the winter they n order to send Edona and her sister Edona's family eats meat or chicken artphone. Her family has recently pu	7 can keep parts of the house warm to university. They cannot go on vare every week, but not on a daily basis urchased a car. Where would you pl	and they have access to h acation away from home e They have constant acce ace Edona's family's living	ot running water most of every year, but on special ess to the Internet, one g standard on the six step			
1	2	3	4	5	6			
Brikena lives with here for the family to enab They can eat meat or living standard on the	r family and has her own bedroom. sle both Brikena and Brikena's brot chicken every day. All family mem e six step ladder?	Their house has hot running water her to go to university. Every year th bers have their own cellular phone a	and central heating, and is therefor ey spend one week of vacation away and computer, and the family owns	e kept warm the entire w y from home, usually to vi two cars. Where would yo	inter. It was not a problem sit their family in Albania. su place Brikena's family's			
1	2	3	4	5	6			
How would you ass	es your own family's living stand	ard on the six step ladder? (Choo	se one alternative)		•			
			, L	-	6			
1 How do you perceiv	2 ve vour family's living standards	13	Choose one alternative)	15	0			
				-				
It has improved	No difference	It has gotten worse	l do not know]				
; Which source do yo Local news (TV) The Internet	u mainly use for receiving local International news (TV) Other specify:	news? (Choose one alternative) Local newspaper I am not interested in local news	International newspaper]				
Which source do yo	u mainly use for receiving inter	national (outside of Kosovo) news	s? (Choose one alternative)	_				
Local news (TV) The Internet	International news (TV) Other specify:	Local newspaper Lam not interested in international	International newspaper					
	other speeny.	news						
Which languages do	o you speak? (Choose as many al	ternatives as true)						
Albanian	Serbian	Turkish	Romani	English				
Spanish	German (High German, Swiss German, Austrian German etc.)	French	Scandinavian languages (Danish, Swedish, Norwegian)	Other				
Are you currently st	tudying any of the following lang	guages? (Choose as many alternat	ives as true)					
Albanian	Serbian	Turkish	Romani	English]			
Spanish	German (High German, Swiss German, Austrian German etc)	French	Scandinavian languages (Danish, Swedish, Norwegian)	Other				
If you are currently (Choose one alterna	learning one/several of the men ative)	tioned languages, which is the ma	ain reason for learning this/these	e languages)?				
To be able to consum media (films, music e	e I think it will be useful for my career in Kosovo	I think it will be useful for a career outside of Kosovo]					

media (films, music etc.)	career in Kosovo	outside of Kosovo
in the language		
I think it will be useful	I have friends or family that	Other specify:
when travelling	speak the language	
(tourism)		

Law	Economics	Engineering	Medicine	Education (Teaching)
41 Which year did you en	roll?	_		
2 Which year do you exp	ect to graduate?	_		
3 Select the range which	contains your Grade Point A	verage from Secondary School: (C	hoose one alternative)	
Less than 2	More than 2 less than 3	More than 3 less than 4	4 and above	٦
14 Select the range which Less than 120	contains your [Matura] resul	t from last year of Secondary Scho	ool: (Choose one alternative) More than 140 less than 180	180 and above
45 Which are the most im QUESTION 45 IS NOT 2	portant reasons for choosing ASKED TO CONTROL GROUI	to enroll in higher education: (Cl	hoose up to three alternatives)	
It will increase my possibility to find a job in Kosovo	It will increase my possibility to find a job abroad	Family expectations	To get higher social status	To be able to increase my chances for a higher wage
I seek intellectual challenges	I was unable to find a job	I was not satisfied with my earlier profession	Other specify:	

46 Which are the most important reasons for choosing your field of study: (Choose up to three alternatives)

I	t will increase my	It will increase my possibility	Family expectations	To get higher social status	Relative wages for
F	oossibility to find a job	to find a job abroad			graduates of this field of
i	n Kosovo				study
I	am very interest in the	I was unable to find a job	I was not satisfied with my earlier	I did not get accepted to my	Other specify:
s	ubject		profession	first/second/third/etc choice of	
				study	

47 Which of the following information sources did you consult before choosing your field of study? (Choose as many alternatives as true)

My family	My friends	Students already enrolled in
		different fields of study
The Internet	A careers consultant	Other specify:

48 Which information was most important to you when you were choosing your field of study? (Choose as many alternatives as true)

How difficult the studies	Whether the professors are	Employment and wage statistics of
are in the field of study	good and the subjects are	graduates from the field of study
	interesting in the field of	-
	study	
Employment	Whether there is a rich social	Other specify:
opportunities abroad for	life among students in the	
the field of study	field of study	

49 What would you prefer to do after graduating? (Choose one alternative) CONTROL GROUP COULD ALSO ANSWER "PURSUE HIGHER EDUCATION"

Work as an employee in	Work as an employee in the	Work for an International	Start your own business
the private sector	public sector (the	Organization (Eulex, UN, EU etc)	
(private enterprises)	government, other		
	governmental authorities and		
	public enterprises)		
Continue running a	Other specify:	I do not know	
current family business			

50 If Kosovo would have been a member of the European Union, would you have chosen another field of study?

Yes	Possibly	No	I do not know
(Choose one alterna	problem to obtain a working po tive)	ermit, how likely would it be for	you to move abroad after your st
Very likely	Rather likely	Rather unlikely***	Very unlikely***
***If you answered ro 2 If you were to live at	<mark>ther unlikely/very unlikely, ple</mark> proad, where would you like to l	ase move to question 61 live? (Choose one alternative)	•
147:1 : 1 D 11	Outside of the Balkans within	Outside of the EU and Balkans	I do not know to which region I

Less than 3 month	From 3 month to a year	Between 1 and 3 years

	More than 3 years but not permanently	Permanently	I do not know			
54	What would be your ma	ain reason for moving? (Choo	ose one alternative)			
	Greater possibility of finding a job	Better possibility to pursue my chosen career (given my field of study)	Better social welfare in destination country (health-care, education,	Safer, less crime	Political stability	
	Reunification with family members or partner in destination country	Better products/services in the host country	Interest in the culture of the host country	Other specify:		
55	Have you examined you	ur possibilities to migrate? (C	Choose one alternative)			
	Yes****	No]			
56	**** If you answered yes	s, how have you examined thi	s possibility? (Choose as many as	true, otherwise go to the next qu	estion)	
	Contacted family/friends currently living abroad.	Collected information the through the Internet and other media sources.	Examined possibility to study abroad	Applied for scholarship to study abroad		
	Contacted a potential employer	Visited the country with the purpose of evaluating the possibility to live there	Other specify:		-	
57	If you emigrated, how l	ikely is it that you would sen	d back remittances (send back mo	oney to family/friends living in K	Cosovo)? (Choose one alt	ernative)
	Very likely	Rather likely	Rather unlikely	Very unlikely	I do not know]
58	If you emigrated, how o	often do you think you would	l come back and visit your family a	and friends? (Choose one alterna	tive)	
	Five or more times a year	Twice to four times a year	Once a year	Less than once a year	Never	
59	Which is the greatest o	bstacle for you to emigrate to	oday? (Choose one alternative)			1
	My financial situation	Visa/Working Permit	My current qualifications	Family issues	just want to stay in Kosovo.	
60	How do you think your	close family would react if y	ou chose to emigrate today and liv	ve abroad for 3 years? (Choose on	e alternative)	
	They would fully support me	They would somewhat support me	They would not support me	I do not know]	
61	How do you think your	close family would react if y	ou chose to migrate permanently	today? (Choose one alternative)		
	They would fully support me	They would somewhat support me	They would not support me	I do not know]	
62	How do you think your	close friends would react if y	ou chose to emigrate today and li	we abroad for 3 years? (Choose o	ne alternative)	
	They would fully support me	They would somewhat support me	They would not support me	I do not know]	
63	How do you think your	closest friends would react i	f you chose to migrate permanent	ly today? (Choose one alternativ	e)	
	They would fully support me	They would somewhat support me	They would not support me	I do not know]	
64	Do any of your close re	latives/family members live a	abroad? (Choose one alternative)			
	Yes	No				
65	How often do you have	contact with these relatives/	family members? (Choose one alt	ternative)	Less than once a year	Never
					Less than once a year	ivevei
66	Does your family or you Yes	a personally receive any remi	ittances? (Choose one alternative) I do not know]		
67	How proud are you to b	e a Kosovar on the following	scale? (Choose one alternative)	-		
	Very proud	Quite proud	Not very proud	Not at all proud	I do not consider myself to be a Kosovar, I consider my nationality to be:	
68	What do you think abo	ut your family's current situa	tion regarding the following matt	ers? (Choose one alternative for	each matter)	
a	Income		Very positive	Positive	Neutral	Negative
b	Housing		Very positive	Positive	Neutral	Negative

с	Social status	Very positive	Positive	Neutral	Negative
69	What do you think about your family's situation co	mpared to three years ago regarding	ng the following matters? (Choos	se one alternative for ea	ich matter)
a	Income	It has improved	No difference	It has gotten worse	I do not know
b	Housing	It has improved	No difference	It has gotten worse	I do not know
с	Social status	It has improved	No difference	It has gotten worse	I do not know
7 0	What do you think about the current situation in F	osovo regarding the following ma	tters (Choose one alternative for	each matter)	
a	Employment market and unemployment rates				
	Very positive Positive	Neutral	Negative	Very negative	I do not know
b	Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social	Security)			
	Very positive Positive	Neutral	Negative	Very negative	I do not know
с	Criminality, corruption safety and peace				
	Very positive Positive	Neutral	Negative	Very negative	I do not know
d	Possibility for Kosovars to travel				
	Very positive Positive	Neutral	Negative	Very negative	I do not know
e	Protection of minorities				
	Very positive Positive	Neutral	Negative	Very negative	I do not know
f	Gender equality				
	Very positive Positive	Neutral	Negative	Very negative	I do not know
g	Pollution and other environmental issues				
	Very positive Positive	Neutral	Negative	Very negative	I do not know
h	Infrastructure (roads, railways, electricity and water su	vlgc			
		,			
	Very positive Positive	Neutral	Negative	Very negative	I do not know
71	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosoyo's situation comp	Neutral	Negative	Very negative	I do not know
71 a	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compa	Neutral	Negative ne following matters? (Choose or	Very negative ne alternative for each n	I do not know natter)
71 a	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compa Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved No difference	Neutral ared to three years ago regarding the source of the second secon	Negative ne following matters? (Choose of	Very negative ne alternative for each n	I do not know
71 a	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compa Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system Healthcare Social	Neutral ared to three years ago regarding the solution of the	Negative ne following matters? (Choose of I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n	I do not know
71 a b	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compa Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social in the system)	Neutral we to three years ago regarding the It has gotten worse Security) It has gotten worse	Negative ne following matters? (Choose or I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n	I do not know
71 a b	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compa Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social in the system) It has improved No difference Criminality, corruption safety and peace	Neutral we to three years ago regarding the It has gotten worse Security) It has gotten worse	Negative ne following matters? (Choose or I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n	I do not know
71 a b	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compa Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social is improved No difference It has improved No difference Criminality, corruption safety and peace It has improved	Neutral we to three years ago regarding the source of the	Negative ne following matters? (Choose of I do not know I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n]]	I do not know
71 a b c	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation comparement dependence Social situation comparement dependence Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social is improved No difference It has improved No difference Criminality, corruption safety and peace It has improved No difference	Neutral we to three years ago regarding the It has gotten worse Security) It has gotten worse It has gotten worse	Negative ne following matters? (Choose of I do not know I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n]]	I do not know
71 a b c d	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compared What do you think about Kosovo's situation compared Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved No difference It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social is interproved No difference Criminality, corruption safety and peace It has improved No difference Possibility for Kosovars to travel No difference No difference	Neutral It has gotten worse It has gotten worse It has gotten worse It has gotten worse	Negative ne following matters? (Choose or I do not know I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n	I do not know
71 a b c d	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compa Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social 1 It has improved No difference Criminality, corruption safety and peace It has improved No difference Possibility for Kosovars to travel It has improved No difference	Neutral Ired to three years ago regarding th It has gotten worse Gecurity) It has gotten worse It has gotten worse It has gotten worse	Negative ne following matters? (Choose of I do not know I do not know I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n]]	I do not know
71 a b c d	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compared What do you think about Kosovo's situation compared Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved No difference It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social 1) It has improved No difference Criminality, corruption safety and peace It has improved No difference Possibility for Kosovars to travel It has improved No difference Protection of minorities It has improved It has improved	Neutral Ired to three years ago regarding th It has gotten worse Gecurity) It has gotten worse It has gotten worse It has gotten worse	Negative ne following matters? (Choose of I do not know I do not know I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n	I do not know natter)
71 a b c d e	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compared What do you think about Kosovo's situation compared Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social is It has improved No difference Criminality, corruption safety and peace It has improved No difference Possibility for Kosovars to travel It has improved No difference Protection of minorities It has improved No difference	Neutral Ired to three years ago regarding the second sec	Negative ne following matters? (Choose or I do not know I do not know I do not know I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n	I do not know
71 a b c d e	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compation Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social is improved No difference Criminality, corruption safety and peace It has improved It has improved No difference Possibility for Kosovars to travel It has improved It has improved No difference Protection of minorities It has improved It has improved No difference	Neutral ured to three years ago regarding the second sec	Negative ne following matters? (Choose of I do not know I do not know I do not know I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n	I do not know
71 a b c d f	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compared What do you think about Kosovo's situation compared Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social is It has improved It has improved No difference Criminality, corruption safety and peace It has improved It has improved No difference Possibility for Kosovars to travel It has improved It has improved No difference Protection of minorities It has improved It has improved No difference Gender equality It has improved	Neutral Ired to three years ago regarding the second sec	Negative ne following matters? (Choose of I do not know I do not know I do not know I do not know I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n	I do not know natter)
71 a b c d f g	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compared What do you think about Kosovo's situation compared Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social is It has improved It has improved No difference Criminality, corruption safety and peace It has improved It has improved No difference Possibility for Kosovars to travel It has improved It has improved No difference Protection of minorities It has improved It has improved No difference Protection of minorities It has improved It has improved No difference Pollution and other environmental issues It has upproved	Neutral Ired to three years ago regarding the second sec	Negative ne following matters? (Choose of I do not know I do not know I do not know I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n	I do not know natter)
71 a b c d f g	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compation Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social is It has improved No difference Criminality, corruption safety and peace It has improved No difference Possibility for Kosovars to travel It has improved No difference Protection of minorities It has improved No difference Gender equality It has improved No difference Pollution and other environmental issues It has improved No difference	Neutral Ired to three years ago regarding the second sec	Negative ne following matters? (Choose of I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n	I do not know natter)
71 a b c d f f h	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compared Employment market and unemployment rates Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social is It has improved It has improved No difference Criminality, corruption safety and peace It has improved It has improved No difference Possibility for Kosovars to travel It has improved It has improved No difference Protection of minorities It has improved It has improved No difference Gender equality It has improved It has improved No difference Pollution and other environmental issues It has improved Infrastructure (roads, railways, electricity and water su	Neutral Ired to three years ago regarding the second sec	Negative ne following matters? (Choose of I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n	I do not know natter)
71 a b c d f f h	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compared Employment market and unemployment rates Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social if thas improved No difference Criminality, corruption safety and peace It has improved It has improved No difference Possibility for Kosovars to travel It has improved It has improved No difference Protection of minorities It has improved It has improved No difference Pollution and other environmental issues It has improved Infrastructure (roads, railways, electricity and water su It has improved	Neutral Ired to three years ago regarding the second sec	Negative ne following matters? (Choose of I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n	I do not know natter)
71 a b c d f f h 72	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compared Employment market and unemployment rates Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social is It has improved It has improved No difference Criminality, corruption safety and peace It has improved It has improved No difference Possibility for Kosovars to travel It has improved It has improved No difference Protection of minorities It has improved It has improved No difference Pollution and other environmental issues It has improved It has improved No difference It has improved No difference Pollution and other environmental issues It has improved It has improved No difference Infrastructure (roads, railways, electricity and water su It has improved No difference What do you think about the effectiveness of the co	Neutral Ired to three years ago regarding the source of the sou	Negative ne following matters? (Choose of I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n	I do not know natter)
71 a b c d e f g h 72 a	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compared Employment market and unemployment rates Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social if thas improved No difference Criminality, corruption safety and peace It has improved It has improved No difference Possibility for Kosovars to travel It has improved It has improved No difference Protection of minorities It has improved It has improved No difference Pollution and other environmental issues It has improved It has improved No difference Infrastructure (roads, railways, electricity and water su It has improved It has improved No difference Infrastructure (roads, railways, electricity and water su It has improved No difference Mo difference Infrastructure (roads, railways, electricity and water su It has improved No difference No difference Infrastructure (roads, railways, electricity and water su It has improved No difference What do y	Neutral Ired to three years ago regarding the second sec	Negative ne following matters? (Choose of I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n	I do not know natter)
71 a b c d f g h 72 a	Very positive Positive What do you think about Kosovo's situation compared Employment market and unemployment rates Employment market and unemployment rates It has improved It has improved No difference Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social if thas improved No difference Criminality, corruption safety and peace It has improved It has improved No difference Possibility for Kosovars to travel It has improved It has improved No difference Protection of minorities It has improved It has improved No difference Pollution and other environmental issues It has improved It has improved No difference Pollution and other environmental issues It has improved It has improved No difference Infrastructure (roads, railways, electricity and water su It has improved It has improved No difference Undifference What do you think about the effectiveness of the co (Choose one alternative for each matter) Employment market and unemployment rates The actions are somewhat	Neutral Ired to three years ago regarding the second sec	Negative ne following matters? (Choose of I do not know I do not know	Very negative ne alternative for each n	I do not know natter)

b Social welfare (Educational system, Healthcare, Social Security)

The actions are effective	The actions are somewhat	The actions are not effective or are	I do not know	
1	effective	non-existent		
Criminality, corruption sa	afety and peace			
The actions are effective	The actions are somewhat	The actions are not effective or are	I do not know	
1	effective	non-existent		
Possibility for Kosovars to	o travel			
The actions are effective	The actions are somewhat	The actions are not effective or are	I do not know	
	effective	non-existent		
Protection of minorities				
The actions are effective	The actions are somewhat	The actions are not effective or are	I do not know	
	effective	inexistent		
Gender equality				
The actions are effective	The actions are somewhat	The actions are not effective or are	I do not know	
	effective	non-existent		
Pollution and other envir	onmental issues			
The actions are effective	The actions are somewhat	The actions are not effective or are	I do not know	
	effective	non-existent		
Infrastructure (roads, rail	ways, electricity and water su	pply)		
initabilactare (roado), ran			Y 1 . 1	
The actions are effective	The actions are somewhat	The actions are not effective or are	l do not know	