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**Impact of Collective Action in Controlling
Migratory Flows: Understanding Migratory
Flows within the European Union**

Disertační práce

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Anotace

Tato dizertační práce s názvem “Dopad společných opatření na kontrolu migračních toků: porozumění migračním tokům v Evropské unii” analyzuje různé faktory, které mají vliv na rozhodování občanů Slovenské republiky žijících v České republice ohledně migrace a potenciální reemigrace po vstupu do Evropské unie. Tato dizertační práce představuje nový unikátní teoretický přístup k analýze rozhodování o migraci. Aplikace metateoretické analýzy dává při osvětlování faktorů ovlivňujících migraci velký prostor pro různé interdisciplinární teoretické přístupy. Tato práce analyzuje různé politické přístupy a ukazuje na nich, že pokusy o omezení migračních toků prostřednictvím legislativních změn nebo implementací směrnic Evropské unie měly v případě České republiky na celkové toky pouze malý vliv. Data z průzkumu provedeného autorem jsou analyzována z různých perspektiv formou popisné případové studie. Případová studie poukazuje na to, že zaměstnanost, osobní volba a touha po opětovném sloučení rodiny jsou při rozhodování o migraci důležitými faktory a ve zkoumaném segmentu je vyšší pravděpodobnost k dlouhodobému usazení.

Annotation

This thesis entitled “Impact of Collective Action in Controlling Migratory Flows: Understanding Migratory Flows within the European Union” analyses the various factors which impact upon migration decision-making and remigration potential among Slovak migrants who entered the Czech Republic after the country acceded to the European Union. The thesis utilizes a meta-theoretical approach which provides wide latitude for the inclusion of theoretical approaches which transcend disciplinary boundaries. Through a discussion of various policy approaches the work demonstrates that attempts to limit flows via legislative changes or the implementation of European Union directives has had little impact on aggregate flows in the specific case of the

Czech Republic. Data from a survey conducted by the author is analysed and discussed from various perspectives in the form of a descriptive case study. The case study determines that employment, personal choice and family reunification are significant rationales for mobility related decision making and that long term settlement among this particular group is likely to occur.

Klíčová slova

Mobilita, migrace, rozhodování, politika, evropská mobilita, vysoce kvalifikovaných,

Keywords

Mobility, migrant decision-making, policy, European mobility, low skilled, highly skilled, gender based migration

Prohlášení

Prohlašuji, že jsem předkládanou práci zpracoval samostatně a použil jen uvedené prameny a literaturu. Současně dávám svolení k tomu, aby tato práce byla zpřístupněna v příslušné knihovně UK a prostřednictvím elektronické databáze vysokoškolských kvalifikačních prací v repozitáři Univerzity Karlovy a používána ke studijním účelům v souladu s autorským právem.

V Praze dne 30. Duben 2014

Mgr. Antonín Mikeš

Preface

This thesis includes material that was gathered as part of a cooperative international research project between the year 2012 and 2013. The project was undertaken under guidance and in cooperation with Živka Deleva PhD who was at that time employed as assistant professor at the Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences at Comenius University in Bratislava. Ms. Deleva provided support and guidance during the preliminary phases of survey design and provided feedback during implementation and post-survey analysis. Implementation of the survey, subsequent data analysis using the computer program Statistical Program for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and preparation of results was undertaken alone as primary author. Results of this project were presented at various international conferences in Warsaw, Poland and Oxford, England. Reflection and commentary from various specialists has been taken into account and included in this work. Academic articles presenting the results of this project have been published in both domestic and international journals.

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Doc. PhDr. Borivoj Hnízdo PhD. and Doc. PhDr. Mgr. Francis Raška. PhD.

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ABBREVIATIONS

European Union

EU

Central and Eastern Europe

CEE

INTRODUCTION

Demographic developments in Europe have led to the current situation where large numbers of workers will be required in the future if European states wish to sustain economic growth in the long term. This growth will be dependent on not only internal transfers of resources or manpower but also on the importation of workers who will propel long term growth in the European Union. (EU) Demand will grow for highly skilled individuals trained within specific sectors as well as for lower skilled manual workers who cannot be sourced from within of the EU.¹ The demographic shift across EU member states compels European states to seek younger, dynamic foreign workers to fill gaps in domestic labour markets. (Münz, Straubhaar, Vadean, & Vadean, 2007; Fassmann & Musil, 2013)

As the European Union strives to harmonize legislation across all member states, individual states remain in control of the application of policy and crucially retain the ability to implement policies and best practice into national legislation as they see fit. It is here, at the level of national governments that both local and European policies succeed or fail. Unfortunately for individuals, government policy has all too often been restrictive and has had a cooling effect on mobility. Although it is not possible for European politicians to limit the movement of workers across continental Europe, the application of various policy tools are occasionally utilized in an attempt to reduce the influx from abroad.² Variation in application of restrictive policies at the level of individual member states and the actual influence those policies have on overall flows are key to gaining a better understanding of the role of states in shaping migratory flows. (Castles, 2007; Castles, 2004) This work will utilize a case study of the Czech Republic in order to discuss the impact policy has had on migrants in the lead up to and after the country joined the European Union.

As a result of free movement legislation and the implementation of the Schengen zone³ of mobility, it is often difficult to differentiate between concepts such

¹ Skilled migrant for the purpose of this work includes all individuals who are classified as ISCED Level 4 (International Standard Classification of Education from 1997). The literature often classifies skilled migration in terms of educational attainment, with skilled migrants having completed tertiary education. See Lowell & Findlay (2001)

² Regulation (EC) No 562/2006 - aside from specific instances such as is the case with workers from new member states or in the case of emergency measures outlined in the Amsterdam Treaty and clarified further by the Schengen Borders Code. In addition capacity building and the agreements with neighbouring countries could be seen as methods of inducing migration-dampening economic growth. (Martin & Taylor, 2001)

³ 2004/38/EC of 29 April 2004

as inter-regional migration, cross border migration and international migration as a result of the supranational character of the EU.⁴ This dilutes the normal clarity which migration related discourse provides. Differentiation is possible, however, in the case of cross border movement undertaken by third-country nationals (non-EU citizens) who are subjected to national as well as external EU border control regulations. In the case of the target sample presented in chapter five the hazy border across which inter-European migrants move may limit the practical applicability of traditional theories of migration which tend to be applied to discrete trans-border flows. In the case of inter-European flows migration takes on a more fluid character, being neither internal nor transnational in character but something between the two. Migration of the highly skilled is in and of itself a unique phenomenon which is under theorized and not well understood. *This work attempts to address this relevant topic as it is believed that migration of highly skilled individuals is unique and does not conform to standard theoretical understandings of migration motivations.* Expanding our understanding of the migratory experience of one discreet group of migrants will allow us to demonstrate that highly skilled migration does not fully adhere to expectations utilizing commonly applied theoretical models. In addition when describing post-accession migratory flows within the European Union we see that post-accession migratory flows are of a different nature than pre-accession migration and do not necessarily conform to traditionally utilized theoretical insights. This is indicative that post-accession migratory behaviour of Europeans is of a unique character.

This work will analyze individual rationale for migration related decision making, potential for remigration and the influence government policy has on aggregate flows. Through the utilization of statistical analysis of a unique sample involving respondents from one particular migrant group in the Czech Republic this work will

⁴ *Migration*, for the purposes of this work, can be defined as the deliberate movement of individuals across borders for the purpose of work, retirement, family reunification or study. This definition purposefully restricts the definition in order to exclude tourists who vacation for relatively short periods of time, while incorporating more transient forms of mobility which are semi-permanent. This allows for the inclusion of retirees, for example, who settle permanently or semi-permanently as well as students or temporary workers who may cross borders for shorter or longer periods of time and may occasionally modify or push back their intended date of return as a result of changing circumstances.

Mobility is a very similar concept although conceptually it remains somewhat distinct from migration. Mobility may also be defined for the purposes of this work as being related to the act of crossing boundaries or borders; including for employment related purposes, tourism or retirement or study. The core difference in this instance is that mobility is not exclusively linked to cross border spaces. Thus, mobility is a concept with wider applicability than the commonly used term 'migration'. An example of the contrasting applicability of mobility vs. migration comes from a simple example of an individual attending a conference or business meeting in a town other than his or her own. This would be mobility although it is always possible that mobility will lead to migration. In the European context mobility is utilized in reference to the movement of European citizens whereas migration is reserved for use in the context of movement of third-country nationals within and across EU borders.

clarify causal factors which play a role in migration related decision making. The intention of this work was *twofold*; to determine those factors which play a significant role in influencing migration related decision making, while determining the impact government policies and European activities have in influencing aggregate flows.

RELEVANT LITERATURE

This work is rooted in a cross-disciplinary field often called ‘migration studies’ and thus requires the application of broadly based theoretical formulations which stem from different institutional viewpoints and divergent fields of study. Understanding that the study of human mobility cannot be confined to one discipline or another, this work focuses on the utilization and incorporation of several different theoretical approaches.

The historical background discussed in chapter two utilizes the public record, European directives and the early work of trendsetting authors such as Drbohlav (1994) and Horáková (2000; 2004; 2005) who have provided a firm foundation for the development of migration studies in the Czech Republic. Drbohlav provides a strong background on the topic while Horáková has provided much needed statistical time series data. (2008; 2011; 2001) Background information is also drawn from European statistical databanks, such as Eurostat, as well as domestic sources such as the Czech Statistical Office, Ministry of the Interior and the Czech foreign police.⁵

The theoretical chapter focuses on and draws from the work of various authors and even if not cited explicitly this work has drawn inspiration from the cutting edge work of individuals such as Castles, Portes, Massey, and Salt as well as others who work in various disciplines.

The incorporation of theories which take into account the important role politics play in guiding, shaping or even limiting migration is of key importance to this work. Authors such as Faist (2000) and Hollifield (2000) have stressed the importance of understanding the role and importance of political perspectives while also playing with the idea of incorporating a multi-level or multidimensional approach to the study of migration. Their work describes the great importance that migration researchers must place on the study of various approaches such as transnationalism, realism or

⁵ The data is often incomplete or dissimilar. Attempts have been made to clarify discrepancies. Authors such as Leontiyeva (2011) have experienced similar issues. In addition the statistics include information related to ‘illegal’ migration, which only includes apprehensions not actually undocumented flows (which are unknown or guesstimates at best) Czech Foreign Police- Also known as ‘Alien Police’

globalization in any work which delves into the study of population movement and its potential impact on individuals, community and the state.

The work of Faist (2000) is of great interest as it stresses the incorporation of a multi-level understanding of macro, micro and meso level factors which impact individual decision-making processes and as a corollary migration flows in general. The work of Portes and similarly Kivisto (2010) draw our attention to the issue of borders and the implications of migration for sovereignty and security. The edited volume of Caroline B. Brettell and James F. Hollifield (2000) titled "Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines" has provided a wealth of insight and has stressed the importance of a multi-level approach to understanding the dynamics of migration processes. The work of Stephen Castles similarly stresses the need for long term, inclusive perspectives which include an understanding of the dynamic nature of migratory processes. (Castles, 2007)

The use of a sociological approach firmly grounds this work through the implementation of micro level analysis of individual decision-making. The work of sociologist Karen O'Reilly (2002) as well as recent work by Eva Morawska, (2007) Stephen Castles, (2007) Alejandro Portes (2007) and Hein de Haas (2008) also informs and provides a foundation for a significant portion of this research.

Incorporating a sociological understanding into the work serves to expand our understanding of the role individual agency plays in decision-making and migration. In order to better grasp individual action that generates cross borders flows and which have the potential to create regional systems, this work is rooted in an approach presented by O'Reilly (2002) in her book "International Migration and Social Theory". The technique presented by O'Reilly is called Practice Theory and applies a sociological approach that aims to clarify the individual (micro) level factors leading individuals to make migratory related decisions through the telling of life stories; stories which are imbued with a rich contextual understanding of external or extraneous factors. A sociological perspective is incorporated into this work as it is adept at clarifying individual action and decision-making processes while providing a rich contextual understanding of the situation on the ground: something which is often ignored by researchers from other fields who tend to focus on wider structural or political forces.

Few approaches to the study of migration show merit for cross case comparative application due to the reliance on the unique circumstances which prevail in the region

from which theorists extrapolate their understanding. Similarly the application of network theory (not a true theory) provides heuristic value but does not provide significant practical explanatory value. Taking this into consideration, the work accounts for theoretical insights provided by authors such as Putman (2007) who stress the importance of network effects while accepting that such ‘truths’ are more functional in an accessorial role than in the provision of significant explanatory power.

More recent approaches such as those presented by Bakewell, De Haas and Kubal (2011) show great promise given their attention to the plethora of factors which are implicated in the migration decision-making process as well as their understanding, both implicit and explicit, of the complexity of migratory flows and the weakness of much theorizing historically. (Castles, 2004; Portes, 1997) These authors call for better theory construction and testing, something much needed in this field.

The methodology applied to this work utilizes several frameworks to enhance and clarify the understanding of readers and researchers alike. The concept of practice theory or ‘telling practice stories’ as described by O’Reilly is not applied directly, but rather informs the author and guides readers to appreciate the importance of recognizing the wider macro structures which influence action, the role of agency and individual subversive behaviour in relation to rules or norms. In addition, a qualitative survey design was incorporated into a quantitative survey in order to expand the works ability to ‘capture’ the essence of individual experiences.

Much of the following work is based on a unique survey of post-accession migrants living in the Czech Republic and although there have been a few attempts to clarify migratory trends or rationale in the Czech Republic, the work has often been of a historical comparative nature or focused on groups who are employed ‘illegally’.⁶ (Drbohlav D. , 1994; Horáková, 2000; IOMb, 2004; Drbohlav & Janska, 2009)

This work builds on the limited literature that focuses on migratory streams of the highly skilled in Central Europe and verifies the findings of previous research. Authors such as Baláž and Williams in their cooperative work (2002, 2004) focused on migration of skilled Slovak nationals. The authors found that a great portion of migration abroad is intended to aid in skill development, the enhancement of skill levels and employability at home in terms of human capital formation (experience) and language acquisition. An activity termed ‘brain exchange’ in the literature. (Lowell &

⁶ The use of the term ‘illegal’ in this work is unfortunate as such terminology has generally fallen out of favour in acceptable discourse, however, the term is often used in the context of the Czech Republic and in translations. ‘Undocumented’ or ‘illicit’ are far more applicable in the case of migrant employment. (see IOM literature for further elaboration)

Findlay, 2001) Skill development was expressed as being of greater importance than, or even at the expense of, wage earning while abroad. Several participants pointed out that migratory episodes abroad allowed them to build up a network of connections which were perceived to be potentially useful for the future. This particular study by Baláž and Williams (2004) was specifically focused on what they called ‘student migration’, those who studied abroad or went abroad during their studies to gather experience and/or human capital and did not, therefore, focus on highly skilled migrant workers as such.

Generally speaking the majority of research in this area has been limited to a focus on politically expedient topics such as ‘illegal’ migration (Drbohlav and associates 2009, Drbohlav & Janska, 2009, Horáková 2000) or intra-European movement as a labour strategy. (Niessen & Schibel 2005, Kaczmarczyk & Okólski 2005) Although such works are of great interest, they do not incorporate a perspective that accounts for wider external structural factors which drive migratory flows. Work such as that of Kaczmarczyk and Okólski (2005) “International Migration in Central and Eastern Europe- Current and Future Trends” produced under the auspices of the United Nations Expert Group are perhaps of greater use; however, given their focus on macro shifts, such works often fail to address micro level factors which influence migrations ‘on the ground’.

To avoid the pitfalls of previous research, this work utilizes a multi-focal approach incorporating both macro and micro level factors. The findings of this work are much in line with similar surveys presented by Baláž & Williams, (2004) and more recently by the European Commission (2010) and indicates that the movement of highly skilled individuals is under-theorized and, although these flows often conform to general human capital theories related to economic migration, a large portion of migration is of a form known as lifestyle migration.⁷ The work broadly supports previous research on Slovak migration trends (Divinský, 2007) and provides a foundation for further work of a similar character.

⁷ Authors have discussed skilled or professional migration in relation to Western Europe, utilizing terminology such as ‘professional transient’ in tandem to the discussion of brain drain which often occupied the literature in the past. (see Castles & Davidson, 2000 for example) Such discussion has often been heavily focussed on the movement of skilled individuals from the global south to the global north See Lowell and Findlay. (2001) In the case of inter-european mobility there has been considerably less discussion related to skilled mobility.

STRUCTURE OF THE WORK

The work which follows is structured so as to allow the reader the opportunity to target their attention towards those chapters or subsections which most closely relate to their interests. An introductory chapter provides an overview of the problematic and the general aims of the work while also introducing various methodological approaches utilized throughout the work. The second chapter provides an overview of the various migrant groups present in the Czech Republic and focuses the reader's attention towards the role of the European Union and the Czech state in influencing migratory flows at an aggregate level. This is achieved through a discussion of recently imposed changes to the migration related policy framework of the Czech Republic. An overview of the impact policy changes have had on the various migrant groups in the Czech Republic is then contrasted with GDP growth rates.

Subsequently, the reader is guided in the third chapter through common theoretical approaches applied to the study of migration. Given the inherent multidisciplinary nature of migration studies, the discussion includes perspectives from a variety of fields including sociology, politics, demography and economics. Theories that seek to explain migratory movement will be discussed and applied to the case of EU member states. Relevant literature will be applied in the context of theorizing individual rationales for migratory decision-making. Having a general understanding of the various theories applied during the course of migration research will aid in our application of selected theories to the European migration context. It will be demonstrated that it is necessary to utilize a multidisciplinary, holistic approach in the study of migration as it is the most appropriate method for expanding the readers understanding of diverse individual decision-making processes, which lead to the mixed flows under study.

Chapter four develops on the specifics of this work's hypothesis and the contribution of this work to the field more generally. The hypothesis that "*migration of highly skilled individuals is unique and does not conform to standard theoretical understandings*" drives this work to seek an understanding of the various processes involved in migratory decision-making and the degree of impact governmental policy exerts over migratory flows, while also gaining an understanding of individual decision making processes and theoretical models which apply. The chapter then provides a comparison of this work to its closest rivals in the field. The chapter closes with

reflections on the strength and weakness of the methodology and the approach chosen by the author.

The reader is then provided with an appraisal of the methodological background in chapter five which underpins the case study related to migrant populations in the Czech Republic. The case study discussed targets post accession Slovak migrants residing in the capital region of Prague. The results discussed are the outcome of an international research project undertaken under the guidance of Živka Deleva PhD. (previously assistant professor at the Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences at Comenius University in Bratislava) between the year 2012 and 2013. The case study elucidates the complex character of migration studies and clarify the need for multi-cited theorizing, which is cross-disciplinary in nature. One result of the case study is clarification of individual rationale for migratory decisions and complements the construction of a complex cross-disciplinary theoretical approach to understanding migration streams in the European Union. Topic specific subsections highlight the results of the research project and provide a comparative analysis of findings of interest to the field. In particular, the subchapters discuss in detail the influence network effects have on migratory success and employability. A discussion of the applicability of various theoretical viewpoints follows. The reader is provided with a brief overview of typical findings in relation to the target population, then findings of the work are provided clarify contrasting findings. The sixth chapter attempts to clarify how various theoretical viewpoints at multiple levels of analysis play a role in describing post-accession flows in the case of the Czech Republic.

The conclusion provides an overview and critical reflection of the work. It discusses the reason for the use and applicability of the meta-theoretical approach utilized by the author. The conclusion also provides suggestions for future directions for both this work and the field more generally. For readers who seek only a summary of findings, the conclusions provide a brief yet comprehensive review of the work including core theoretical and methodological approaches applied throughout.

CHAPTER 1

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This first chapter provides a very general overview of the methodological approaches applied later in the work. This brief introduction to the various methods employed is intended to prepare the reader and provide some structure to the chapter presented later, as each chapter utilizes a different method for explicating the problematic of migration in the region. This brief methodological section is followed by an explanation related to the focus of the work and the theoretical underpinnings of the authors approach. This subsection highlights the author's choice of a meta-theoretical approach, which combines various theoretical insights in a search for clarity of understanding as it is perceived to be most adept at explaining or encompassing the mixed flows seen in the case study presented in chapter five.

The chapter details the applicability of the research to the field more broadly, emphasising the importance of including an analysis which includes several points of view from various levels of analysis. The chapter also discusses the contribution of this work to the field more generally, highlighting the unique nature of the research in an attempt to integrate a meta-theoretical approach to migration. The application of a mixed methodology which incorporates political, sociological and economic perspectives is somewhat unique. The section ends with a potential direction for future research rooted in a multi-disciplinary matrix.

1 METHODOLOGY OF THE WORK

Throughout this work a variety of methodological approaches have been utilized in an attempt to elucidate and come to grips with the complexity of the problematic. In order to adequately grasp the various aspects of mobility this work has utilized a deductive approach to the application of theories related to migration and mobility; a case study has been utilized to clarify the current situation in relation to a relevant migrant group in the Czech Republic; analysis of texts related to the problematic have been applied throughout chapters two and three in order to provide robust support for the historical background provided in the second chapter.

The application of a deductive approach is applied throughout the work utilizing

several existing theories. The applicability of these theories is discussed in relation to the specific case of migration streams in the case of the Czech Republic. A hypothesis is tested via the observation of results from a case study of highly educated migrants in the Czech Republic. Given the multifaceted nature of the problematic, a unique theoretical approach combining several various theoretical approaches is presented as a method to determine the factors which play a significant role in influencing migration related decision making as well as the impact of government policy on trends in migration and remigration trends.

The work utilizes a descriptive style in order to clarify the historical background of migration in the Czech Republic, trends in past migrations and, the current situation on the ground, and the implications that can be drawn from analysis of data collected and analysed later on in chapter five. Chapter two presents historical information in relation to the particular flow of migrants into the Czech Republic. The historical descriptive method is supported by textual analysis in relation to particular flows, discussed in subsections of chapter two, which serves to develop our understanding of the background to discreet flows of particular nationalities. Similarly chapter three utilizes a historical descriptive methodology in tandem with a critical reading of theories commonly applied to the study of mobility. Such a descriptive approach has been combined with analytical insights in order to better situate the reader within the field.

Illustrative case studies described in chapter five, provide a detailed data set utilized to test the hypothesis. The case studies provide rich contextual data which conforms to existing theoretical approaches. The case study provides the necessary data set for hypothesis testing, generalization of findings, as well as theory testing and illustration. The case study acts, essentially, as a snapshot of the current situation and has been compared with past trends.

1.1 FOCUS AND THEORETICAL APPROACH

Authors have suggested that, especially in the case of the Czech Republic, individuals are somewhat immobile and are somehow 'grounded' in their home regions. (Fouarge & Ester, 2008; Drbohlav D. , 1994) Historical investments in home construction or family ties bind people to their region of origin, thus reducing their

propensity to migrate abroad or otherwise acting as a constraint on movement.⁸ Considering that such factors reduce an individual's propensity to migrate we find that across the Central and Eastern European (CEE) region there continues to be a steady flow of individuals crossing borders. The realization that a continuous trickle of highly educated Slovaks moving to Prague and other economically active regions of the Czech Republic has existed for the past several decades yet has not been studied adequately within academia led the author to instigate an investigation.

It is understood that there are a considerable number of temporary and long term lower skilled Slovak workers employed in factories around the Czech Republic. (Divinsky, 2007) However, there has been little research on the intentions and actual movement of more highly educated migrants in the region; even though authors such as Fouarge and Ester⁹ contend that students, the highly educated and highly qualified are the most likely to cross borders within Europe. (2008)

Noting that there remains a dearth of material available related to mobility of the highly skilled,¹⁰ the following work focuses on post-accession Slovak nationals in the Czech Republic and attempts to grasp the rationale leading to a migratory decision as well as those factors which limit or lead to mobility decisions. This topic is broad, with each individual experiencing a unique migratory trajectory, which often limits generalization or prevents our ability to compartmentalize individual experience.

Due to the complexity of the problematic, various theoretical approaches have been applied throughout the work in an attempt to best grasp the particular flow under study. There are, indeed, a plethora of factors which impact upon individual choice. Macro level factors such as government policy, visa restrictions, border controls all combine with globally intertwined economies which are dependent on particular models of resource extraction and labour availability. Meso level factors may include the presence or absence of networks of kin or co-ethnics and local labour market conditions. Micro level factors include availability of resources to fund mobility, educational levels, familial obligations, social norms and expectations, personal desires or past migratory experience. The challenge is to unify these various levels under one theoretical guise, a challenge which is clearly impossible through the utilization of only

⁸ Bahna (2008, p. 857) points out that Czech immobility, while valid may not apply in the same way in Slovakia where regional immobility is combined with higher levels of international mobility. However, regional GDP differences within Slovakia are significant and unemployment levels vary greatly by region when compared to the Czech Republic, (IMF, 2009)The immobility of the Czech Population was pointed out by Drbohlav as early as 1994.

⁹ For an exception see (Baláz & Williams, 2004)

¹⁰ As noted by Lowell and Findlay (2001)

one theoretical paradigm; sourced from and imbued by its particular dogma. The application of a meta-theoretical approach is thus preferred when discussing mobility decision-making and migratory events across regions and borders.

1.2 CONTRIBUTION OF THE THESIS

In an attempt to expand our understanding of how migratory trends and, in particular, individual decision-making processes are affected by national level policies within Europe this work clarifies the individual level rationales for migration decision-making among both EU nationals and third-country nationals. The case of European citizens who take advantage of free movement legislation provides a unique comparator for this study and serves as a baseline for comparison with other groups. Third-country nationals are subject to additional policy level restrictions on mobility and, much like other migrants, often have difficulty integrating into local labour markets.

Macro level factors including policy and aggregate economic growth will be discussed in relation to migratory trends. The analysis includes a discussion of action taken at the level of national governments while also incorporating an understanding that much recent policy change is a reflection of broader political will power that originates from the supranational level of the European Union.

Given the relatively circumscribed flow¹¹ of individuals across Europe's internal borders after the implementation of the Schengen agreements and the relative stability of movement this work will examine individual decision-making practices and preferences in an attempt to elucidate rationales for migration and non-migration, an often ignored topic which warrants further discussion. The author understands that individuals are relatively 'rooted' and are unlikely to migrate permanently unless external factors influence their life course, as such, this work seeks to clarify not only rationale for migratory decisions but also to what extent government policy aids or inhibits migratory decision-making.

It is clear that flows are to some extent affected by governmental policy choices. Difficulty in access to visas, prohibitive costs associated with application fees, waiting times as well as limits or quotas all influence migration decision-making and may lead individuals to choose secondary destinations. There are, however, other factors which

¹¹ New member countries account for 0.4 per cent of migrants in the EU 15 (Fouarge & Ester, How Willing are Europeans to Migrate? A Comparison of Migration Intentions in Western and Eastern Europe, 2008)

also influence or drive migratory flows, networks form or patterns emerge, cultures develop which are long lasting, durable and are less sensitive to governmental action. (de Haas, 2009; Massey D. S., 2003; Portes & DeWind, 2007; Salt, 1989) One outcome of the authors' research is the determination that individuals are as likely to subvert governmental attempts at control as they are to be negatively influenced by governmental attempts to limit mobility. Individual agency plays a significant role in mobility as do network effects which play a supportive role in guiding movement.

This work demonstrates that individual decision-making is often a result of individual desire for change or as a strategy for human capital formation. Family reunification plays a minor role in driving flows, yet the primary rationale for migratory decision-making is often at least partly employment related. Often students will experience mobility as a result of European wide mobility partnerships, such as the Erasmus exchange program or similar, and then return or remain as a direct result of their experience. In other cases individuals will decide to make a move of a short duration in order to gain experience or to see the world and will then settle for longer than originally intended.

An outcome of this work is an understanding of migrant involvement and integration on the local labour market. Individual salary potential and employability has been found to be greatly affected by various factors including linguistic ability, gender and education. The target group (Slovak nationals) was chosen for this work as it is a relatively understudied group within this regional context. This work provides additional insight into processes involved in migration decision-making, future intentions and the experience of current migrants, insight which is lacking in the field. The case study analysed below provides a wealth of information which may be useful to researchers who seek to understand the unique nature of mobility decision-making and the lived experience of migrants in the case of Czech migratory streams.

CHAPTER 2

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In an effort to introduce the reader to the problematic and to clarify the historical background, this chapter provides a brief introduction to the history of migration in the Czech Republic. This provides the reader with a vital understanding of how changes over the past two decades have led to the current situation where the Czech Republic functions as a magnet for regional migrations. An attractive social and political environment has acted as a draw for potential migrant workers, while strong and consistent economic growth has enhanced the attractiveness of the country as a destination for potential migrants.

An historical overview provides the reader with a strong foundation in relation to the various migrant groups of significance residing in the country. Having an overview of the historical development of flows and those factors which impacted upon flows over the past several decades permits the reader to grasp the complexity of this particular problematic. A broad view of historical flows is contrasted in the case of each migrant group with cycles of economic growth and decline that the Czech Republic has undergone. Such comparison presents the reader with an opportunity to clearly see how growth in migrant flows is often influenced by periods of economic growth. This chapter focuses the attention of the reader on the four most prevalent migrant groups residing in the Czech Republic; Ukrainian nationals, Slovak nationals, Vietnamese nationals, and Russian nationals. Other migrant groups having a comparatively small presence or that are declining in relative importance are not examined in detail within this chapter, however, their presence is of great importance as will be noted in a later chapter.

In addition this chapter seeks to clarify the underlying political environment into which migrants enter upon their arrival in the Czech Republic. By providing a general overview of recent policies introduced by the government the work elucidates the stages of policy evolution in the Czech Republic. The country was historically not perceived to be a country of in-migration and thus policies were weak in character given the lack of political importance. (Drbohlav & Janska, 2009, p. 142; Drbohlav & Valenta, 2014) In the lead up to EU accession the country was forced to implement various new migration related policies which led to the implementation of more restrictive policies. Alignment

of Czech legislation with EU norms involved further bureaucratization and enhanced oversight of migrants due to the fact that the ministry of interior was granted authority over visa issuance while economic concerns also played a role in enhancing bureaucratization. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2012) The reader is introduced to various policy changes which had the effect of restricting migration flows as of late. The chapter ends by providing the reader with a general overview of the various migrant flows in relation to cycles of economic growth and decline since the early 1990s.

2 MIGRATION IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC - POLICY RESPONSES

2.1 BACKGROUND

Geographically centered at the crossroads between Eastern and Western Europe the Czech Republic is primed to act as a magnet for migrations. The country is attractive to potential migrants for several reasons, including; relative stability both economically and politically, its geographical position and the reality that the country was historically integrated into regional workers exchange programs under Soviet Russia and also due to the beauty of its historical monuments. These factors are, of course, supplemented by the countries strong economic position and sustained growth during the early years of transition to a market economy which act as additional ‘attractors’, or pull factors, for migrants who seek out opportunities, a better quality of life or who are simply in transit. (Drbohlav & Valenta, 2014)

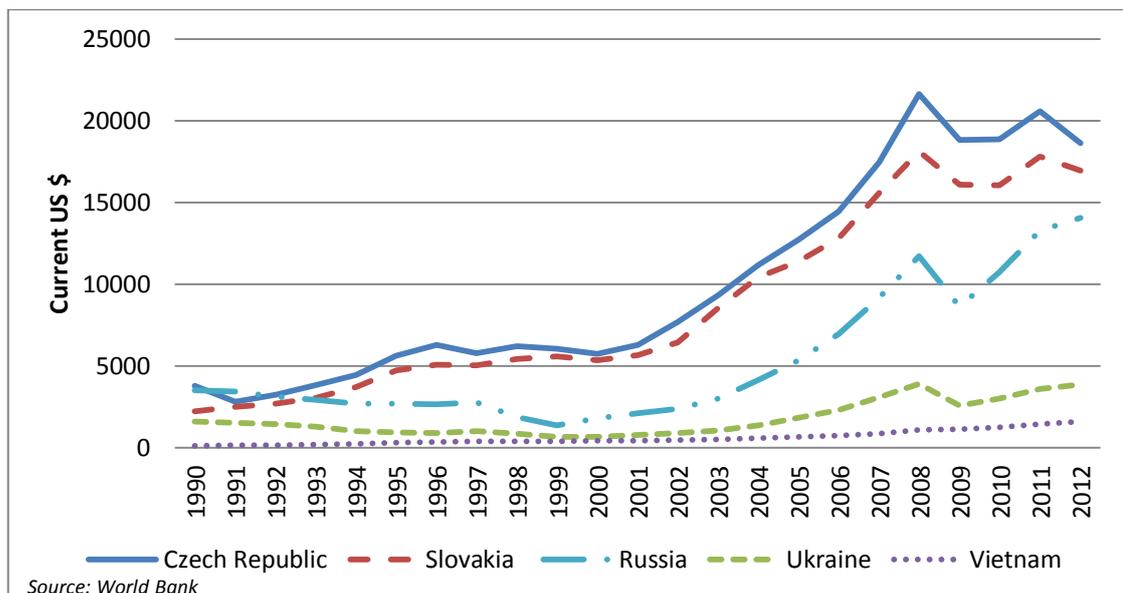
In addition to the large number of registered foreigners (legal aliens) in the country it is well known that a significant number of foreign nationals are employed illicitly in the fields of construction and care in the Czech Republic. (Horáková, 2000; Drbohlav, et al., 2009; Leontiyeva, 2011; Drbohlav & Valenta, 2014) Often individuals from neighboring countries work temporarily on short term tourist visas and ‘shuttle’ back and forth, working only for short periods of time and never being employed officially. (Kaczmarczyk & Okólski, 2005)

In addition to construction and care industries a number of individuals with irregular status are, or were, employed in petty trading during the early 1990s; these individuals came primarily from Slovakia, Ukraine and Vietnam. (United Nations

Secretariat, 2002, p. 60) In the 1990s, as a result of its central location in the heart of Europe, the Czech Republic also played host to a number of migrants in transit who were attempting to enter Western European countries. In total roughly two hundred thousand individuals were apprehended between 1993 and 1999 as they attempted to cross the borders of the Czech Republic.¹²

The Czech Republic is, in addition to having a favorable geographic position, one of the few Central European nations to have experienced relatively strong economic growth during the 1990s. (Drbohlav & Valenta, 2014, p. 42) Strong economic growth has led to the country becoming an attractive locale for migrant workers from across Central and Eastern Europe who come from countries which struggled during their transitional period and have experienced slower growth than the Czech Republic. (See Figure 1 for comparison) Relatively consistent demand for labor, combined with the stability of the economic environment has led the Czech Republic to become what has been called a regional ‘migration pole’. (Kaczmarczyk & Okólski, 2005; Drbohlav & Valenta, 2014; United Nations Secretariat, 2002)

Figure 1: GDP Per Capita (Current US \$)



The Czech Republic is particularly attractive for regional migrants such as Ukrainian and Russian nationals given historical connections which linked CEE countries together as well as socio-cultural similarities which serve to reduce the psychological impact of mobility decisions. (Salt, 1989, p. 447) These historical and

¹² The number of apprehensions increased markedly in 1997 and 1998 as a result of the number of individuals escaping from the conflict in Kosovo; increased securitization of the border also led to higher apprehension rates. (United Nations Secretariat, 2002)

cultural links support migration to some extent but the defining factor of Central European mobility is the historical tradition of migration amongst some communities which developed over time and has provided a framework for current migratory flows. (Kandel & Massey, 2002; Castles & Miller, 2009; Bakewell, de Haas, & Kubal, 2011, p. 17; Martin & Taylor, 2001; de Haas, 2010)

Under centrally planned systems migration was restricted; however, there were “temporary transfers of manpower for the coordinated use of the productive resources of friendly countries.” (United Nations Secretariat, 2002, p. 12) The historical movement of individuals opened up the possibility for connections linking individuals with potential employers across borders. These linkages led to the creation of a network of workers and employers who, over time, supported the development of further migratory flows; both licit and illicit. (Drbohlav, et al., 2009) This network has been supported tacitly by the government of the Czech Republic partly as a result of bureaucratic apathy due to a lack of historical experience and partly due to private sector lobbying which pushes for greater access to cheaper lower skilled manual labour from abroad. (Drbohlav & Valenta, 2014) The country was not historically a zone of migration and thus governmental policy has been, for the most part, reactionary with significant policy changes occurring only in the face of mounting criticism from NGO’s, civil society, lobbyists or supranational organizations or as a result of EU obligations.

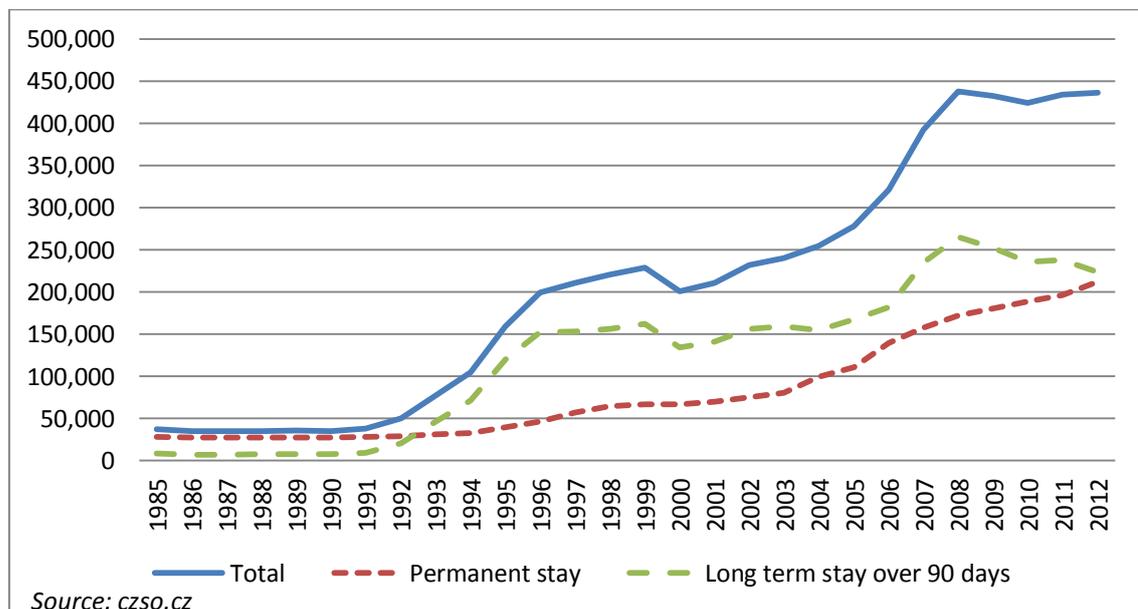
2.2 HISTORICAL MIGRATION FLOWS

The flow of migrants into the Czech Republic was historically circumscribed and remained relatively circumscribed until the mid-1990s when an increase in the number and intensity of movement became more apparent. A significant migrant population only developed during the period of transition to a market based economy in the 1990s. Economic growth dovetailed with liberalization which occurred after the breakup of the Soviet Union. (Horáková, 2000; Drbohlav D. , 1994; Drbohlav & Valenta, 2014) Figure 2 clearly shows the lack of significance of flows prior to the transition period in the early nineties and indicates that aggregate growth in flows has been fairly consistent over time, only showing a slowdown in growth around the year 2000 and post 2009 which coincides closely with periods of economic uncertainty and restrictive government policy.

Official numbers may be unreliable given the prevalence of multiple forms of mobility in the region as a large portion of migrants were involved traditionally in short term trips into the country for purposes of work or petty trading, often undertaken under the guise of tourism. In addition data sets are often difficult to match due to varying definitions or lack of comparability which is related to the methodological adjustments often made in the process of data gathering and processing. (Castles, 2012; Drbohlav & Valenta, 2014, p. 48) Such movement is not well documented given that states within central Europe historically allowed temporary stays for up to three months with no entry visa requirements.

Although various forms of ‘shuttle’ migration are not represented in the data due to their short-term or semi-legal nature registered flows have been on the increase over the past two decades, especially in the case of regional flows among neighbouring countries, as can clearly be seen in Figure 3. Later in this work the rationale for migratory decisions will be discussed in depth in relation to specific groups, however, movement for the purpose of employment is common.

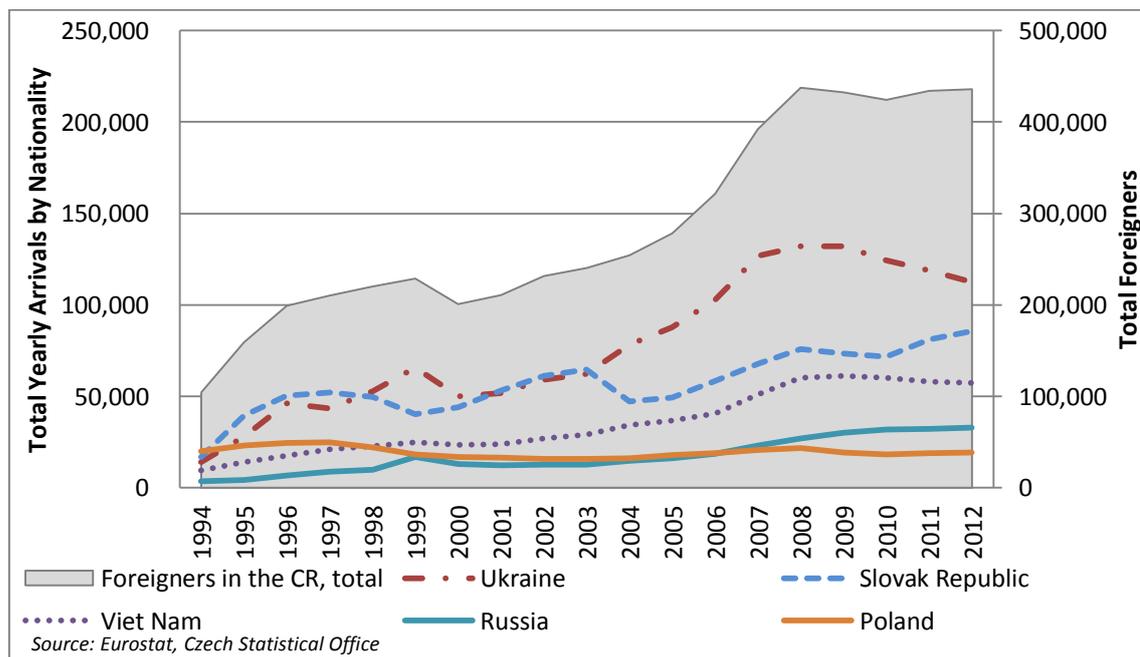
Figure 2: Foreigners in the Czech Republic 1985-2012 (According to Type of Residence)



Although data shows that there was a slight peak in flows around 1998 numbers appear to have declined only briefly, (Figure 2 and Figure 3) something which has been attributed to both enhanced border securitization and stabilization of the situation in sending regions such as the Former Yugoslavia and economic decline in the late nineties. (United Nations Secretariat, 2002; Drbohlav & Valenta, 2014) The short term decline in flows was not long lasting as the Czech Republic remained a migratory hub

in the region and continues to attract a wide variety of migrants. Traditional source countries such as Slovakia and Ukraine remain of great importance even as other sending states gain in relative importance. (Figure 3 and Figure 4) Indeed the variety of migrants and the number of source countries involved has increased dramatically over the past decade; there are now nationals from more than 182 countries resident in the country although approximately 80 per cent of migrants come from only five primary source countries. (Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2010; Czech Statistical Office, 2012)

Figure 3: Foreigners in the Czech Republic by Citizenship 1994-2012 (Significant Flows Only)



When comparing the number of foreigners by country (top 5 source countries Figure 3) it is clear that there has been significant growth in the population of foreigners living in the Czech Republic in the past decade. The fastest growing and largest linguistic group is composed of Ukrainian nationals who have more than doubled in number since the year 2000. Similarly the population of Slovak nationals has also doubled over the same period. The Vietnamese community is another rapidly expanding group of highly visible migrants; distinct both culturally and linguistically. Russian nationals have also increased their presence significantly even though they remain a relatively small population in comparison to other groups.

The number of Polish nationals in the Czech Republic has not changed significantly in the past two decades. Figure 3 indicates the total number of registrations of foreigners in the Czech Republic on an annual basis on the left hand side, while the

absolute total number of foreigners in the country is shaded grey and marked on the right hand side of the graph. It is clear that there is a tight connection between the number of Ukrainian nationals entering and the total population of foreigners in the country.

It should be noted that no western country acts as a significant source country for migrants to the Czech Republic. The recent census indicates that although there are nationals from many countries present in the country only five countries provide the vast bulk of new arrivals. In relation to migrants from the 'other' countries of origin a significant number are employed by multinational firms, often as intercompany transferees. A large portion of western migrants are resident in the Czech Republic arrived for a variety of non-economic reasons which include; students who later settle, 'lifestyle migrants', those who seek experience outside of their home country and those who just happened to end up in the country by chance. It should be noted that accession to the EU did not lead to a rapid increase the number of EU citizens moving to the Czech Republic although there was a nominal increase in registrations. (see Figure 11) More significantly accession did correspond with an increase in the number of third-country nationals present in the Czech Republic, primarily Ukrainians, Russians and Vietnamese.

The following section describes the most significant migrant groups in the Czech Republic by nationality. A brief discussion and analysis of several significant changes to government policy related to migration in the past two decades is followed by a discussion of how the various migration dynamics were impacted upon by policy changes. The work indicates that although changes to governmental policy have had a restrictive character the overall impact on aggregate flows have been relatively minimal, with economic cycles being correlated with greater fluctuations in flows.

2.1 EUROPEAN UNION OBJECTIVES

In terms of historical migration and public discourse in Europe there has traditionally been an expectation (in many receiving nations) that new comers would either ‘assimilate’¹³ over time or leave. Assimilative approaches and the relatively common *laissez-faire* style of migration management since the 1970’s have been demonstrably inadequate as techniques for integration. The inadequacy of previous policies has recently led to a new conceptualization of integration, some examples of which have been remarkably successful. (Shadid, 1991; IOM, 2002; Castles & Davidson, 2000; Castles, 2007) In an attempt to mitigate the impact of incomplete integration and to deal with inter-societal tensions, the European Union has implemented several approaches aimed at spreading the application of best practice across member states. More recent approaches have targeted integration of third-country nationals through the implementation of Communication 359 of 2008¹⁴, which seeks to implement a common immigration policy for all of Europe. This more recent approach compliments past policies such as: the Tampere Programme from 1999, the Hague Programme of 2004 and the Stockholm Programme of 2010. All of which sought the establishment of clear and common guidelines related to immigration and asylum across member states. Table 10 in the Appendix provides a detailed list and brief explanation of relevant directives, policy statements and programmes undertaken by the European Union in chronological order.

While these three programmes have often been heavily focused on security, they had as a core objective the establishment of comparative polices across the European Union. These policies were often based on the dissemination of best practice and the enhancement of capabilities. (Zeilinger, 2012) Thus, the European Union has had the effect of improving, generally speaking, the rights accorded to third-country nationals within the EU while also improving mobility for EU citizens originally enshrined in the Schengen Agreements of 1985 and strengthened in 2004 by Directive 38 EC.¹⁵ In addition, the standardization which leads from EU involvement in domestic policy formulation is of benefit. This stems from the ensuing clarity, continuity and stability of practice, which thereby reduces uncertainty for both migrants and officials irrespective

¹³ The Chicago school was a proponent of such views– See (Esser, 2001) Consider also the case of German guest workers. (Berry, 2001)

¹⁴ COM(2008) 359- A common Immigration Policy for Europe.

¹⁵ 2004/38/EC of 29 April 2004 on the right of citizens of the Union and their family members to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States

of place of residence.

2.2 KEY MIGRANT GROUPS

The total population of foreigners in the Czech Republic stands at 449,450, or a little more than four per cent of the total population. Approximately one quarter are registered in the capital region of Prague. (Czech Statistical Office, 2012) The capital of Prague plays host to a significant portion of foreign nationals who now make up 14 per cent of the total population of the city.¹⁶ According to statistics provided by the most recent Czech census there are only a handful of primary source countries producing migrants who reside in the Czech Republic. The largest group is composed of 117,810 Ukrainian nationals the second largest group in terms of overall numbers is composed of Slovak nationals and amounts to 84,380 individuals.¹⁷ The third largest group in absolute numbers is comprised of 53,110 Vietnamese nationals. Russian nationals are another significant group and account for 36,055 individuals. Other significant groups of foreign nationals registered in the country include German nationals, currently 20,780 individuals, as well as 17,856 Polish nationals. Historically Polish migrants accounted for a larger portion of the migrant population in the Czech Republic than they do today but have seen a decline in relative importance in relation to other groups. (clearly visible in Figure 4) A large number of German migrants registered in the 1990s were, in fact, Czechs who ‘returned’ during the early years of transition. (United Nations Secretariat, 2002)

From Figure 4 it is possible to compare the top five source countries in relation to each other in terms of their relative importance over time. The groups are represented as a percentage of total foreigners thus demonstrating the relative importance of groups in relation to each other. The top five nationalities of relevance are shown independently while all other foreigners are grouped together for simplicity sake. It is clear from this graphical demonstration that the share of each group has been relatively stable throughout time, even as the absolute number of migrants has increased and become more diversified in terms of country of origin. (as noted by Drbohlav & Valenta, 2014)

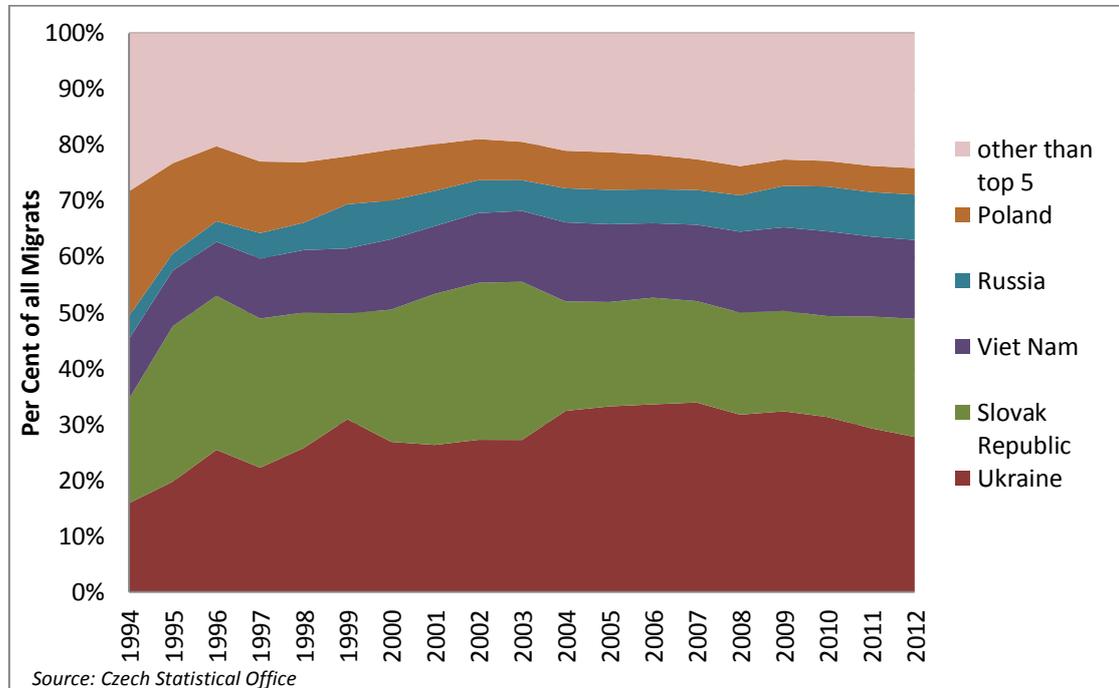
The degree of variation in composition of flows has been relatively stable over

¹⁶ The population of Prague is 1,272,690 of which 178,177 are foreigners. (Czech Statistical Office, 2012)

¹⁷ In addition 149,140 individuals claim to be of Slovak ethnicity. Statistics utilized within this work are all publically accessible. Issues with data availability, completeness and the lack of congruence is noted by Leontiyeva (2011)

the past two decades with the Ukrainian and Slovak migrant communities changing proportionally in relation to each other and the Vietnamese community slowly expanding in relevance.

Figure 4: Foreigners in the Czech Republic by Citizenship 1994-2012 (As per cent of total)



Ukraine

The most significant source country in terms of inflows to the Czech Republic is Ukraine, which provides the majority of new migrant registrations annually while also comprising the largest percentage of foreign nationals within the Czech Republic. (See Figure 3) Several factors have led to the current state of affairs with Ukrainians being the most significant migrant community within the Czech Republic; the factors are historical, economic, educational and familial related. Historically the Czech Republic allowed Ukrainians visa free status for short term stay and a large number of (primarily) male individuals migrated seasonally for employment in occupations such as construction or factory work. Over time a structural demand for labor occurred across the Czech Republic due to the relative unwillingness of Czech nationals to move, even within the country in order to satisfy employer demand, or to work in so called dirty or difficult jobs such as construction. (Horáková, 2000; Association for Integration and Migration / Sdružení pro integraci a migraci, 2012; Valentová, 2012; Drbohlav D. , 1994)

The lack of a readily available mobile workforce within the Czech Republic led

to a demand for laborers from outside of the country, a gap which Ukrainian nationals readily filled. This trend continues to this day with a large number of individuals migrating seasonally or semi-permanently. Recent restrictions have led to an increase in the prevalence of permanent stay as pendular mobility is restricted or reduced due to increasingly restrictive government policies, may they be perceived or actual.¹⁸ In addition to historical movement which provided the original conduit for continued movement channels of communication remain between workers and employers. These established contacts have led to the formation of a network of migrants and permanent settlers who provide support for the continued flow of seasonal and permanent employment for co-nationals, both legally and illicitly. (Bakewell, de Haas, & Kubal, 2011; Drbohlav, et al., 2009) Ukrainian workers are easily able to adapt to working in the Czech Republic as the linguistic differences between the nations are not of great significance. Niche markets have sprung up in larger regional centers which cater to the specific cultural needs of the Ukrainian population. (Hadler, 2006)

In addition there are a substantial number of individuals who studied in the Czech Republic and then sought out employment among the local labor force.¹⁹ Indeed there are a significant number of female migrants from Ukraine who have moved in search of work, or for purposes of family reunification, currently employed on the Czech market. Recent research has attempted to shine a spotlight on this ‘hidden’ employment which often takes place behind closed doors in private residences as part of the informal or secondary labor market. (Horáková, 2000; Association for Integration and Migration / Sdružení pro integraci a migraci, 2012; Valentová, 2012)

The economic crisis and related tightening of visa reissuance and a decline in the number of economically active migrants did not, according to authors such as Leontiyeva (2011), equate with an increase in return migration as numbers remained stable during the crisis. Leontiyeva (2011) has indicated that although the Czech state attempted to ensure employment opportunities for nationals by restricting the issuance of new visas for third country nationals the end result was not as anticipated as third country nationals worked illicitly.

It is clear that when aggregate inflows are compared to average annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in current US dollars that the inflow of Ukrainian nationals is

¹⁸ Regional unemployment remains highly diverse in the Czech Republic with some regions experiencing a lack of willing workers, while others suffer from economic stagnation and high unemployment. Restrictive policies as a result of EU accession led some previously circular flows to become one way- or semi-permanent.

¹⁹ Authors note: This statement reflects the personal experience of the authors.

closely connected to cycles of boom and bust in the country with a slight delay in inflow. A slowing of flows or even a decline in the overall population of Ukrainian migrants occurs after periods of negative economic growth. (Figure 5) The number of Ukrainian nationals employed within the Czech market is closely connected with opportunities for employment; as the economic outlook sours fewer migrant registrations occur. Such dynamics are also seen among other migrant groups with a very similar trend among Russian migrants. Russian nationals demonstrate a nearly identical trend line as Ukrainians (Figure 8) although the number of economically active Russians is far lower than among Ukrainian nationals. (Leontiyeva, 2011) Historical connections between potential employers and employees ensure that when demand increases for labour available workers are notified in short order. The existence and persistence of such networks is well documented in the case of illicit (short term) employment, which clearly spills over and is connected with legitimate employment practices in the Czech Republic. (Drbohlav, et al., 2009)

Figure 5: Ukrainian Nationals in the Czech Republic 1994-2013 (In relation to GDP trends)



Slovak Republic

Historically movement between the Czech and Slovak Republics was not counted as international migration and thus it is difficult to compare the past with current movements which have become internationalized as a result of the velvet divorce. The intensity of movement between the Czech and Slovak Republics has been relatively variable since the early nineties. (Figure 6) From statistical sources available,

primarily the Czech Statistical Office (CZSO), the number of Slovak migrants peaked in 1993 and declined thereafter. According to the OECD a large number of Slovak registrations in the Czech Republic in 1993 were a direct result of legislation prohibiting dual nationality. Thus, a large number of individuals who had migrated previously were forced to register in 1993 in order to obtain a residence permit and remain legitimately within the country. (United Nations Secretariat, 2002, p. 57) This process occurred irrespective of the fact that the two Republics signed bilateral agreements in the early nineties which grant special status for co-nationals permitting mobility between the two nations and securing the right to live and work in the other country under favourable circumstances. (Horáková, 2000; Strielkowski W. , 2007; Williams & Baláž, 2002; Divinský, 2007) Agreements provided mutual recognition of rights related to access to the labour markets and exemption from limitations on terms of employment as well as recognition of social insurance contributions. In essence these agreements allowed nationals of both countries to work in the other essentially without restriction.²⁰ (Williams & Baláž, 2002) Indeed before European enlargement in 2004 the Czech Republic was the preferred destination for Slovak nationals, accepting nearly two thirds of all Slovak migrants. (Bahna, 2013). Recent work by Miloslav Bahna demonstrates that although the United Kingdom is now a preferred destination for Slovak migrants the Czech Republic remains the country with the largest number of migrants, receiving about one third of migrants. (2013)

Although the flow of Slovak nationals is relatively circumscribed in terms of total flows in the Czech Republic the number of new Slovak registrations has increased somewhat in the past decade and appears to fluctuate quite significantly depending on economic cycles. (Figure 6) Something variously ascribed to rising levels of education²¹ in the Slovak Republic as well as enhanced employment prospects regionally in the Czech Republic relative to particular Slovak regions which remain underdeveloped. (Baláž & Williams, 2004; Banerjee, 2010) Although well established, the flow of Slovak nationals is the least controversial of migration from a political perspective as Slovak migrants are essentially 'nearly invisible' migrants as a result of their shared

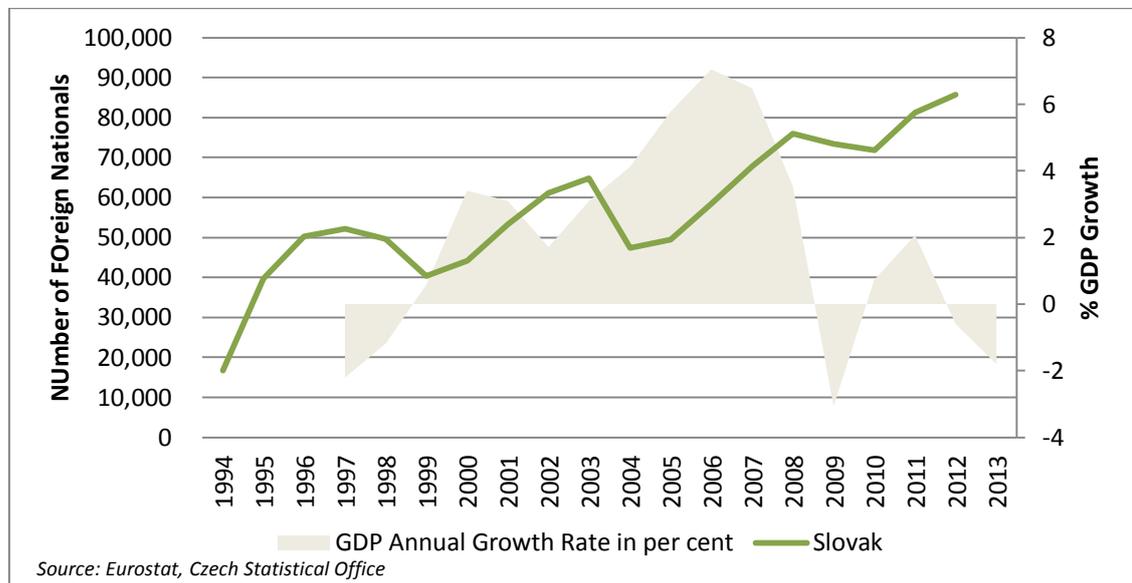
²⁰ According to Williams and Baláž agreements between the Czech and Slovak Republics were highly favourable and offered exemptions from time limits on employment as well as recognition of social insurance contributions. In addition citizens of either both countries could work and reside in the neighbouring country indefinitely without a visa or work permit. (2002, p. 650)

²¹ Nearly four per cent of university students in the Czech Republic are Slovak (Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2010)

history, similarity in language, appearance and cultural traits.²²

Overall the flow of Slovak nationals into the Czech Republic is relatively well established with regular patterns which correspond partly to economic cycles. We find that the movement of Slovak nationals is not often even seen to be migration from the perspectives of the individuals themselves. People say that they ‘came to study’ and they do not always internalize the event itself as migration. Thus, the migration decision is not self-consciously understood in the same way for a Slovak national as it is for other migrants who must ‘run the gauntlet’ of bureaucracy or cross external borders which often involves a direct (albeit usually symbolic) confrontation with state authority, although since 2004 this border is largely symbolic.²³

Figure 6: Slovak Nationals in the Czech Republic 1994-2013 (In relation to GDP trends)



The number of Slovak nationals registering at Czech labour offices trends closely in line with economic cycles. For every upswing in economic output there is a matching increase (with some delay) in the number of new comers. Although a study by Strielkowski (2007) demonstrated that variation in GDP between the two countries does not have an impact on movement there are clear trends which correspond loosely to periods of boom and bust. (Figure 6) Strielkowski claims that migration between the Czech and Slovak Republics cannot be attributed solely to higher regional unemployment as factors other than employment play a role in the mobility of Slovak

²² Strielkowski (2007) indicates that the majority of Czechs do not see Slovak nationals as foreigners although that is not always the impression given by the younger generation.

²³ Many authors discuss the challenge of cross border activities and their implication for individuals. Qualitative research has demonstrated that the border and the act of crossing that border is often the most stressful time during migrant itineraries. This is especially the case of labour migrants who must appear to be tourists when interacting with border police as a result of their quasi-legitimate status as circular labor migrants.

migrants in the Czech Republic (at least in the case of the highly educated). It is clear that the sharing of information via informal channels has combined with the accessibility of information through publicly available media to inform individuals who can then select the ‘best’ time to enter the Czech labour market. Additionally, given the close proximity of the states and the relative ease of travel between source and destination regions (three to 6 hours) Slovak nationals are also able to apply for employment, visit an interview and return home before making a migration decision, a luxury that most international migrants do not have.

Vietnam

An example of a sending country of more recent importance is the case of Vietnam. The recent increase in the number of Vietnamese nationals residing in the Czech Republic can be connected to enhanced network type activity within the community as well as greater sharing of information between Vietnamese co-ethnics in the Czech Republic and Vietnam. (Multikulturální centrum Praha, 2011) The seeds of current migratory flows between the two countries were sown decades ago as a result of the economic and historical political relationship between Communist Czechoslovakia and Vietnam which dates back to the 1970’s. (Salt, 1989, p. 447) It was in this period that Vietnamese labourers and students were invited to Czechoslovakia as part of the governmental policy of supporting ideological partners around the globe. As a result of this policy there have historically been a small number of individuals of Vietnamese extraction working and living in the Czech Republic. More recently their numbers have been boosted due to increased demand for labourers in factories and due to familial connections which lead individuals to come to the Czech Republic to act as petty traders or in small scale businesses.

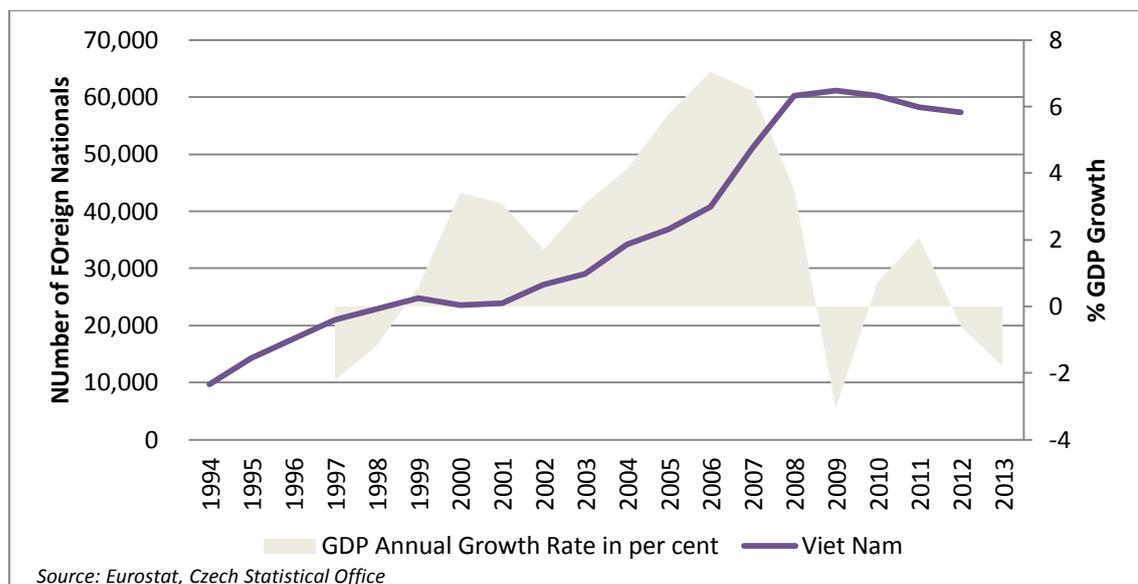
The relatively large increase in numbers from Vietnam (doubling each decade see Figure 7) has been politically explosive and the rapid increase in the numbers of visas issued by the Czech Republic has even led to the closure of the Czech Embassy in Hanoi in response to alleged corruption of officials responsible for providing visa applicants with approval. The presence of Vietnamese nationals is a security concern in some respects, due to the increasing perception of their involvement in drug production and distribution,²⁴ however, the presence of this ethnic group is not generally perceived negatively by the populace at large given the fact that the children of Vietnamese

²⁴ See Amendment to the Employment Act below

immigrants integrate well in schools and are not perceived to pose a direct threat to local residents, although the Ministry of Interior does consider this group to be problematic in terms of security and cultural distance and recent polls indicate increasingly hostility amongst the population. (Leontiyeva, 2011) The control of niche markets by the Vietnamese community such as corner shops and vegetable stalls is not generally perceived as an issue for most Czech nationals. (Heisler, p. 80)

The relative small size of the Vietnamese population combined with the distance over which they must travel, as well as the process of applying for and obtaining visas has limited the impact of economic cycles on the flow of migrants. Employment in niche markets (food stuffs, small scale trading) may also provide a buffer against cyclical economic shifts. A more significant limitation on the increase in numbers is legislative changes which directly impact upon the possibility of obtaining permission to enter the country. Changes introduced in 2009 have had a significant impact on the number of new registrations.

Figure 7: Vietnamese Nationals in the Czech Republic 1994-2013 (In relation to GDP trends)



Russia

The Russian population in the Czech Republic is relatively small and as a migrant community relatively understudied as they have only recently formed anything resembling a migrant community. Being a relatively small dispersed population has restricted the development of a network which would be capable of providing co-nationals support for integration into the local workforce. (Massey, D. et al., 1998) The Russian population is composed of a large cohort of youth, relatively young recent

graduates, as well as a number of older migrants who have been in the country for a number of years, or who have invested somehow into the local market. The authors' work has found that it is relatively difficult for Russian nationals to remain in the country if they are not officially employed; as a result many have taken to investing in property to ensure access to the market.²⁵

Of all groups under discussion the relatively small population of Russian nationals in the Czech Republic was most affected, in terms of aggregate flows, by changes to the Act on Residence of Foreign Nationals in 1999 which led to a drop in entries. (Figure 8) Economic cycles do not have a clear impact on flows, which may be a result of the relative similarity in the two countries economic fortunes. (see Figure 1) The rationale for migration decisions is also different for this group as many Russian nationals invest in property in the Czech Republic, settle for political reasons or were students who then chose to remain.²⁶ As a result the mobility of this group is less affected by economic cycles than political shifts, both at home and abroad.

Figure 8 : Russian Nationals in the Czech Republic 1994-2013 (In relation to GDP trends)



The data presented here indicates that local economic cycles have a variable influence on migrant inflows dependent on the group in question. State level policies also have differential influence on the various major migrant groups within the country. These differences are discussed in more detail in the section to follow which presents the various state policies which have been implemented recently and which have had an

²⁵ Ownership of property of foreign nationals is possible via the establishment of a Limited Liability Company, ownership of which allows for access to 'trade license' visas.

²⁶ This information stems from in-depth discussions with Russian nationals residing in the Czech Republic and data collected as part of the PhD research project.

impact on migrant flows.

2.3 POLICY AND LEGISLATION RELATED TO MIGRATION

Czech legislation related to migration and asylum has undergone several stages of evolution with essentially five relevant acts and amendments impacting upon migrants living in or attempting to gain access to the Czech Republic. In conjunction with accession negotiations and in preparation for integration with the European Union the Czech Republic was required to modify both policies and practices within the state apparatus. This involved not only changes to government policy but also led to significant changes in external border control regimes as a result of integration into the Schengen area. Since the inception of the Schengen zone of free movement national states have been developing national policies which allow for and support inter-European mobility while concurrently developing a coherent external policy in relation to third-country nationals. (Zeilinger, 2012; Castles & Davidson, 2000) Although much of this policy development is instigated at the level of the European Union it remains up to each member state to develop and implement state policies that fall in line with the general European guidelines. This leads to varying particularities of each state being expressed in national policy as the unique character of individual states are expressed in policy and via its implementation. The limited number of EU directives which relate directly to migration or mobility allows for wide variation to exist across the Union when we look at migrant integration policies, visa issuance or the like. As national governments remain responsible for policy development their unique historical experience with migration and their economic development greatly affects the outcome of policy implementation. In the case of the Czech Republic limited experience with migration combines with a degree of political apathy and has resulted in the implementation of relatively few policies related to migration.

While it is difficult to quantify the impact of each individual policy change it is important that we analyse the impact that is known. In the following section each act or amendment which has introduced a significant burden for potential or current migrants will be briefly explained. The policy changes are then looked at from the macro perspective and Figure 11 is discussed in order to clarify the aggregate impact of the policy changes in view of changing economic conditions in the Czech Republic.

1999: Act on the Residence of Foreign Nationals

In an effort to meet accession criteria for joining the EU, Czech legislation required significant reshaping to ensure that domestic law was in harmony with international policy and practice at the EU level. The revamped Act on the Residence of Foreign Nationals²⁷ (Aliens Act), which came into force at the beginning of 2000, set the stage for harmonization and was more restrictive than previous legislation had been. (Brazova, 2012) The Aliens Act of 2000 introduced new types of permanent and temporary residence permits for nationals of varying extractions, in addition the Act instituted mandatory visas for countries previously covered under pre-existing bilateral agreements; these countries include Belarus, the Republic of Moldova, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation and Ukraine. (United Nations Secretariat, 2002, p. 60) The imposition of restrictive legislation reduced the possibility for individuals to settle or to work in the Czech Republic or to change their status, thus imposing a bureaucratic burden upon would be migrant workers as well as current migrants. (Drbohlav & Valenta, 2014, p. 67) At the same time the restrictive Aliens Act of 2000 came into effect a system of visa issuance at the international border at airports was established, (Visapoint) along with legislation which brought Czech Asylum practices in line with international norms and principles established by the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its protocol of 1967. (United Nations Secretariat, 2002, p. 60)

One outcome of the imposition of a new, more restrictive, legislative stance by the government was the increase (in advance) of the number of foreign nationals registering themselves under the category of trade certificates/business license holder. In particular the number of Ukrainians registered as foreign workers declined rapidly between 1996 and 1999 from forty nine thousand to 16,700 while in tandem the number of Ukrainians registering for trade certificates/business licenses increased from 8,700 in 1997 to 19,500 in 1999, irrespective of the economic collapse of 1998. (United Nations Secretariat, 2002, p. 58) (Refer to Figure 3) This shift may be seen as a migrant coping strategy in light of the imposition of restrictive legislation. A pattern seen more recently among Vietnamese migrants in response to restrictive policies in the mid to late 2000's in advance of the imposition of more restrictive legislation in 2009.²⁸ (Trlifajová, 2012)

²⁷ Act on the Residence of Foreign Nationals No. 326/1999 Coll.

²⁸ Irrespective of the degree of restriction imposed the fact that individuals perceive the legislation to be restrictive or 'hear' of it becoming more restrictive impacts upon individual and aggregate patterns of action.

2004: New Employment Act including Employment of Foreigners

As the Act on the Residence of Foreign Nationals of 2000 had not included provisions pertaining to regulation of employment or sanctions for illegal employment there was a need for greater governmental oversight. As such, the government brought into force a New Employment Act in 2004 which included provisions related to foreigners.²⁹ This act implemented a variety of control measures as well providing for active monitoring and support mechanisms related to migrants. The implementation of this Act would appear to have had little impact upon actual migrant flows and was more focused on the implementation of European norms and enhancing the capability of official bodies while codifying the state's policy related to employment, which in essence is to provide for full employment and protect against unemployment while also preventing discrimination.³⁰ Since the imposition of this act EU citizens are no longer regarded as foreigners and possess the same legal status as Czech citizens in relation to the labour market and no longer require a work permit. (Drbohlav & Valenta, 2014)

2009: Amendment to the Employment Act (Green Cards)

An amendment of the Employment act in 2009³¹ introduced the visa category of 'Green Cards' for labour migrants as a result of pressure from the Ministry for Industry and Trade who lobbied for an additional channel for the entry of lower skilled labour to the Czech market. This new scheme included provisions for unskilled labour, a category previously left out of legislation. The Green Cards introduced for labour migrants via the Amendment to the Employment act were restricted to nationalities deemed as 'safe' from the perspective of security, with the Ministry of Interior blocking access to Green Cards for many states which had previously been the source of most labour recruitment due to security concerns. (Brazova, 2012; Leontiyeva, 2011) This led, for example, to Ukrainian nationals being eligible for Green Cards but not Vietnamese migrants. In essence the state, via the issuance of a list of source countries able to apply for the various types of green cards, has created a sharp divide in the type of immigrant accepted by the state; those worthy of permanent residence, those who are only

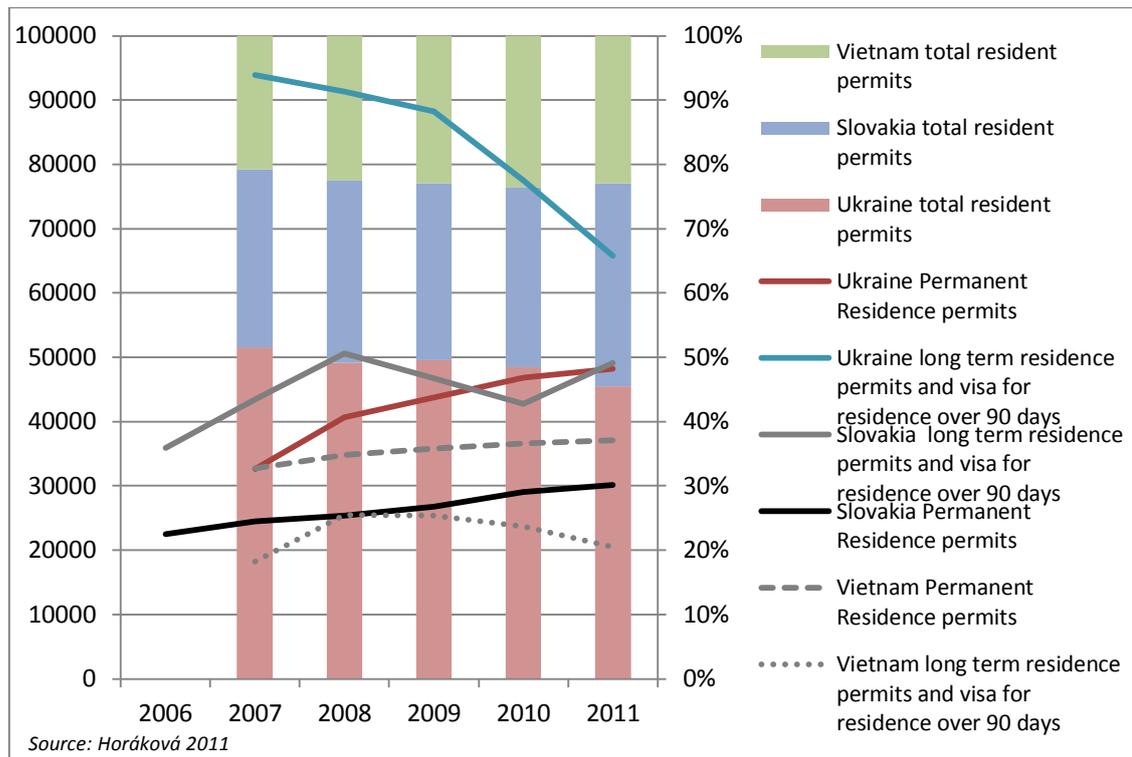
²⁹ Employment Act No. 435/2004 Coll.

³⁰ Although in practice third country nationals are not able to claim unemployment benefits as "when the "purpose" of a migrant workers stay in the Czech Republic comes to an end the residence permit granted for the purpose of employment or self-employment is also terminated." (Leontiyeva, The Impact of Admission-policies and Admission Related Integration Policies on the Labour Market Integration of TCN Newcomers in the Czech Republic, 2011) Before 2004 only permanent residence permit holders could apply for benefits.

³¹ Act No. 382/2008 amending Act No. 326/1999

temporary and those who are not welcome.³² (Leontiyeva, 2011)

Figure 9: Foreigners Holding Permanent And Long-Term Residence Permits



As restrictive policies were instituted the number of Ukrainian nationals entering the country on trade licences increased after 2008 even while there was a corresponding drop in the number of long term residence applications processed and a subsequent decline in the number of entries on visas over 90 days. (See Figure 9 and Figure 10) In comparison there was a reduction in the number of Vietnamese applications for both trade licences and long term residence permits. (See Figure 9 and Figure 10) (Trlifajová, 2012) Applications for permanent residence were not affected as individuals applying had already been in the country for 5 years and were therefore not affected by new policies (Ministry Of The Interior, 2010) although increasingly restrictive policy may also have the side effect of inducing more individuals to settle permanently.

The total number of individuals applying for trade licences did not decline as a result of the implementation of this amendment; however, there was a significant reduction in the number of long term visas issues (over 90 days). (Figure 9) Although a decline in the number of trade licences is not visible at the aggregate level as demonstrated in Figure 11 other authors have pointed out that there was a decline in the

³² According to a decree of the minister of interior (No. 461/2008 Coll) the three groups are divided into skilled workers from listed countries, unskilled workers from listed countries and all other non-EU immigrants.

number of successful applicants from specific countries. (Trlifajová, 2012) In particular a temporary halt to the issuance of any type of employment visa in several countries led to a drastic reduction in flows from Vietnam and Ukraine in 2009 and 2010 (Trlifajová, 2012) the impact of this decision is clearly visible in Figure 10. The impact of these changes has been long lasting as a Government Decree of 2009 served to limit the number of potential visas issued since then, and thus limit access to the labour market. (Ministry of Interior, 2011; Vláda České Republiky, 2009; Drbohlav & Valenta, 2014)

2010: New Penal Code Implementing EU Directive 2009/52/EC

The new penal code introduced in 2010³³ regulated the unauthorized employment of foreigners for the first time as Czech Law had not previously dealt with illegal employment other than to monitor those working outside of their primary occupation.³⁴ In essence the change was primarily cosmetic and was intended to satisfy accession criteria, in particular the imposition of the EU directive which includes sanctions for employers.³⁵

2011: Amendment to Act on Residence of Foreign Nationals

An amendment³⁶ to the previously discussed Act on the Residence of Foreign Nationals (326/1999 Coll) instituted several substantive changes which have had a cooling effect. The responsibility for granting of visas for long term stay was transferred from the Foreign Police to the newly formed regional offices for Asylum and Migration of the Ministry of the Interior. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2012) In line with the previous Penal Code the amendment to the Foreigners Residence Law was primarily aimed at implementing EU Directives and norms, such as the Blue Card directive but also had the effect of implementing far stricter regulation of migrant labourers, as well as employers. In addition to a variety of new sanctions; employer financial responsibility, and the obligation to notify the authorities when changing ones address the act also limited the possibility of obtaining a trade licence as interviews became necessary when applying at embassies; thus reducing the total number of successful applicants for trade licenses while concurrently increasing the number of individuals applying for family reunification, much in line with restrictive policy utilized in Western Europe. (Trlifajová, 2012; Zolberg & Benda, 2001) In addition the

³³ Penal Code Act No.40/2009 Coll

³⁴ Act on Employment 435/2004 Coll. dated 13th May 2004 Section 5.E.

³⁵ 2009/52/EC

³⁶ Act No. 427/2010 Coll.

newly introduced system of online application was plagued by delays and functioned to limit the capacity of embassies in issuing visas. A side effect of the transfer of authority from the foreign police to the Ministry of the Interior was the securitization of migration. The ministry was also condemned for failing to maintain an adequate response time between application and the issuance of a decision related to the granting of visas or visa extensions. (Trlifajová, 2012) Strategic bureaucratic delays led to a reduction in the overall acceptance rate.

2014: Amendment to Act on Residence of Foreign Nationals

In order to conform to and implement EU directive 2011/98/EU on a single application procedure for a single permit for third-country nationals to reside and work in the territory of a Member State and on a common set of rights for third-country workers legally residing in a Member State the Czech senate passed an amendment to the Act on the Residence of Foreign Nationals.³⁷ This new act, once signed, will modify the conditions for the issuance of new work permits. Changes envisaged include the termination of the ‘green’ card and the creation of a ‘workers’ or ‘employee’ card which combines long-term work permits and residence cards into one document. The implementation of this new system is unlikely to have a significant effect on aggregate flows in the short term, although the enhanced bureaucratic delays entailed and increased authority granted to the Ministry of Interior may lead to greater downward pressure on flows. Activists have indicated that the new policy is anti-integrative in nature. (Čížinský, 2014)

2.4 ECONOMIC IMPACT ON MIGRATORY FLOWS

Looking to Figure 11 (page 39) it is unclear as to the long term impact that individual policies enacted by the government have had on aggregate flows, even if short term change is visible. The chart indicates the various sources of migrant flows and includes nationals from European Union (EU) states in conjunction with European Economic Community (EEC) nationals; it also indicates flows of non-European migrants. For comparative purposes the number of trade licence holders is also indicated. In the background Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth is indicated as a proxy for economic cycles of boom and bust. It is clear that there is a slight decline in

³⁷ Act No. 326/1999 Coll.

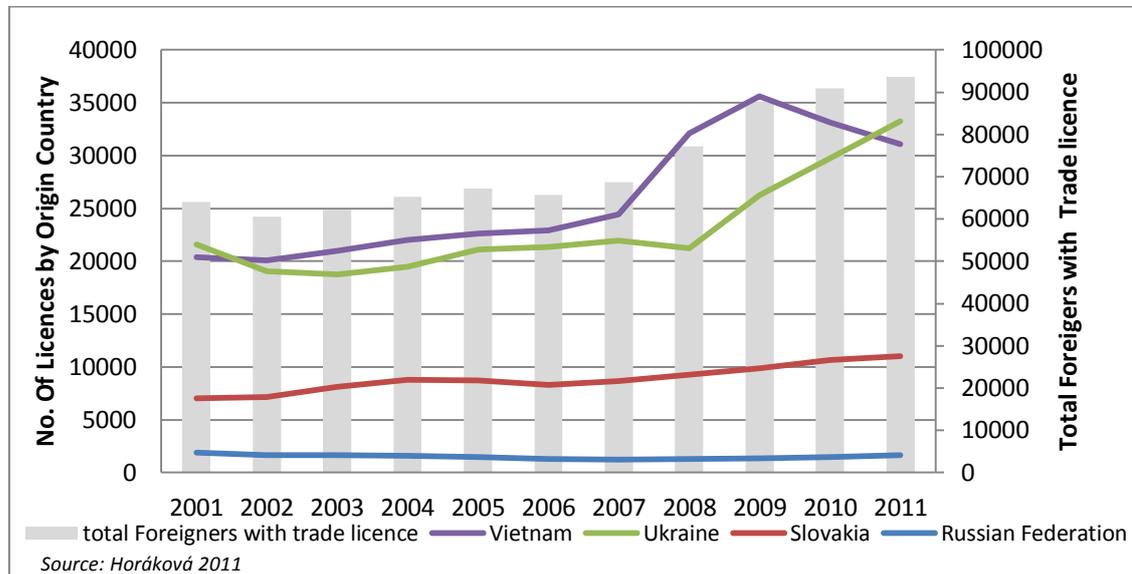
the number of new entries during periods of economic downturn, which may be related to concepts of feedback in migration networks. Feedback in the sense that current migrants share information related to the situation with potential migrants who may choose to remain in their home country or to select an alternative destination where they believe better opportunities exist. (Bakewell, de Haas, & Kubal, 2011; Portes & DeWind, 2007; de Haas, 2010) After a brief rise in numbers during the early days of Czech independence there was a slight fall in demand for and number of European migrants, for example, during and after the financial crisis in 1997 and 1998. (Drbohlav & Valenta, 2014) As the economy recovered in 1999 and into 2000 there was an upswing in entries from the EU. However, the most significant factor which appears to have enhanced migratory flows in the last two decades appears to have been accession to the EU as flows stagnated between 1999 and the year 2004, flows then increased somewhat in conjunction with the entry of the Czech Republic into the EU, although moderately in comparison to the number of third-country nationals who entered. The only limiting factor which appears to have played a role in reducing flows is the Global Financial Crisis of 2007 which hit the Czech economy with a slight delay of two years. Discussion related to the impact of the financial crisis is better documented and it is clear that a decline in employment opportunities has reduced the number of individuals seeking to enter the country which combined with more restrictive policies, delays in processing applications and the general difficulty in accessing visa's serves to limit overall flows. (Brazova, 2012; Leontiyeva, 2011; Strielkowski, Glazar, & Weyskrabová, 2012; Trlifajová, 2012; OECD, 2009)

2.5 POLICY IMPACT

At an aggregate level there has been little variation in the number of foreigners registering for trade licenses as a direct result of policy change instituted in the past decade. There has been a shift in the proportion of Ukrainians applying vis-à-vis other groups which may be a reflection of a change in strategy in light of changing political and economic conditions; especially stagnating economic growth in the past several years. It is clear from Figure 10 that the governmental halt to the issuance of visas in 2009 had an impact on the number of individuals applying for trade licenses from Vietnam. The visa route utilizing trade licenses has been abused by some groups in the past as it was perceived to be an 'easier' way to gain access to the Czech Labour

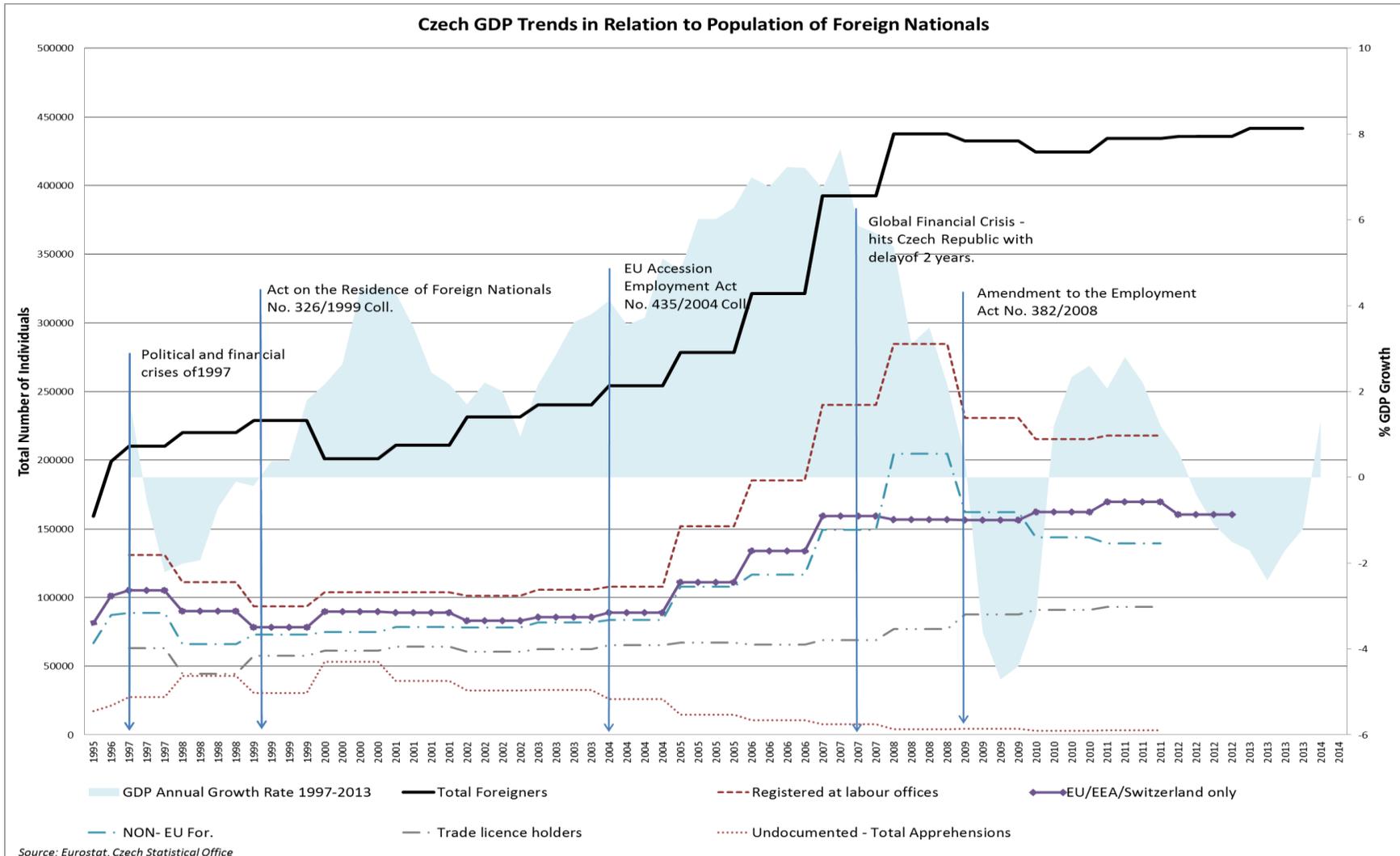
market, especially during periods of economic uncertainty or when restrictive measures were introduced. (Leontiyeva, 2011; Drbohlav & Valenta, 2014, p. 44)

Figure 10: Foreigners Holding Trade Licences In The Czech Republic By Citizenship



Changes implemented as part of the process of introducing the category of Green Card holder has had an impact on the character of migrants who are entering the labour market. A decline in the number of long term residence visa's post 2008 is clearly connected to an increase in the number of Ukrainians applying for trade licenses. (Leontiyeva, 2011) The number of Vietnamese applying has declined in both the case of trade licenses and visas over 90 days. This shift is most likely a reflection of changes to the visa application system and difficulty of gaining physical access to the country. Vietnamese nationals were effectively unable to apply for most of the calendar year 2009 due to the restrictions imposed on consulates by the government and were then limited by a restrictive quote system post 2009. (Vláda České Republiky, 2009) Differential access to Green Card status and the securitization of their provision is a probable cause of the variation we see between groups. A slight decline in the number of Slovak nationals applying for long term stay over 90 days (Figure 10) is more likely linked to changes in perceived economic benefits of migration during a period of crisis than any governmental policy shift given the preferential access to the labour market Slovaks enjoy. Thus the government has managed to shape the dynamic of flows, by limiting access to some groups while granting access to others, a reality that is discussed in more detail by Stephen Castles (2004) This shaping of flows has had an impact on the number of foreign nationals entering the Czech Republic and if maintained may have a lasting impact on the character of new entrants.

Figure 11: Czech GDP Trends In Relation To Population of Foreign Nationals



CHAPTER 3

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Current discussion across several disciplines often focusses on the lack of cross-disciplinary work and the need for greater incorporation of a variety of perspectives in the development and testing of theories. Fragmentation in the discipline is a result of the multitude of backgrounds from which migration research is approached. Researchers coming from fields as diverse as geography, politics, economics and sociology all approach the problematic from unique viewpoints and various vantage points. This diversity has enhanced our understanding while also causing a degree of confusion. Theory building rooted in a particular time and place utilizing tools which are disciplinarily specific has limited cross case comparison to some extent.

The need for further cross-disciplinary work which is also capable of incorporating various viewpoints is clearly needed, and this work seeks to emphasis first the great variety seen across disciplines and then to suggest a new more inclusive framework from which to study migration.

The chapter which follows introduces the reader to several commonly utilized theoretical approaches from various disciplines. An overview of theory introduces the reader to theories which are applied to migration by the author later in the work while also presenting common issues or critiques commonly leveled at theorists who seek to develop robust yet elegant constructs. This chapter presents several major approaches as well as minor theoretical constructs which seek to explain the various migratory flows around the globe, both past and present. Relatively new global perspectives such as theories of transnationalism are discussed as they are believed by some authors to have great potential in explaining current and future flows. The multidisciplinary nature of the problematic leads the author to draw on work stemming from various backgrounds in the application of a mixed theoretical framework.

Applying a mixed methodology this work attempts to incorporate various perspectives while avoiding the pitfalls associated with work of the past which has typically been overly focused on particular flow and particular perspectives. This work builds somewhat off of the work of theorists, in particular Faist and O'Reilly, who present approaches which incorporate various levels of analysis, macro, meso and micro. The application of a meta-theoretical approach allows for the inclusion of

individual level variables; feelings, emotions and impressions, for example, while also allowing for higher level structures to be taken into account. Indeed the call to bring the state back in presented by authors such as Hollifield (2000) is heeded by this author who presents the important role policy plays in defining flows and limiting or access to regions of destination. Taking a geographically focused approach heeds the call John Salt who stressed that it is not possible to focus only on global patterns in their entirety but that there is a need to “break the world map down into its geographical components.” (Salt, 1989, p. 453)

Additionally the utilization of such a loose framework or meta-theoretical approach allows for the incorporation of various specific theories ranging from theories of rational expectations to theories of transnationalism, network theories and push-pull models. The theoretical framework presented here represents an attempt to grasp the fragmented nature of migratory flows and to expand our understanding of individual rationalizations for making migratory decisions as well as those external forces which influence flows.

3 THEORIES IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

3.1 THEORY

Human mobility is of interest to a wide variety of academic disciplines ranging from geography to politics, sociology and beyond. The result of this wide ranging interest is a compendium of theoretical viewpoints which, while complementary at times, can be difficult to reconcile due to their varying scope and fragmentation “across disciplines, regions, and ideologies.” (Massey, D. et al, 1994, p. 700; King, Skeldon, & Vullnetari, 2008) Irrespective of these differences, the diversity of viewpoints is of great benefit to researchers.

The work of Massey, the foremost authority on migration studies, and his associates focuses on theories which explain causal factors which initiate migration flows while also considering theories which take account of the persistence of migrant flows. The work of these authors over the past two decades has provided a wealth of data demonstrating how both micro and macro level factors influence migration flows in the case of Mexican migration. The seminal work of Massey has been a driving force which has supported the creation of theoretical models related to migrations the world

over and includes analysis of the effect of familial influence, feedback mechanisms, macroeconomic factors and state level actions which influence migratory flows from Mexican villages to the global north. Given the influence which Massey and associates have had on the majority of theorizing in the field it would do the field a disservice to ignore their foundational work and the profound impact they have had on the expansion of our understanding. Irrespective of the benefits accrued from their seminal work the majority of theorizing has traditionally been developed based on field research coming from only a limited number of case studies heavily focused on the experience of rural-urban flows from Mexican villages although more recent work has demonstrated transferability of concepts to other case studies. (de Haas, 2008; Castles & Miller, 2009; Bakewell, de Haas, & Kubal, 2011; Fassmann & Musil, 2013)

While hypothesis testing and the wider applicability of theories stemming from the Mexican experience are undoubtedly of great value it is imperative that researchers recognize the fact that although the work of Massey and associates is of great importance it is primarily applicable in the case of 'like type' migratory flows, from the global Spanish speaking south, rooted in a particular socio-cultural milieu, and the global north with the United States of America acting as a major player in this relationship. Given the specific historical relationship which exists between Mexico and its northern neighbour it is necessary to recognize that caution is required when attempting to transpose theoretical constructions based on one environ to any other. From a macro perspective the dynamics of migration may appear to follow well established trends as seen in the Mexican experience, however, the history of sending and receiving countries in another part of the globe is often incomparable to that of the case of a super power such as the United States and its southern neighbour. To gain a clear understanding of the situation in other locations it is crucial that researchers take into account the local relationships which may involve dependency, camaraderie, or mutual benefit within their own particular historical context. In addition the socio-economic situation is vastly different when comparing two relatively small countries based in Europe with that of a superpower and its neighbours. It is the authors' contention that it is possible to build off of work undertaken in differing contexts, however, such application must be undertaken with care and with an appropriate understanding of the local context. Applying a wider conceptualization which incorporates a multi-level theoretical approach is, in this case, appropriate as it allows for a demonstrable understanding of both the situation on the ground, so to speak, as

well as the wider economic and political context. Work with seeks to unite various levels of theoretical insight into a functional whole and which is applicable across a wider cross section of cases has recently come to have greater purchase in the field of migration studies. The work of Faist (2000) with its stylized levels of analysis is one such conceptualization while the work of sociologist Karen O'Reilly is a second, more adaptable, meta-theoretical approach.

The following section describes various attempts to incorporate differing theoretical approaches to the discussion of migration flows. The division of theoretical approaches as delineated by Faist is described and then contrasted to the unified meso-theoretical approach of Karen O'Reilly as these authors provide particularistic ways of approaching the same problematic. The work of Faist is essentially explicating how authors can, and indeed have, focused their work on particular areas of interest depending on their particular area of interest or disciplinary background. In contrast O'Reilly presents a unique holistic approach which attempts to integrate and unify various divergent theoretical approaches. Subsequent sections provide a general overview of theoretical approaches applied over the past several decades to human mobility known as migration. More traditional approaches are contrasted to relatively new transnational perspectives which seek to understand modern mobility and the challenges it may possess for state integrity. A discussion of transnationalism is followed by a discussion of the applicability of a meta-theoretical approach stemming from the work of O'Reilly this is followed by a critique of migration related theories. This section concludes with a brief explanation as to how several divergent approaches align with the multiple flows examined within the Central European Region and in particular in the case of the Czech Republic. In essence this chapter seeks to clarify how a multi-level approach which utilizes various theoretical approaches is best able to clarify the particular migration streams in the region. While a variety of approaches have been considered this work will apply a meta-theoretical approach to understanding migration flows within the Central European Region.

3.2 LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

As noted by Massey and his associated in the early 1990s theories which seek to explain international migration function at divergent levels of analysis. (Massey, D. et al., 1993, p. 463) Faist (2000) demonstrates that it is possible to divide theories

according to three stylized levels of analysis which are broken up according to the micro, macro and meso level at which each theory focuses its analysis. This approach allows researchers to choose under which level of analysis they will seek to explain mobility, micro, macro or meso. Under Faist's proposed division we see that the *micro* level includes rational choice, cost-benefit models and social choice models. The *macro* perspective contains models based on general systems approaches or gravity models which link migration to the wider systems in the world economy, these include concepts which connect chain migration with wider economic systems such as is the case of dependency theory. (Castles, 2007; Castles, 2004) At Faist's *Meso* level we find theories which attempt to place migrants within relationships, or matrices which are comprised of social and symbolic ties and explain factors that both cause and perpetuate. (Faist, 2000, p. 59) Theories, such as these, are more devoted towards garnering an understanding of civic participation and inclusion than strictly being focused on migration as processes unto themselves. This reified view purportedly provides a simple, yet effective, model from which to analyse migratory flows. The risk is that by neatly compartmentalizing movement researchers may miss the interconnected nature of decision making. Within the field of migration studies that there is a need to take into account several levels of analysis when analyzing migrant flows as their diversity is unbounded and cuts cross traditional lines of enquiry.

Table 1: Theories Of Migration According To Level Of Analysis

	Micro Level	Meso Level	Macro Level
Migration is driven by:	Individual values / Desires / Expectations / Rational Choice	Collectives/ Social Networks/ Families	Macro-level Structures, Economic forces
Primary Theoretical Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Push/ pull models - Neoclassical micro migration theory - Behavioural models - Theory of social systems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social capital theory - Institutional theory - Network theory - Cumulative causation - New Economics of Labour Migration - Liberal state thesis - Transnationalism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Neoclassical macro-migration theory - Migration systems - Dual labour market Theory - World systems theory - International political economy - Transnationalism - Gap hypothesis

Table prepared according to division as per Faist, 2000 as described by (Hagen-Zanker, 2011)

It is true that theoretical analysis requires a degree of generalization and as such the labels (micro, macro, meso) employed by Faist serve to clarify the relational nature of the various levels. If applied appropriately the inclusiveness of this conceptualization allows for broad inclusion of the majority of migratory theorizing of the past and may

therefore be applicable in a wide range of cases. Such catch all approaches are becoming more common in migration theorising as researchers realize that the complex nature of migration studies requires the application of cross-disciplinary approaches.

Current research proposes the application of hybrid theories which draw on several specializations, and thus provide overarching theoretical insight, in an attempt to circumvent limitations imposed by traditional unitary theories rooted in particular a discipline. Support continues for research which occurs across disciplines as migrations transcend boundaries, and as such, so too must researchers. The requirement for the application of substantive meta-theoretical approaches has led authors to develop various strategies which allow for the incorporation of various theoretical insights. Faist, for example, aims to incorporate a multi-level approach focused on distinct levels of analysis as noted above. (Faist, 2000) Under the tutelage of Karen O'Reilly the telling of practice stories (utilizing practice theory as clarified below) is becoming more common among sociologists as it is a purely meta-theoretical approach. (2012) Such actor-oriented approaches attempt to overcome the micro-macro gap which plagues much theorizing by incorporating a more complex understanding of regional variation as well as an understanding of how subjective perception is often of more importance than the objective situation as individuals often have limited or imperfect information yet still make migration based decisions, irrespective of the actual situation on the ground, or by taking a step back in order to see the pattern, to rephrase the words of Alejandro Portes. (Portes, 1997; Fassmann & Musil, 2013) Subjective perception and individual action are incorporated into a broader understanding in order to link micro level approaches with macro level theorizing. Research in other disciplines is slowly beginning to catch up with political scientists increasingly incorporating a variety of perspectives into their analysis. (Hollifield, 2000; Hadler, 2006; Heisler, 2000)

Any discussion of migration is inevitably interdisciplinary in nature even as each discipline approaches the problematic from a different perspective, varying viewpoint, area of concern and epistemology depending on their particular training. (Castles, 2012) Each unique perspective provides a greater understanding of the various aspects of mobility, something which is too often missed by authors attempting to analyse particular cases in the field. Each disciplinary approach, conceptual framework or empirical analysis has its own unique contribution to provide the field of migration studies and researchers need to be aware of these contributions

3.3 OVERVIEW OF THEORIES

The review of selected theories applied to mobility which follows is intended to provide a generic overview of the key approaches which have been applied by various authors. A primary concern with most theorizing in the field of migration studies is the overly descriptive character of theories which thus erode the applicability of those same theories in dissimilar cases or across epochs. Many excellent theories, while supporting and providing substantive analytical insight, are often limited in their applicability due to their focus on a particular stream set in a particular time and place. An example can be taken from the so called 'network theory' which provides excellent explanatory power for existing migrant streams but fails to explain the driving force which leads to the creation or decline of those same flows or even what the original 'seed' leading to the development of those same networks may have been. Thus, while network theory is apt for generating explanations of existing flows it is not able to provide sufficient clarity when it comes to understanding the root causes of migrant flows and as such cannot be seen as a true theory in its own right even if it is a useful heuristic tool.³⁸

The following subsection is divided so as to cover several major theories applicable to migration research. The work then looks at more recently espoused theories such as transnationalism and practice theory which appear to promise more substantive applicability for the study of highly-differentiated migratory flows which dominate our modern world.

Neoclassical economics focuses on the differences in structural conditions in differing regions, sub regions and nations which generate migratory flows. Neoclassical economic perspectives conceive of migration "as a process that contributes to the optimal allocation of production factors for the benefit of all, in which the process of factor price equalization will lead to migration ceasing once wage levels are equal at both the origin and destination." (de Haas, 2007) Research has supported this perspective and has shown that movement occurs (in the European context) when the ratio of income difference is a factor of two or more. (Hadler, 2006) Generally speaking neoclassical economics sees the decision to migrate as an individual choice based on an individual's decision to maximize their own income. (known as factor price equalization) While this powerful yet simple theory has been applied across several

³⁸ Portes has clearly expressed that a true theory must contain at minimum: A clear example focused on one concrete example (reality), labels and definitions of a process or characteristic we seek to clarify or explain (dependent variable), one or more factors and their impact or effect and lastly logical consistency to another proposition. (Portes, 1997)

disciplines it suffers from several of its implicit assumptions. Namely that the elimination of wage differences will result in a drop in migration, as labour markets are the primary mechanism by which labour flows are induced. (Massey, D. et al., 1993) These assumptions do not necessarily hold true, as the persistence of high variation in wages across regions over time demonstrates. In addition neoclassical economics is unable to explain differential migration; why some structurally similar regions produce more migrants than similar regions which do not. (Arango, 2000, p. 286)

An offshoot of neoclassical economic theory is human capital theory. Under this micro theoretical perspective migration is seen as a rational behaviour of individuals who seek to invest in the development of their human capital, their productivity, which may be enhanced through education or training. Migration decisions occur with the expectation of an increase in the long term accrual of benefits due to increased employability, higher wages, opportunity for promotion or greater potential returns after their return home. Human capital theory thus posits that youth and those with saleable skills are more likely to make a migration related decision than older migrants due to the greater time frame from which they may accrue skills or benefits. Likewise those with higher levels of education exhibit higher probability of making migration related decisions due to their enhanced ability to acquire and utilize information which therefore reduces the costs or risks of migration. (Hadler, 2006; Lowell & Findlay, 2001; Fassmann & Musil, 2013) This conceptualization is a useful addition to traditional models as it explains factors which lead to differentiated migration flows involving the highly skilled.

The new economics of migration tends to include a more nuanced consideration of other variables which influence migratory decisions. In contrast to neoclassical economic explanations the new economics of migration sees migration as a household decision which is taken with the intention of minimizing risk and maximizing productivity within the family. It also includes an understanding of secondary reasons for mobility decision making, such as keeping up with the neighbours. (Martin & Taylor, 2001) The introduction of the concept of relative deprivation which the theory provides adds an additional layer of complexity (interpersonal relations) to the analysis of decision-making processes. (Massey, D. et al., 1993, p. 432) A change to income distribution which affects relative deprivation in households has a potentially similar

effect as families try to keep up with the neighbours in terms of consumer goods.³⁹ The new economics of migration posits that governmental actions which support the formation of capital markets and the provision of insurance may be more likely to have an effect on migratory flows than restrictive migration related policies due to the fact that families self-insure by sending individuals ‘out’ to work. While the new economics of migration provides excellent explanatory power for migrant flows within and from Mexico it has limited applicability outside of this region. Drawing on relatively few cases based in Mexico the theory lacks broader applicability as it is difficult to apply to other less established sending regions due to the specificity of historical flows, societal (dis)order, family size and cohesion. (Arango, 2000, p. 288) Additionally, it is not possible to apply in the case of the migration of entire families nor to receiving societies as this model was intended to explain the case of individual movements outwards from sending regions.

Higher level macro theories such as the dual labour market theory and world systems theory require mention as they incorporate higher level causal factors within their scope; something that is often missed by micro and meso level approaches which are focused on individual level analysis. Dual labour market theory links immigration to the structural requirements of modern industrial economies and focuses on “intrinsic labour demands of modern industrial societies.” (Massey, D. et al., 1993, p. 440) World systems theory sees immigration as a consequence of globalization and inequality which has arisen due to the expansion of global capitalism. In contrast to neoclassical understanding, migration is perceived by world systems theory as following the money, that is to say that labour flows to where the capital is. (de Haas, 2008, p. 7) Yet world systems theory is “heavily sociological and structural, and it discounts the role of the politics and the state in social and economic change.” (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000, p. 9) Additionally both of these theories tend to ignore micro level decision processes and tend to be overly focused on global forces which generate demand for migrant labour. This overly myopic vision limits their explanatory power as they are global in scope and cannot be tested empirically nor compared to individual level (micro) factors affecting migratory decision-making.

In attempting to derive an explanation for the continued migration flows seen after primary labour recruitment ends authors have advanced the idea that there is a

³⁹ Relative deprivation is the perceived difference in income and purchasing power between households within a community.

network effect that enables migration or reduces the cost of migration. Networks may be thus seen as a form of social capital⁴⁰ that people can access in order to gain access to labour markets and therefore serves to perpetuate movement even in the face of restrictive state policies. (2007) Social capital has the effect of reducing risks associated with migration and easing the migration process via the provision of information or solidarity. (Portes & DeWind, 2007; Fassmann & Musil, 2013) The reduction in costs or uncertainty involved in migration (both monetary and psychological) are beneficial to the individual migrant as they mitigate the risk involved in the process of migration.⁴¹ Evidence suggests that with the expansion of the network there is an equivalent increase in the 'value' of that network which potentially increases the likelihood of further migration, leading to flows which are often termed 'chain migration'. (Arango, 2000, p. 292; Castles, 2007; Fassmann & Musil, 2013) MacDonald and MacDonald define 'chain migration' (a term that precedes migration networks) as 'that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants'. (MacDonald, 1964, p. 82) Networks are believed to be one of the primary factors aiding migratory flows and are seen as the key mechanism leading to self-perpetuating migrant flows of chain migration as they reduce the costs of movement and limit or eliminate the need for a wage gap to stimulate flows (Massey, D. et al., 1993; Hadler, 2006; Portes & DeWind, 2007) The importance of network theory cannot be understated; however, it is essentially a method for understanding more than it is a theory in and of itself. (Faist, 2000, p. 59; Hadler, 2006) Network theory is thus not capable of providing an understanding of what instigates the formation of networks as it is, in essence, a descriptive model.

Networks can be seen as a bridge between the micro (individual level) and the macro (structural level) of analysis. Thomas Faist has linked network theory to a broader conception termed migration systems theory whereas John Salt sees networks as constituting systems which have their own dynamic and individual characteristics, dependent on the particular locality, driven by both economic and social forces. (Salt, 1989; Faist, 2000) The connection between network theory and transnationalism is of great importance as within the wider scope of migration systems theory the movement

⁴⁰ For a detailed discussion on social capital see - (Putnam, 2007, p. 138)

⁴¹ A comprehensive discussion of network theory is available in Massey et al. 1998 pg 96-105 although the writer uses the term Social Capital Theory and Cumulative Causation in the place of Network Theory. See also King, Skeldon, & Vullnetari (2008)

of individuals is not seen as a singular event but as a process which is dynamic and which may be composed of several stages. Within this conceptualization migration is based on circular, interdependent, progressively complex self-modifying systems which are intricately connected across which changes and their affects can be traced. (Faist, 2000, p. 51) Thus, migration systems theory “explicitly elucidates the macro-and micro-structural opportunities for migration causes and, especially, the dynamics of migration.” (Faist, 2000, p. 53) In essence this theory sees migration as altering social, cultural, economic as well as institutional conditions in both the sending and receiving regions. Unlike network theory, which focuses primarily on the role of personal relations between individuals and how their social capital enhances and transforms the migratory experience, migration systems theory goes further and stresses the impact which migration has in restructuring the social and developmental context of the 'spaces' within which migration takes place, both sending and receiving. (de Haas, 2008, p. 21)

A sub theory which seeks to further clarify network formation is institutional theory which explains how high demand for a limited number of visa's (access rights) leads to the creation of institutions which aid illicit or undocumented migrant flows. The creation of such an illicit institutional structure in addition to existing migrant supporting institutions in host countries leads to the perpetuation of migrant flows and persistence through time. (Massey, D. et al., 1993, p. 461) As this (often) illicit exploitation occurs and expands other humanitarian organizations form to enforce migrant rights and to reduce exploitation. Over time they may constitute another form of social capital that migrants can draw upon to gain access to foreign labour markets. (Massey, D. et al., 1993, p. 451) The development of these institutions, legitimate or not, leads to the formation of an entirely independent and self-sustaining portal for migration. It is not possible to regulate this type of system, as it is quasi legal, or even underground, and once formed is a self-perpetuating, for profit system.

A spinoff of network theory is the theory of cumulative causation which attempts to aid in our understanding of how each act of migration increases the likelihood of further migration due to how it alters the context within which migration occurs. (Massey, D. et al., 1993, p. 451) Once migration occurs there is a strong proclivity for further migration as the tastes and experiences of the migrant lead to a change in preferences and further demand for foreign earnings; or in a community setting migration may become socially expected, as a rite of passage or as a way to

increase status and prestige. Thus, a culture of migration may develop within sending regions. (Arango, 2000, p. 293; Hadler, 2006) Sustained migratory flows may also reduce the social capital available in sending countries; while concurrently increasing that in destination countries, this may (in extreme cases) then lead to stagnation of the sending countries economy and economic growth in the receiving state, therefore promoting the causal factors which lead to migratory outflows. (Brain drain) Authors such as De Haas have argued that this may not, in fact, always be the case as out-migration increases the perceived benefit of education and thus leads to greater educational attainment over the long term as more individuals seek to migrate. This is a complex area of discussion with little empirical evidence to support or refute either example although there is strong evidence in the case of the Slovak market that higher levels of education leads to a significant income advantage. (Baláž & Williams, 2004) An expansion of education in rural areas may, in fact, lead to greater incentives to migrate as potential returns from migration increase. (de Haas, 2007, p. 22) In an interesting twist (which serves to demonstrate the complexity of flows) receiving countries may end up with entire sectors developing into 'immigrant jobs', thus forming a structural demand for immigrants, since native workers will decline to fill such stigmatized positions. (Massey, D. et al., 1993, p. 453) Such structural change in receiving societies is explained by theories of the segmented labor market discussed below.

Micro and meso level theories, due to their focus, tend to ignore the distinction between regional, domestic and international migration, as such, several authors have begun to make a call to 'bring the state back' in when discussing international migration. In the case of political scientists who analyze state level relations the focus on international migration is expected and natural. In contrast to sociologists who see the distinction between forced and voluntary migration as more of a continuum political theorists see the state as playing a major role in the creation of and perpetuation of refugee or even illegal flows. (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000, p. 10) Traditionally the state has been seen as having sole authority over the entry and exit of individuals into its territory; even if modern flows often appear unhindered by state restrictions. Recent porosity of traditionally rigid borders has put pressure on traditional understandings of inclusion, citizenship, membership and sovereignty. (Castles & Davidson, 2000) The state is, of course, of great significance when looking to explain migration behaviour of individuals as the state can choose to regulate migration flows in both positive and

negative ways. The state may implement policies, regulations or laws which support migration by 'opening doors' and appearing to be attractive to potential migrants or they may impose severely restrictive policies which act as obstacles to migration. (Fassmann & Musil, 2013) Such obstacles do not always have the desired impact with the enactment of restrictive policies reducing the likelihood of circular migration occurring and, in some cases, has led to permanent settlement of migrants who were originally expected to have been temporary. (Portes & DeWind, 2007; Salt, 1989) In addition historical political connects often serve to guide flows based on previously established connections. (Zolberg & Benda, 2001)

Authors who attempt to 'bring the state back in' such as Hollifield propose the application of a variety of political theories to the analysis of migratory flows. Authors have attempted to apply political theory such as realism and neorealism to garner a better understanding of international migration. Yet such approaches have met with limited success due to their over reliance on state level factors and their inability to incorporate individual level factors into their analysis. Similarly theories based in neoliberalism and international political economy have attempted to explain how the tightly connected international economic system has been co-opted by powerful interest groups who benefit from greater openness. (Castles, 2004) While comprehensive such an approach is unable to incorporate a micro perspective in describing current migration trends.

Authors with a background in political science who have attempted to incorporate a wider gamut of factors have proposed the inclusion of the concept of a rights based approach to understanding international migration. Authors claim that states have lost the ability to control or limit entry into sovereign nations. In essence, modern liberal democratic states are limited in their actions by a variety of international conventions and norms which proscribe individual rights and freedoms, with the result that the "accretion of rights for foreigners in the liberal democracies, i.e. what [has been] called elsewhere the rise of 'rights-based liberalism'" (Hollifield, 2000, p. 148) has thereby limited the ability of states to prevent the movement of individuals. Such a rights based approach is integrated into the liberal state thesis of Hollifield and is called the 'liberal paradox' by Portes and DeWind. (2007) By combining an understanding of historical factors driving immigration (economic supply and demand) with an understanding of how the perpetuation of flows is enabled by network formation researchers can (in conjunction with this liberal state thesis) expand their understanding

of migrant flows. (Hollifield, 2000, p. 148) The liberal state thesis is an interesting take on migration management; however, it fails to incorporate an understanding of the agency individuals possess while inadequately addressing the origin of flows.

A corollary of these rights based theses is what has been called the 'gap hypothesis'. The gap hypothesis states that the modern political condition is one where the intended goals of policy fail to match the outcomes of those same policies. (Hollifield, 2000, p. 144; Castles & Davidson, 2000; Zolberg & Benda, 2001; Castles, 2004) Building off of a combination of a micro-economic framework and the gap hypothesis some authors have come to the conclusion that organized interested have captured the state and have essentially negated the effect of otherwise sound policies (via the introduction of exemptions) which should limit migratory flows. While not a theory itself it supports several other theoretical perspectives as it clarifies the role of interest groups and the economic demands of modern economies in its explanation of the gap which exists between restrictive policy goals and actual migration flows.

3.3.1 TRANSNATIONALISM

The majority of theories aim to explain migration from a micro or macro perspective. At a micro level neoclassical economics seeks to explain how structural factors affect individual migration decisions. Similarly the new economics of migration introduces the role of the family in the decision-making process while also incorporating the concept of relative deprivation. At the macro level dual labour market theory and world systems theory attempt to connect migrant flows with global capital flows and structural determinants which affect the demand for labour while realist and neo-realist views are overly focused on developing understanding at the level of the state, while ignoring individual level factors. Few approaches other than network theory, institutional theory or the new economics of migration manage to cover migration flows at the meso level. Grand theories such as world systems theory and globalization theory have attempted to provide theoretical analysis at such a level but do not have adequate explanatory power across varying time periods and as noted by Alejandro Portes are highly abstract and somewhat vacuous. (Portes, 1997) In addition their targeted focus on the global level limits applicability in the case of today's diverse flows which are intricately connected across a plethora of levels of analysis, thus an alternative approach is sought.

A contemporary approach labelled transnationalism has arisen which appears to be promising at a (meso) theoretical level as it is capable of incorporating many causal factors stemming from several levels of analysis within its purview. Transnationalism has risen up as a result of the call for the inclusion of a wider understanding of the role of the state, the individual and the dynamic nature of migration processes in the development of a theory of migration. The foundation of this theory stems from globalization theories espoused by political scientists who believe that the rise of transnational economies has led to the creation of transnational communities. These communities formed as individuals were forced by changes in the economic system to seek out employment across borders, thus leading to the creation of transnational communities and networks of individuals. (Hollifield, 2000, p. 156; Zolberg & Benda, 2001, p. 10; Portes & DeWind, 2007; Vertovec, 2007) Trans-border flows lead to the creation of networks which reduce the level of hardship associated with migration while supporting the creation of transnational connections linking home and destination regions.

Drawing on network theory and influenced by post-structuralism transnationalism explains how kinship and information perpetuate migrant flows across borders by reducing the so called transaction costs associated with international migration. (Castles, 2007) Portes has argued that “migrants have learned to use this “transnational space” as a way to get around national, regulatory obstacles to their social mobility.” (Hollifield, 2000, p. 156) Indeed such networks facilitate movement and render migration increasingly difficult for governments to control. (de Haas, 2008, p. 20) While transnational activities are not strictly a recent phenomenon these networks are maintained and perpetuated by recent advances in cost effective means of communication and transportation which have enabled migrants to foster links with their home region through globalized systems and informal channels. This enhanced capability to maintain and support cross national links enables individuals, families and groups to “foster double loyalties, to travel back and forth, to relate to people, and to work and to do business simultaneously in distant places.” (de Haas, 2008, p. 38)

Transnationalism questions the role of the state in modifying modern transnational migration flows. While network effects play a significant role in migrant flows one must additionally question the role of the state in the perpetuation of these cross border flows, and indeed the role multinationals play in the formation of a skilled mobile workforce. (Castles & Miller, 2009; Lowell & Findlay, 2001) Historically it has

been the role of the state to prevent individuals from circumventing laws intended to control cross-border movement. Portes has indicated that, in the case of Mexican trans-border migration, the Mexican state has tacitly reinforced such behaviour through the recognition of dual nationality, perhaps even supporting the expansion of such cross-border networks. (Hollifield, 2000, p. 156)

Within the conception of transnationalism an individual aids in the formation of a transnational space through participation not via physical movement alone but through the perpetuation of those social relations which create the social landscape. Faist describes the space itself as “the circulation of ideas, symbols, and material culture.” (Faist, 2000, p. 139) Within this theory of transnational spaces there is room for assimilation and/or ethnic pluralism to flourish as individuals participate as much or as little as they like in this space. Current understanding is that transnationalism has existed for a century, at least, but has become more extensive and has become more consequential as a result of the ease of international travel and the expansion of and ease of access to electronic forms of communication. These changes have the capacity to fundamentally alter the way individuals interact and maintain ties across borders. (Vertovec, 2007)

Transnationalism has been subdivided by some authors into a series of component parts. Bauböck, for instance, has described how this concept can be seen in differing forms ranging from the perspective of the economic, social, cultural and political. Bauböck has argued that there is a need to widen the definition of migrant political transnationalism from a tightly focused assessment of emigrants’ activities in countries of origin to a broader scope which encompasses a greater understanding of “how migration impacts on conceptions of membership and rights in the sending as well as the receiving polity.” (Bauböck, 2003, p. 700) While Bauböck focuses more on issues of citizenship and inclusion it is important to realize that transnationalism is not only concerned with one state or region but encompasses origin as well as host states or even regions impacted by migrant transnationalism.

Political theorist Rainer Bauböck (2003) perceives individual transnational behaviour as being of essentially two forms, that which questions the state, political transnationalism, and that which does not, cross border business and trade for example. Under this conceptualization individual actions influence both institutions in the host country and in the country of origin. Not only is participation of importance but the impact of those actions or ties is important when looking at how political

transnationalism affects the definition of the entity whose borders have been crossed. Bauböck seeks to explain how this transnationalism affects the political position of migrants and their eventual incorporation into the polity. An indicative trend providing evidence of a shift due to transnational activities is the widening of the scope of who is defined as 'belonging' within the political community and who is permitted to participate. This concept of post-nationalism is supported by authors such as Bauböck, Soysal and Jacobson who all argue, to varying degrees that the creation of transnational communities has led to the expansion of rights for those immigrants and foreigners. (Hollifield, 2000, p. 157) Similar to the rights based approach mentioned previously states, which are constrained by international conventions on human rights, attempt to accommodate the influx and incorporation of large numbers of the proverbial 'other'. (Portes & DeWind, 2007) The European Union is taken as a case in point as there is an increasing trend to broaden the scope of who is defined as 'participant' in local politics with some states now permitting participation for non-citizens within regional or local political processes.

Bauböck has clearly confined his understanding of the term, political transnationalism, to those political relations which migrants undertake across state borders. This is an analytical distinction which simplifies his theorizing in comparison to that of the sociologist Portes who has attempted to clarify the difference according to the actors involved not the activity itself. (Portes in Bauböck R. 2003, p. 704) Portes distinguishes between three different levels of involvement. International activities that are undertaken by states and nationally based institutions, multinational activities are undertaken by formal institutions which transcend individual nation-states and finally transnational activities are operationalized by non-institutional actors transcending national borders. Bauböck argues against this relatively narrow state centred approach and claims that theorists need to consider those communities and systems which exist both above and below the level of governance of independent states as well as those which cut across borders. The benefit of this wider understanding of transnationalism is that most migrant activity falls within its scope. From hometown organizations based on remittances to cross border political activism or sending state involvement; transnationalism provides profound explanatory power when looking at migrant flows, activities and incorporation.

Transnationalism in political science is usually distinguished from the work of sociologists simply by relabeling it as the globalization thesis. Authors who espouse the

globalization thesis perceive the rise of transnational activities as having negatively impacted upon state sovereignty while also serving to constrain the regulatory capability of states. The movement of capital, goods and people has undercut the state's ability to control flows on the world stage while the rise of liberal rights has undercut the control states once had over their external borders. The formation of transnational communities has had an additional impact on the ability of the state to control the movement of individuals and the rise of transnational financial institutions and global companies has limited state control over economic activity within and across borders. The primary actors are no longer states but transnational corporations, transnational communities and the individuals these entities are comprised of. (Hollifield, 2000, p. 156) The globalization thesis is heavily focused on society and the economy as a locus of power and is constrained by its under-valuation of the state, at least from the perspective of political scientists.

A generic critique of transnationalism is that there is little difference between it, world systems theory and globalization theory even though the scope of each approach is somewhat different. The distinction between world systems theory and globalization theory which is not clearly apparent at first glance to some has been described by Faist as being a difference of degree rather than of approach. In contrast to world systems theory transnationalism considers the potential reality that individuals from one peripheral nation could end up in a variety of destination countries that later create this greater transnational space, transposed across several borders. This is in contrast to the core-periphery dichotomy of world systems theory which typically looks at the symbiotic relationships between particular states from the core and periphery. (Kivisto, 2010, p. 189) The more general approach of globalization theory is in contrast to transnationalism which looks at "processes which are anchored in and span two or more nation states." (Kivisto, 2010, p. 140) Globalization theory refers more to those processes which permit the proliferation of decentralized social relations across long distances and allow for the compression of time and space. (Harvey and Giddens in Kivisto, 2010)

Transnationalism is deemed to be more encompassing than other theoretical approaches as it incorporates individuals as well as immigrant communities within a framework which sees the individual as being imbedded within a larger group and part of relationships which transcend several players; including the state and civil society in both sending and receiving states and others. This conceptualization is applicable to

modern migrations as the individual is tied to both home and host society nearly equally and is capable of modifying both home and host state institutions through participation in public life. Dense and strong social ties combined with symbolic links connect individuals across time and space allowing them the flexibility to be in or participate in both places at once. Thus transnational activities may lead to a transformation of institutions in both the host state and sending state concurrently. (Bauböck, 2003, p. 706)

There is some debate as to whether or not, and to what degree, these transnational networks will survive across generations - especially given that the diasporic identity for the second generation is generally assumed to be secondary to their host society identity. (Kivisto, 2010, p. 142; Hollifield, 2000; Carling, 2008)⁴² If remittance behaviour is any indication of interpersonal ties and the strength of those ties then the second and third generation will most likely exhibit limited interest in countries of origin. (Kivisto, 2010, pp. 151,158; de Haas, 2007) Yet even though it has long been assumed that integration of migrants has coincided with a decline in their connection with societies of origin more recent understanding has indicated that this loss of connection cannot always be assumed. (Castles & Miller, 2009) It is possible and indeed proven that transnational ties can become trans-generational. Remittances, transnational marriages and the existence of diaspora groups (hometown associations, NGO's) which often persist into the second generation maintain ties across generations by linking individuals and groups to the social, cultural, political and economic affairs of regions of origin. (Vertovec, 2007) As a corollary it is inappropriate to “automatically interpret migrants’ commitment towards their countries of origin as a manifestation of their inability or unwillingness to integrate. Conversely, migrants’ deeper involvement in their receiving societies does not necessarily lead to less significant commitment to their countries of origin.” (de Haas, 2008, p. 39)

Transnationalism alters the process of integration into the host society of first-generation migrants and of their offspring. (Portes quoted by Kivisto, 2010, p. 148, Bauböck, 2003) Further research is needed to understand these processes better, however, it is important to maintain the distinction between assimilation as a mode of integration into host states and transnationalism as being a mode of connection across borders. Both are equally valid areas of study and both require the continued attention

⁴² see also Robert Smith as discussed in Brettell & Hollifield, 2000 pg. 16

of researchers. The transnational character of modern migrants' lives has increasingly challenged traditional understanding of incorporation and has challenged assimilatory models of integration. Clear distinctions between 'origin', 'destination', or the categories such as 'permanent', 'temporary' and 'return' migration are at odds with the more common reality of circulatory flows where individuals may have often conflicting loyalties. The consequence of transnational identities held by individuals may lead researchers to question how the dual loyalties which transnational migrants hold challenge the traditional political construct of the nation state and pose questions about citizenship; who belongs, who is a member and what it means to be a citizen? There is no need for hasty knee jerk responses to these questions as dual loyalties do not necessarily have an impact on the security of individual states. In fact it has even been postulated that “integration in receiving societies and commitment to origin societies are not necessarily substitutes, but can be complements.” (de Haas, 2008, p. 38) Such progressive views may be at odds with the perceptions of majority societies who question the loyalty of newcomers.

Transnationalism may provide greater explanatory power for modern flows than other theoretical approaches as it is able to incorporate a variety of factors while remaining valid even at a more abstract level. This is possible given that the transnational approach encompasses a systemic level as well as micro level modes of analysis. This approach implies that a migratory system is composed of 'border crossing social spaces'. (Kivisto, 2010, p. 139) That is to say that two or more regions become part of a unified singular social space across which individuals move and share ideas. (Kivisto, 2010, p. 139) Thus the mode of analysis is relatively wide, encompassing the individual within a system which is impacted upon by the state in addition to other actors participating within the system. Perhaps a better conceptualization comes from Bauböck whose somewhat broader understanding of the same term comes from his belief that transnationalism “applies to human activities and social institutions that extend across national borders.” (Bauböck, 2003, p. 701) A transnational perspective fits the European experience well although for the purposes of this work the perspective is overly focused on cross border activities, something which was not emphasised during the research phase of this project and which does not appear to play a significant role in individual life experiences in the case of the Czech Republic. Although individuals may participate and operate within a cross national social sphere they do not overtly relate to such a conceptualization.

3.3.2 EFFECT OF STRUCTURAL FACTORS ON MIGRATION DECISION-MAKING

A significant portion of migration related theory building has been focused on quantifiable variables which are easily measured even if additional factors play a predominant role in decision-making processes. As an example we can see that economic variables provide a strong basis for theory building as data is abundant and easy to assess whereas psychological or sociological explanations are somewhat more difficult to assess although statistical analysis is possible when data exists. In particular non-economic factors such as perceived wealth difference, social or cultural barriers to economic advancement, tradition, personal independence and the like are difficult to quantify even if they are clearly of great importance in driving mobility decision-making. An important consideration for researchers is that they must incorporate both economic and non-economic factors into their analytical toolbox when developing or testing theories and hypothesis.

The following seeks to clarify several of the primary factors leading to, or affecting decision-making processes and includes a discussion of structural factors which limit mobility or may lead to migration related decisions being taken by individuals. A graphic rendition of factors affecting migration decision-making is provided as a reference for readers to help clarify the fact that there is a continuum between factors. Particular factors may have a more restrictive influence on decision making whereas other factors may be more supportive of migration related decision making. An understanding of the complex interplay of factors which determine the options individuals perceive to be available to them enables researchers to better clarify the impact that other wider structural factors may have on migratory decision-making. In essence this section attempts to focus attention on those factors which operate 'in the background' and constrain or support migration related decision making and also serves to clarify why the application of a meta-theoretical approach to the study of regional migration in the Czech Republic was chosen by the author.

3.3.3 LIMITATIONS ON MIGRATION DECISION-MAKING

Given the dynamic nature of migratory flows and the deeply personal decision-making processes involved it is not possible to adequately clarify all potential factors

which impinge upon individual decision processes which lead up to a migration related decision. However, taking a perspective which incorporates a multi-cited view we can see that the decision-making process is highly complex and may involve co-ethnics, family, friends, or relatives in transnational settings; all of whom who may provide support to potential migrants or dissuade them from making a migratory decision. (Massey, D. et al., 1998) Migration may also be seen as a sort of ‘rite of passage in some communities or be the result of past migratory events which lead to cases of relative deprivation (Massey, D. et al., 1993) or may be the only viable way to earn a living in some communities as a result of wider structural imbalance or even perceptions of what an individual believes to be possible. (Lopez-Ekra, 2011; de Haas, 2007; Hadler, 2006) Thus any attempt to provide clarity to decision making must first demonstrate an understanding of the complex interaction of the various actors involved as well as the wider structural conditions under which migration decisions are taken.

Economic factors may weigh heavily upon some while playing only a minor role or being of little consequence for other potential movers. Family based decision making may lend support (moral, financial etc.) for one potential migrant while blocking another potential migrant from abandoning a family member who requires care. (Massey, D. et al., 1998) Female migrants may be pushed or blocked from migrating depending on local social conditions which permit or deny women from taking on the role of provider; social taboos may equally limit female migration. (Lopez-Ekra, 2011) On the other hand women may have skills which are ‘in demand’ abroad and may be driven to migrate as a result of economic need or as part of wider governmentally sponsored programs.⁴³ Youthful potential migrants may make a rash decision and move with little familial or financial support whereas others may make a decision only after establishing contact with a network of community members who already live in a destination; highly skilled individuals may decide to move only after signing an employment contract with a firm guaranteeing them stability in an established enterprise. Others arrive with little to nothing and eke out an existence on the fringes of the economy.

Each case is unique and surely does not occur in a vacuum. The role of family and friends is important as are individual preconceptions of what is ‘right’ or ‘acceptable. Social factors also include language barriers as well as network effects,

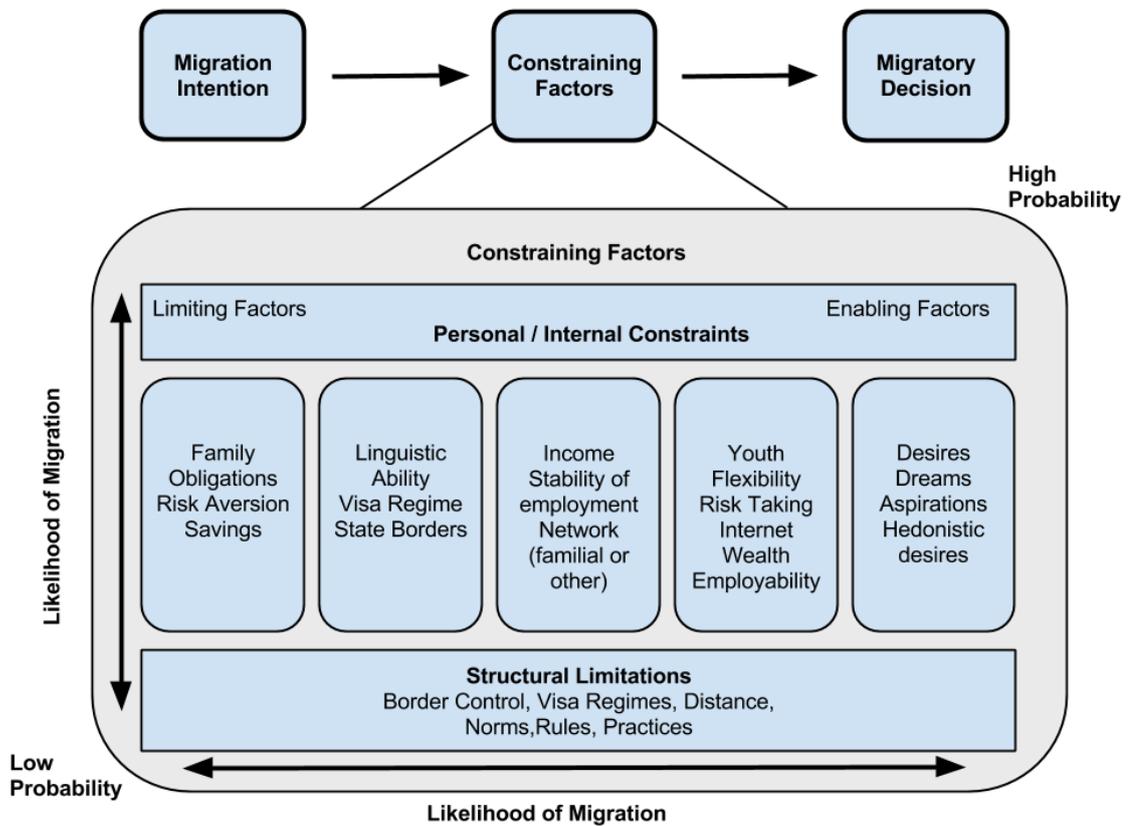
⁴³ The case of the Philippines is a well-known example (Zolberg & Benda, *Global Migrants, Global Refugees: Problems and Solutions*, 2001) while Castles and Miller 2009 note that immigrant women are both the most vulnerable and most flexible form of labour available in Western industrial democracies.

both which may be supportive or limiting. (Strielkowski W. , 2007) Economic conditions play a role, having to borrow money to enable migration vs. being able to pay for a flight ticket half way around the world. Relative wealth plays a significant role not only in the migration decision process but also in the options available to an individual. The role of the state in shaping migratory flows via entry and exit restrictions must also be taken into account. (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000) Additionally at the level of the global economy historical and structural factors which affect particular streams must also be documented and their impact on individual 'choices' must be understood. Migration researchers must seek a complex understanding of individual cases which include a variety of individual experiences in order to grasp the nuances of differentiated flows which comprise the wider migratory stream.

The plethora of factors affecting migratory decision-making are nearly impossible to quantify adequately as each individual exhibits a unique trajectory unlike any other. The diagram (Figure 12) attempts to provide a graphical representation of the complex interaction between individual choice and those wider structural factors which impact upon an individual's migration decision. Applying a conceptual approach which posits that all migratory decision-making falls along a continuum between forced and voluntary (Hugo, 1996) the chart attempts to depict the factors which hinder or support migration decision-making. Essentially, between the phase of considering to make a move (migratory intention) and deciding to make the move (migratory decision) there exist constraining factors which have an impact on the final decision. This process (encapsulated within 'constraining factors') should be considered as part of a multi layered scale which is differentially weighted according to an individual's position; influenced as much by socioeconomic factors as by cultural expectations. It is also relevant to recall that the birth lottery often holds greater sway over the options available to an individual than other factors might. In this case factors of relevance include whether or not an individual is from the 'east' or 'west', if they were born of 'rich' or 'poor' parents, born with light or dark skin, or born female or male in gender. These factors all play a role as do distance, previous migrations and historical political ties which linked countries of destination with source regions in the past. Thus the chart is intended to provide a framework from which to draw context when seeking to understand individual migration decisions.

The chart represents a continuum or gradient between enabled migratory decisions and rejected decisions (aiding or hindering). There is both a horizontal and vertical dimension to the Diagram. (Figure 12) The factors range from limiting factors on the left to enabling factors on the right; all of which are affected by structural factors which may also play a role in influencing individual action. Limiting factors negatively influence a migratory decision and may prevent migration all together while enabling factors lead to a migratory decision by tipping the balance in favor of a migratory decision.

Figure 12: Structural Factors Leading To A Migratory Decision



Concurrently to enabling and constraining factors there also exist wider structural limitations which prevent or at a minimum act to dissuade individual's from making a migratory decision. These are labeled at the bottom of the diagram as structural limitations. Structural limitations, from a macro perspective, represent societal norms or rules and from a micro perspective include those normal day to day practices which influence individual choice or on the options which an individual perceives to be available to them. These factors limit individual agency, both actively

and passively, through societal conditioning, for example. These structural limitations are discussed by authors such as O'Reilly from the perspective of structuration theory under the guise of a meta-theoretical practice theory framework utilizing the terminology 'conjuncturally-specific external structures' which are the "norms, rules and practices which constrain or frame an agent's choices." (O'Reilly, 2012, p. 34) These structures are beyond the ability of individuals to modify or change, yet constrain the perceived opportunities or possibilities that confront an individual on a daily basis and therefore have an influence on migratory decision-making.

The influence of constraining factors and structural limitations does not end with the migratory decision but continue to have an impact upon migrants (even those who are successful) as they maneuver within a new societal setting. The pervasive impact of constraining factors is based on the reality that an individual is a product of their upbringing, where their family sits in terms of social class, wealth, education and the like. These factors all play a role in the individuals' preparedness and ability to adapt to or function within the receiving society. Thus although a successful migration decision may occur, a successful migration event may not work out in the long run. Success is, of course, highly dependent on the goal of the original migration intention; short term, long term, permanent; for purposes of earning money, gaining education, skills development etc.

While individuals are often seen to be rational actors who take into account a cost benefit calculation before making a decision to move the reality is often not the case. (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000; Massey, D. et al., 1998) There are truly a multitude of factors which play a role in driving individuals to make migratory decisions, indeed many individuals move for reasons of the perceived economic benefits that migration is surely to provide, others aspire or seek out change in living conditions, life experience, or escape from overly constrictive family or cultural norms.

Some people make migratory decisions with little or no forethought, moving on a whim. In contrast others move only grudgingly due to reasons of family reunification or as a result of political or moral oppression which 'forces their hand' so to speak. The plethora of factors with an influence limits our ability to clearly understand the complexity of flows, yet, it is possible to determine a large number of these factors when studying unique cases. This work seeks to clarify rationale through the use of and application of a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches.

3.3.4 APPLICATION OF A MIXED APPROACH

The application of a mixed theoretical approach overcomes limitations of other myopic approaches which tend to rely on particular factors or are focused at only one level of analysis. Purely economic rationalizations fail to capture external forces which act to limit migration such as family expectations or social norms which lead individuals to migrate irrespective of their wants or needs. A clear example of this is the case where a culture of migration exists and those young men who do not work abroad for a period of time have difficulty finding a spouse. From a purely economic rationalization it may not be necessary to move if local employment is available. In fact if a culture of migration develops youth may not even attempt to find employment at home, preferring to wait for a migratory opportunity. (Arango, 2000, p. 293; Hadler, 2006) Additionally, as stressed by Arango, such pure economic rationalizations are unable to explain persistently high levels of variation between regions of source and destination. (Arango, 2000) System approaches which rely on macro level structural factors and the duality of labour markets which purportedly lead to migration ignore the lack of mobility seen across the globe. If the structure of the world economy drives individuals to migrate in order to follow the flow of goods and services, why then do so few people move? This is something that sociological and micro level approaches are better able to explain.

Human capital models aid in our understanding as they clarify why education leads to higher rates of migration. (de Haas, 2007) However, such models only support other more substantive theorizing such as the new economics of migration which provides a more adequate explanation of the various factors driving migration, including also sociological conceptualizations such as the role of relative deprivation. Such an approach, though suffers from the reliance on case studies rooted in a particular location. (Massey, D. et al., 1993) This approach is useful yet also misses out on a wider global perspective as well as a discussion of the wide latitude agency allows individuals in making choices and the fact that individual agency plays a key role in explaining flows and why particular policies often are unsuccessful. (Castles, 2007)

Transnational perspectives which seek to clarify the importance of migration systems across borders are unique in their dynamism. Incorporating various factors, an understanding of the dynamic character of much migration and the importance of agency and the ability of migrants to modify both host and home societies through their

persistent cross border activities and the maintenance of a multinational ‘space’ within which they exist. Such an approach is wide reaching although heavily reliant on the (somewhat tenuous) expectation that migrants maintain such cross border ties. One must question the relevance of transnational perspectives when migrants themselves fail to recognize their existence or when migrants indicate that they do not maintain such trans-border connections and there is no way of knowing for how long such ties may persist. (Kivisto, 2010, pp. 151,158; de Haas, 2007)

The variety of approaches covered in this work transcend disciplinary lines and encompass various fields including economics, politics, geography, sociology as well as others. The variety of approaches, their ability to explain migrations and their particular limitations lead this author to conclude that there is a need to incorporate several approaches covering several disciplinary perspectives into any discussion of migration. The factors which constrain migration conform to macro, micro and meso levels of analysis; ranging from governmental policies implemented by states, to individual or familial decision making, to economic capabilities or even personal choice. Thus there is a need to incorporate or even create a wider conceptualization of migration which includes such a broad perspective and wider understanding of the factors leading to or inhibiting mobility. A meta-theoretical approach may fulfill such a role by providing the framework from which to incorporate theoretical approaches which conform to distinct movements in particular times and places.

3.4 A THEORY OF PRACTICE

Sociologists who have attempted to combine a comprehensive understanding of migration with a multi-level understanding of various factors which impact upon decision making have developed what they call ‘Practice Theory’ or ‘A Theory of Practice’. Practice theory attempts to consolidate our understanding by building up complex understandings of individual action through the telling of stories which are informed by deep contextual understanding of individual action and how it is informed by wider processes and structures. Through a comprehensive understanding of individual life stories built on top of a detailed understanding of wider societal level factors which influence action practice theory provides a richer explanation of migration than many other theoretical perspectives. Such a meta-theoretical approach has the distinct advantage over unitary theories as it is capable of incorporating a

variety of theoretical viewpoints while recognizing the weakness of each theory and building off of their particular strengths.

Practice theory combines an understanding of 'internal' and 'external' structures which influence individuals across several levels of analysis. There are additional layers to a theory of practice, such as how communities of practice develop over time and how agency impacts upon individual choice making. (O'Reilly, 2012) External structures are those wider structural factors which often constrain individual choice, or perception of choice. These structural factors are often discussed by international political economists and scholars (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000) such as global inequalities, regional income differentials, disparities in welfare or human and social capital. They include those factors which are both distant and proximate, both firm and malleable. External structures include global inequalities and historical colonial legacies. In essence external structures are autonomous of the agent but can have causal influence on individual actions, both enabling and constraining choice. (O'Reilly, 2012) A concept very similar to that as utilized by John Salt in his discussion of systems approaches in relation to networks. "Decisions about moving are ... influenced by a medley of remote and proximate variables" (1989) such as regional and international economic patterns of growth or local conditions (both physical and socio-economic) as well as institutional structures. From the perspective of sociologists these external structures may or may not be recognized by the agent (migrant) and as a result may thus have unintended consequences. (Castles, 2004) Unintended consequences may, as an example, create employment demands that lead women to seek migrant labour to help in their household.

To use the language applied by O'Reilly, external structures are divided into upper and proximate structural layers. Upper structural layers are those broad historical or spatial forces which act as 'framing devices' for individual action.⁴⁴ These include global forces or social transformations which modify behavior. These upper structural layers include cultural expectations, norms, global power differentials, technological advances, ideological frames as well as policy agendas. (O'Reilly, 2012) These are the factor over which the individual has little or no agential control. Proximate structural layers are constraints which limit or allow individual action to occur. They can and are modified as a result of the wider societal context such as laws, rules, organizational

⁴⁴ O'Reilly (2012) has provided the most comprehensive explanation of the theory to date, external structures include upper structural layers and proximate structural layers.

arrangements or local policies which impact individuals. According to O'Reilly the external structures are more or less malleable and can be divided into hard structures and soft structures. Hard structures include institutional actors such as health care or social services, employment and housing markets, or even war and famine which are not seen as being changeable from the perspective of the individual. On the other hand soft structures are factors which can be directly influenced by the individual namely societal or familial constraints which can be ignored or circumvented. External structures have a significant yet covert impact on individuals. The influence is subtle yet powerful enough to influence individuals to the extent that they may not even know that they want anything different. (O'Reilly, 2012) Most importantly external structures are reproduced on a daily basis by individuals who replicate and sustain those structures through their daily activities. Very few people actually migrate internationally as a result of a general the lack of interest, if practice theory is correct, this is the result of the controlling influence of these external structures which mould individuals subtly, modifying behaviour without individuals recognizing their own potential agency.

Internal structures are closer to the individual than the previously discussed external structure and are more susceptible to agential behavior. Internal structures include habitus and conjuncturally-specific internal structures as well as individual desire. Habitus is the “the multiple ways of being and thinking, of seeing and doing, that we each, in groups or as individuals, acquire through our own repeated practices.” (O'Reilly, 2012, p. 26) That is to say that habitus is a combination of those habits, conceptual frameworks, repeated practices, internalized social structures and norms that are the result of experience, habit and socialization. Individuals build up a way of acting as a result of socialization, life experience and society structures within which they maneuver. Habitus is thus the outcome of repeated interaction with structures through daily practice over generations as well as over the course of a life time. They include skill, knowledge as well as personal resources (human social and cultural capital) which are developed through time. Habitus also includes discourse as it is a discursive framework that is adapted, adopted, or even coopted as it is translated and internalized by individuals and groups. Within this context discourse, normally seen as being part of the wider external structure, is brought down to the level of the individual. Even though state policy may imply that the state will ‘get tough’ on migration the practice of daily life shows that individuals interpret this differently in relation to their position in society, their socio-economic background or the like. (O'Reilly, 2012) Habitus is thus

the way individuals perceive life around them, as well as how they 'know' to act. Habitus is relatively rigid but is malleable given changing circumstances. O'Reilly points out that an understanding of habitus leads migration scholars to see mobility as an outcome of habitus, perhaps built up over several generations and through socialization. Migration decisions are therefore part and parcel of socialization, education and the state.

Conjuncturally specific internal structures are the meso level interactions of structure and agency in the practice of daily life. In sociological terms the shape of the internal structures that become relevant at a given juncture, or how action is shaped by a given set of circumstances. These conjuncturally specific internal structures are shaped by how an individual sees the specific context of possible action and how the external circumstances are understood at a particular time and place. This is to say that actions emerge from knowledge of how to move forward in a given set of circumstances. This knowledge draws on habitus gained over time and through education, for example, and helps an individual maneuver through life on a daily basis. (O'Reilly, 2012) Psychological factors which might affect a migrant are incorporated at this point into a theory of practice, as they explain the level of ease or difficulty an individual will face when moving between cultures. The conjuncturally specific structures include a wide set of relations and involves individual knowledge of networks, roles, norms and power relations in a community. These are internal according to practice theory due to the fact that the individual is always suspended within a network of power, norms and expectations or interpretations as well as a network of social relations.

The utilization of practice theory has a place in sociological work as it provides an excellent conceptualization of the problematic under study. Practice theory aids in the building of rich context based explanations of particular movements and even unique flows between particular regions. The descriptive depth provided is, however, overly complex for most purposes. As a heuristic tool, however, a theory of practice stresses the need for a comprehensive understanding of higher level (macro) structural factors as well as a grasp of the historic and current forces driving personal behaviour. Individual migration behaviour actions may appear to be irrational, however, if we understand the historical connections between sending and receiving communities, the group dynamics which determine what is seen as 'normal', 'possible', or 'required' then movement takes on a different character. A comprehensive understanding of action which is driven by imbedded habit, socialization and economics provides the researcher

with clarity not possible through the utilization of traditional theoretical models of migration.

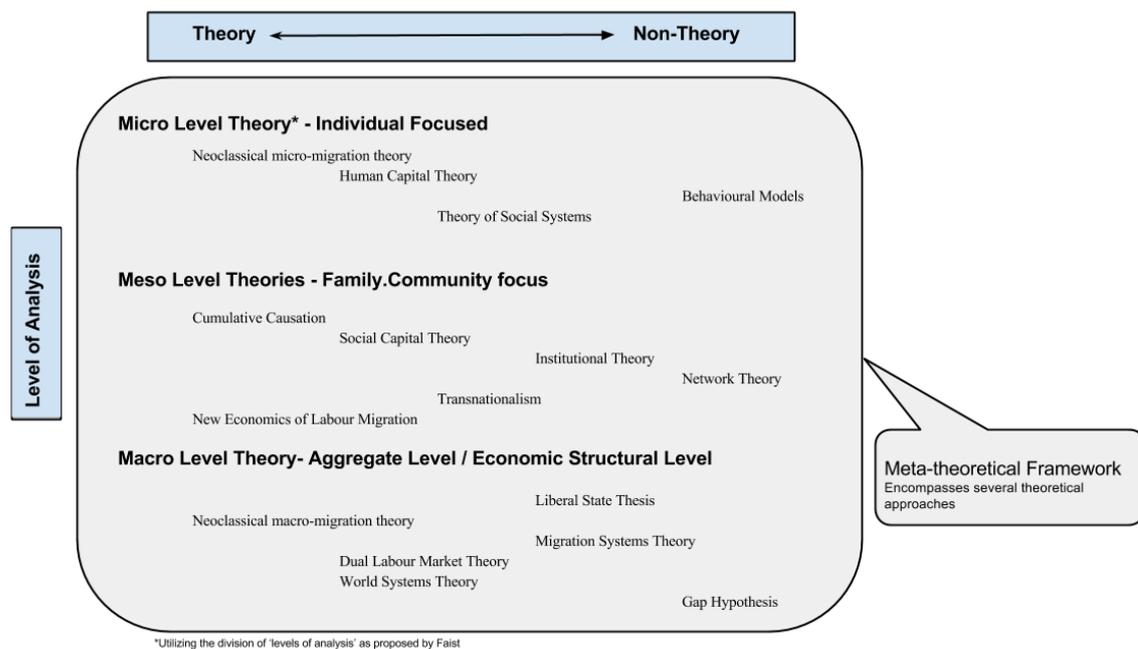
3.5 CRITIQUE

A significant critique of theorizing in migration and migration research in general, has been posited by Joaquín Arango who questioned the applicability of much theorizing given that “migration theories generally suffer from epistemological frailty. If by theory is meant a set of logically interconnected propositions from which empirically testable statements can be formally derived, then almost no theory about migration meets these standards.”(Arango, 2000:294) This argumentation stems from the reality that most theories are general explanations based on common sense observations which often lack applicability across cases or levels of analysis and are not a source of empirically testable hypotheses. (Portes, 1997) Thus many theories provide little more than ex-post explanations which are rarely applicable across the board. It is hoped that transnational theories or meta-theoretical interdisciplinary work such as practice theory will, in the future, approach the disjuncture between theory and practice and enhance the practical applicability of theorizing.

An additional critique of transnational theory itself stems from the empirical sources of much theoretical work. Most empirical evidence comes out of case studies which rely heavily on the dependent variable (transnationalism) and are therefore biased towards individuals who are transnational in their activities. Our work discussed later in this work, found transnational behaviour (in terms of cross border business activities) among only a small minority of respondents. In fact, de Haas has pointed out that to have a clear understanding of the connections linking (in the case of his work related to migration and development) migrant communities it is necessary to study entire migrant communities “including non-migrants as well as the concrete regional and local contexts and transnational spaces in which they live.” (de Haas, 2008, p. 23) A daunting proposition no doubt.

Figure 13 graphically illustrates the disjuncture between migration related theories at various levels of analysis (as noted previously the levels are micro, meso and macro) in relation to their capacity to provide a true foundation for theorising. Those approaches leaning toward having the capacity to provide empirically testable hypothesis are towards the left side of the scale (theories) while those which are generally descriptive in character (non-theories) are further to the right along an undefined continuum.(see Portes for a deeper discussion of this issue (1997) In distinct contrast meta-theoretical approaches which exhibit the capacity to overcome the limitations of particular approaches are graphically shown to be inclusive. Such a meta-theoretical approach has the potential to incorporate various applicable theoretical approaches and therefore provide a more comprehensive understanding of migrant behavior.

Figure 13: Explanatory Power Of Migration Theories In Relation To Levels Of Analysis As Compared To A Meta-Theoretical Approach



Of great importance and an issue which several authors have taken up as a *raison d'être* is the lack of attention given to the role of the state in driving or limiting migrant flows. Sociologists often fail to incorporate the state into their theorizing, while they have stressed the importance of transnational flows and networks they give short shrift to the role of the state and its influence on the movement of individuals and groups. (Hollifield, 2000, p. 146) The fact of the matter is that a common failing of many theories is their inability to include multiple players or to include 'other' forms or

sources of migration within their analysis. (Arango 2000) Each independent approach is somewhat blind to external factors which do not fall within their limited purview, although theories such as transnationalism and practice theory attempt to accommodate such critiques by expanding their scope there remains a need for a broader conception which incorporates a wider array of factors or players.

An often overlooked reality is that current migratory flows are heavily constrained by restrictive policies imposed by states. Evidence shows that the substantial shift in migrant flows from what were once major labour based flows in Germany towards present day flows based on family reunification are a direct result of state intervention. (Arango, 2000, pp. 293-294; Zolberg & Benda, 2001) Authors such as Hollifield or O'Reilly have made attempts to incorporate the state into explanations of migration with some success but such attempts have only just begun to scratch the surface of complex migratory processes. Transnationalism may be able to avoid such critiques as it seeks to look at broader processes and the impact that individuals have on the state and society; however, as critics have indicated, the limited attention given to the role of the state seriously undermines such an approach. Globalization theory as espoused by political scientists may be capable of overcoming such a limitation as it is essentially transnationalism from above, incorporating the state in generating a broader understanding of migration flows. However, even such a global outlook is limited by the general scope of its approach as it does not always incorporate an understanding of the individual and her agency. Likewise applying a theory of practice may allow sociologists to overcome such limitations through their incorporation of structural conditions which constrain action and limit individual agency, both subtle and overt forms.

3.6 THEORY APPLIED TO MOBILITY

We find that typical theoretical approaches applied to migratory streams as previously discussed often fail to be clearly applicable to the migratory streams which have been included within this study. While network based explanations of social capital theory are applicable in the vast majority of cases their application varies in explanatory power depending on the sub-group under study. Similarly economic rational-choice models are applicable but do not always clearly encompass the primary 'push' utilised in individual rationalizations. A model of rational expectations seems to provide the best 'fit' to the multiple streams under study. With individuals making rational decisions based on personal preferences or calculated risk aversion strategies in the face of regional economic imbalance, life satisfaction and the expectation of improvement after a migration decision has been made. (Massey, D. et al., 1998) A theory of practice similarly provides a framework from which to base our understanding, but as a meta-theoretical approach it functions more as a guide or checklist than as a unique theory itself.

Arguments which often purport to explain migration include the supposed 'pull' of available jobs which need to be filled by migrants. The segmented labor market theory as espoused by both Piore and Sassen describes the structural labour demand which act as a pull factor leading to migration. (1979 and 1991) Piore argues that international migration is caused by the need for immigrant labor which is structurally embedded in the economies of developed countries. (1979) Piore maintains that immigration is not caused by push factors in the developing countries but by the pull factors in the receiving countries which are manifested through the 'chronic and unavoidable need for foreign workers'. (Piore in Massey, D. et al., 1998, p. 28, Castles, 2009)

The segmented (dual) labor market theory incorporates a wider range of factors including economic rationales and as both Piore and Sassen have shown a division emerges between primary and secondary labor markets. (Piore, 1979; Sassen, 1991) They claim that the main causes of emigration are the structural labor needs of modern economies in destination areas, a shortage of labor in low status/low income jobs, which are combined with the objective of the host population's upward mobility away from low status/ low income jobs which are later filled by immigrants. In the case of highly skilled immigrants the secondary market might not be the destination nor the goal in the

decision-making process, but the possibility of contemplating it arises in critical situations (e.g. loss of job due to financial crises). Priority access to the primary labor market is given to those belonging to the majority ethnic group. Access is then granted to those migrants who are considered to be worthy of generating human capital, (highly skilled and educated), male in gender when connected to migration, and then to those who have legal status when applying for a position. In opposition to this preferential treatment of the highly skilled we can see the recruitment of workers for the secondary labor market; candidates that lack education and vocational training, of both genders, of 'other' racial typologies and those who have minority or irregular legal status. (Castles & Miller, 2009) The importance of the segmented labor theory for international migration can be found in its ability to astutely demonstrate the important role that employers and governments play.

This approach is partially applicable to the Czech labour market which has exhibited stronger growth over the past decade than surrounding countries. However, the impact of the secondary labour market on migrants to the Czech Republic as described by Piore and Sassen is not clearly applicable to all migrants groups within the Czech labour market and has only limited explanatory power for the highly educated groups under study. While it is clear that segmentation of the labor market exists in the Czech Republic, much as in other countries, the nature of the sample population included within the survey indicates that in the case of well-educated migrant populations there is no single theoretical approach which evidences adequate explanatory power.

When discussing highly skilled migrants in the European Union (EU) the vast majority are voluntary migrants who are prone to migrate for various reasons; primarily as a result of demand for their skills but also due to the fact that the new immigration policy agenda within the EU pays particular attention to including highly skilled immigrants into the labor market. The same immigration policies acquiesce to market driven demand for highly skilled workers by offering favorable conditions for migration and settlement.

3.7 SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS

Given the lack of universal applicability of any given theory in the case of migration streams in the Czech Republic the author proposes a theoretical construct which is multi paradigmatic and thus permits the utilization of various theoretical approaches according to the case at hand. Often methodological nationalism of the past has constrained the ability of scholars to work across disciplines, a fact that has limited the development of the discipline. It is therefore necessary to apply a multidisciplinary and multifocal analysis to the study of human movement as anything less is liable to result in only a partial understanding of human behaviour. Analytical perspectives which favour one approach over another will only elucidate one facet of reality.

Seeking explanation from only the political perspective of cause and effect will not clarify individual level factors, only how successful or unsuccessful governmental action has been in shaping flows. Likewise economic models are liable to miss the importance of behavioral variations which sociological perspectives thrive on. A study of mobility necessitates a wider understanding which incorporates situational awareness with a rich understanding of context. Such an approach is needed in order to transcend these methodological boundaries which confine our understanding to macro, micro or meso levels of quantification and analysis.

This work attempts to incorporate such a diverse theoretical conceptualization by incorporating a multi cited⁴⁵ understanding of individual decision-making processes in conjunction with an understanding of the structural factors in sending and receiving regions which influence, both positively and negatively, mobility decisions. The use of such an approach is beneficial as it transcends the local and global while incorporating an understanding of the system itself into the discussion. This approach is not a clear theory in its own right but a compilation of theories and approaches which permit a comprehensive understanding of the otherwise messy reality that is migration.

The meta-theoretical approach applied to this work incorporates several different theoretical viewpoints ranging from understandings of the impact of state policy on trends in migration to individual rational choice models. Transnational theories are not applied as we have no data to support their existence, a fact which is a direct result of

⁴⁵ The use of the term multi cited stems from anthropological attempts to trace questions which arose in fieldwork across the globally interconnected space. This work nods to the work of George Marcus but is based on a broader conception of the application of such work, not only from the perspective of world systems theory which was the original application in Anthropology. (Marcus, 1995 Vol. 24)

the questionnaire design. By utilizing various theoretical approaches throughout the work the author has attempted to incorporate a broad multidisciplinary understanding of migration.

A theory of rational expectations provides an explanation of how individuals respond to economic disparities to interpersonal relations, to life satisfaction and the knowledge that a change can result in an improvement in their quality of life. Understanding that often individuals move in order to improve their quality of life or at least the potential for a better life we assume that individuals who expect to benefit from a migration decision will take such as decision. The reality is, of course, more complex than a simple rational choice based decision. Individuals operate with only limited/imperfect information provided by contacts at home and in regions of destination while maneuvering within often complex familial circumstances. In addition they are affected by global and local economic forces outside of their control. It is clear that not all migrants make rational choices and not all have full control over the decision themselves. (Fassmann & Musil, 2013) However, in the case of the highly educated it is understood that quality of life and salary levels play a significant role in decision making, while these individuals are often better situated than others when it comes to having choice in terms of destination given their particular skills. So called lifestyle migrants are influenced by whim, personal preference, desires to experience life as well as economic considerations and life experiences which shape future choice.

Network theories related to social capital formation provide an additional bulwark of explanatory power for the particular migrants group under study. Migration networks can be understood to serve as an accelerator for future migration as they provide support for potential migrants via a reduction in the costs and risks of movement and an increase in the expected net returns to migration. Networks do not, however, provide sufficient conditions for migration to occur or to be perpetuated in all cases. The influence of networks is discussed below in relation to particular groups as it serves to explain variation seen between groups.

Push-pull models which stress economic based rationalizations for migratory flows are only somewhat applicable to this work. Such diversity as seen within the sample forces the author to apply several theoretical approaches to different cases dependant on particular characteristics of each sub-group. The reader will find such discussions woven throughout the work.

A meta-theoretical approach which covers macro, micro and meso level theories

has been woven throughout the following work as it is the only way to adequately clarify and expand our understanding of the complex migratory flows which are seen in the case of the Czech migration system. Incorporation of a sociological viewpoint ensures that individual agency is clarified and understood while the incorporation of an analysis focused on the political side of migration management ensures that the state and its ability to modulate flows is clearly understood.

CHAPTER 4

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The following chapter provides a critical reflection on findings and draws attention to the strengths as well as limitations of the work. Areas requiring more intense study are discussed in conjunction with the applicability of this work and future directions for research. This chapter draws the reader's attention back to the original hypothesis, and provides an overview of the typology of migrants included in the research project. The applicability of the work is described and the contribution to the fields is reiterated. The applicability of a meta-theoretical approach is argued to be superior to other theoretical approaches due to its flexibility and ability to be utilized by different theorists in different geographic regions.

Reflecting on methodological challenges of the work this chapter describes the difficulty associated with data collection and limitations imposed on statistical analysis as a result of the limited sample size. In particular the non-random selection process when searching for respondents is stressed. The need for future research which incorporates more groups, utilizes truly random sampling procedures and which attempts to overcome methodological faults is highlighted. Strengths of the work are also described, such as the collaborative cross-disciplinary approach utilized during the preparatory and research phases of the project.

In the search for a better understanding of the various processes involved in migration decision making this work incorporates both political and sociological perspectives. A critique of the problematic and the utilization of a mixed theoretical approach is discussed and defended. The critique presents the position of the author which stresses the need for a flexible application of theoretical insights sourced from various fields and applied as necessary to particular cases. Such an approach is unique to the field.

4 SETTING THE STAGE FOR THE HYPOTHESIS

This work has utilized several theoretical approaches in order to enhance our understanding of the complexities of migratory flows in the Czech Republic. The convoluted nature of the problematic limits the application of traditional theoretical

approaches as multifaceted flows elude simple analytical typologies from particular paradigms. Any given theoretical insight rooted in a particular discipline is capable of providing valuable explanatory power for particular flows located in a particular time and place, however, few theories are truly applicable in a multitude of cases spanning various geographical locals.

A theoretical approach which aids in focussing ones attention is in and of itself beneficial and, indeed, in each discipline it is necessary to have a firm grounding from which to approach the problematic. However, having a myopic focus rooted in a particular discipline potentially clouds understanding. As an example we can look to pure economic explanations which treat individuals as purely rational actors influenced only by those particular measurable factors included in a particular model; such particularistic approaches ignore the reality that individuals have the capability to act as independent agents, modifying their behaviour as they see fit in relation to the plethora of pressures which impinge upon their daily lives. Similarly, economic explanations often lack understanding of the factors which perpetuate migratory flows, or lead to redirection of flows through time as they are overly focused on particular economic values. Focused understandings are beneficial, yet the multifaceted nature of migratory flows requires a wider conceptualization of the problematic and therefore the incorporation of various theoretical insights which are complementary.

Theoretical approaches within the sphere of economics are greatly beneficial in particular contexts and in particular epochs. Similarly the work of demographers has provided models with great predictive power, whose utilization for policy makers may be of great benefit. Likewise sociological approaches provide great depth in understanding how reality is 'on the ground' for particular individuals in particular contexts.

The utilization of a mixed theoretical approach is not in and of itself unproblematic as each and every approach has its strengths and weaknesses. In the case of mixed approaches there is the risk of loss clarity as the complexity of the problematic leads to the inclusion of ever more varied explanations based on an unending stream of variables. Straightforward, if simplistic, models provide elegance through their simplicity, something which is often appreciated by authors and readers alike. Elegant simplicity is not possible in the case of mobility due to the plethora of factors involved unless we are willing to accept reification of the processes involved. One challenge facing this work in particular, as well as much work in the field more generally, is the

fact that many statements are self-evident for those who are embedded in host or sending societies and therefore arguments may run the risk of becoming tautologies. In relation to migratory decision-making our understanding of individual choice is often clouded by preconceived notions or our positionality in relation to migrants. Thus what appears self-evident to the reader may, in fact, have wider implications for the field. In order to avoid the pitfalls associated with particular models this work utilizes several theoretical approaches to overcome the risk that disciplinary nationalism poses.

Linking a theoretical approach to best match with particular cases often appears straightforward, however, given the mixed nature of migratory flows the theoretical explanations that best fits one particular sub population may not align with another group. Therefore a mix of theoretical approaches must be applied irrespective of the authors' preference. Likewise the creation of a unique singular theory which is applicable to all cases essentially leads to farcical abstraction. To overcome such a risk this work does not propose a general theory of migration but instead applies a framework to guide authors in the search for clarity. A general theory of migration is not practical not feasible considering the variety of forces involved in the various social processes which drive migrations. (Castles, 2004; Portes, 1997; Portes & DeWind, 2007) The application of a framework approach allows for flexibility in the incorporation of various insights drawn from differing fields as well as the application of interdisciplinary approaches, something unheard of in traditional conceptualizations.

4.1 CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE IN THE BROADER DISCIPLINE

This work seeks to understand the various processes involved in migratory decision-making and how governmental policy impacts on migratory flows it also seeks an understanding of individual decision making processes and how theoretical models may be applied to better understand the complexity of such activities. By incorporating both a political and sociological understanding of processes involved this work clarifies the impact policies at both the national and supranational level have on migratory flows in the region as well as the level of control individuals as agents have over decision making. Though the use of a case study focused on post-accession migrants residing in the Czech Republic individual level rationales for migration and remigration decision-making among Slovak nationals is elucidated.

This work demonstrates that the flexibility of a meta-theoretical approach greatly enhances our ability to capture a broad understanding of the various factors which influence mobility from several discrete levels of analysis. Clarification of the impact of EU policy implementation at the local level on aggregate flows provides a picture of the influence governmental involvement has had on shaping migratory flows. Policy changes have been contrasted with macro level economic developments in an attempt to reduce spurious connections. This macro level perspective is combined with an understanding of individual level factors which influence decision making thus providing a holistic understanding of mobility. Although targeted towards mobility in the Czech Republic the work is broadly applicable to mobility across the European space and reinforces the need for further cross-disciplinary work and the incorporation of an understanding of mobility which transcends the region.

4.2 COMPARISON WITH CLOSEST RIVAL

Researchers analysing migratory streams in the CEE region generally tend to focus on particular problematic streams which are expedient or relevant for political or economic purposes. Thus much research in this area has focused on ‘illegal’ or undocumented migrations, economic factors leading to migration, brain drain or the rationality of particular student migrations. (Drbohlav, et al., 2009; Strielkowski, Glazar, & Weyskrabová, 2012; Baláž & Williams, 2004; Fouarge & Ester, 2008)

Within the field there exist only a limited number of studies which are closely related to the particular context of highly educated mobility in the CEE region. Authors such as (Baláž & Williams, 2004) have focused in their work on student migrants from Slovakia (primarily those with intentions or experience in the United Kingdom) and the implications for human capital formation. This work is unique in that it discusses and analyses the impact of education and travel on improving skills and enhancing employability. The work of Baláž and Williams is limited by its restrictive scope and small sample size; however, their discussion of the impact of migration on brain gain or drain and the increasing relevance of short term mobility is of considerable importance within the EU. The work of Baláž and Williams (Baláž & Williams, 2004) indicates that the economic returns associated with education in countries experiencing an economic transition can exceed expectations; they link this to how enrollment rates increased rapidly as demand for skilled workers expanded in line with regional

economic transformations. The emphasis on the social recognition of skills (linguistic capabilities in particular) for the Slovak labour market is of some surprise as human capital approaches more generally focus on practical skills development and transferability. Their work is the closest example of research focused particularly on skilled migration in the region.

Authors such as Strielkowski and associates have looked in detail at the flow of Ukrainian migrant workers within the CEE region, although their work is not restricted to lower skilled migrations it relies heavily on data related to manual workers, many of whom are in fact highly qualified, if not highly educated and have deskilled during their migratory experience. (Strielkowski, Glazar, & Weyskrabová, 2012) The authors analyse the remittance behaviour of Ukrainian migrants in the Czech Republic. Their work is unique and provides excellent coverage of the topic although it is heavily reliant on economic rationalizations when explaining migrant behaviour. This focus restricts incorporation of a wider perspective beyond the sphere of economics as their work is targeted towards policy makers who may benefit from knowledge of how to channel migration or remittance flows for self-serving macro-economic purposes.

The work of Miloslav Bahna (2008) examines wider flow patterns and seeks to estimate migration likelihood from new to old EU member states. The overt focus on GDP related push factors restricts comparison between this research project and the predictions which Bahna focuses on. The work of Fouarge and Ester (2008) as well as that of Hadler (2006) align with that of Bahna and utilize economic based analysis to clarify general migratory patterns. All authors lack a qualitative side to their analysis, preferring to analyse measurable macro-economic factors. While similar in relation to their declared intent (to analyse migration intentions) these authors focus primarily on economic factors and thus fail to incorporate a broader understanding of the various other factors which influence decision making among highly educated migrants.

The work of Kaczmarczyk & Okólski (2005) provides a far broader in-depth analysis of CEE regional migration and determines that the region forms a unique migration system. This work is general in coverage and focuses on broader trends which affect and will determine future mobility trends in the region. The demographic focus of this report and the generality of predictions limit comparability of this work as it is overly deterministic in nature, ignoring the agency of individuals and how education influences migratory decision-making.

Two other sources which provide comparable data and discussion of regional

migratory patterns have been reports produced by the European Commission entitled “European citizenship - cross-border mobility” (2010) and the “Sharing experience: migration trends in selected applicant countries and lessons learned from the ‘new countries of immigration in the EU and Austria’” produced by the International Organization for Migration. (IOMb, 2004) These reports provide substantive background in support of our search for a better understanding of migration intentions (European Commission, 2010) and have also served to support the findings produced from the surveys analysed later in this work. The similarity of the findings reported by the Commission validate the data collected during the research phase of this project and allow the author to infer that commensurate generalizations are possible even though the limited sample size would otherwise restrict our ability to make general statements.

A larger work prepared by Boris Divinský (2007) for the IOM which analyses and discusses outmigration and trends in the Slovak labour market is of great benefit as it provides unparalleled insight and excellent background related to Slovak migration streams. The broad discussion of migration intentions and likelihood are of great importance and will be contrasted with the findings of this work in chapter six.

A recent report by the International Labour Organization focused exclusively on the undocumented or irregular activities of migrant workers in the Czech Republic. (Drbohlav, et al., 2009) This report provides complete coverage of the problematic; including discussion of the evolution of the problematic, the trials and tribulations that such migrants experience, the precarious nature of their existence, etc. Unfortunately this report stresses the problematic nature of undocumented or irregular work and does not discuss in great depth the issue of highly skilled or highly educated migration aside from one section which comments only in passing on the importance of lifestyle migration among higher educated irregular migrants. This work does not include any additional discussion of skilled or highly educated migration while the underlying tone is somewhat disparaging of those employed in the grey economy.

4.3 REFLECTIONS ON THIS APPROACH

This particular work has sought to enhance our understanding related to mobility decision-making, remigration potential and the impact high level policy has on mobility. Additionally this work has also included discussion related to issues of the applicability of various theoretical approaches in the field of migration studies.

Decision making and remigration potential for migrants working in the Czech Republic has been adequately documented for the particular group included in the study.

This work would benefit from a more balanced sample including a wider selection of migrants residing, for example, in rural areas as the current sample is over representative of highly educated, tech savvy urban migrants. A more statistically relevant sample selected in a truly random fashion would be greatly beneficial, as would be the addition of a small target set of in-depth interviews which could be utilized in order to fill gaps in our understanding and to further probe findings. Future work would undoubtedly account for and overcome such limitations and would benefit from a broader understanding of the gendered perspective of migration which is only briefly touched upon throughout this work.

Although the chosen approach suffers from several limitations the utilization of a preliminary snowball sample and later online distribution of the survey did allow for an unusually broad sample of respondents to be incorporated into the work irrespective of the limitations of the sampling method. This sample, however, most likely suffers from a lack of statistical robustness as it is a restricted sample and is not truly random. With this in mind the sample size is significant in comparison to the work of other authors who have utilized smaller or even more selective samples in their work.⁴⁶

In defense of the theoretical approach taken it must be noted that a significant amount of theoretical work amongst migration researchers tends towards selectivity as researchers try to mould sample populations to conform to or fall in line with existing theories. As noted previously migration related theorizing often stems from particular regional case studies and therefore suffer from a lack of transferability. In order to overcome such limitations and in an attempt to avoid the pitfalls associated with selective application of data this work has applied a meta-theoretical approach which allows for the application of various theories. This meta-theoretical approach stresses that a researcher must have a broad understanding of forces which transcend various levels of analysis and influence individuals.

Additional strengths of this work include the collaborative nature of data collection. The entire process was undertaken in close collaboration with a colleague at Comenius University Bratislava. While analysis of the data was the responsibility of this author conference papers which were presented in various interdisciplinary venues

⁴⁶ As an example the work of (Baláž & Williams, 2004) utilized only a select sample of returnees.

were collaborative efforts. It is expected that the combined approach, which integrated various theoretical insights, will be reproducible for research which is tailored to other regional migration systems. One limitation of much migration research is its relevance to one key region, as an example the work of Douglas Massey and colleagues has been focused on the Mexican migratory system and although it is often applied to other cases the assumptions which form the foundation of their theories are not always easily transferred to other sending regions which have vastly different histories or geographies' and which are integrated into diverse economic systems. (Massey, D. et al., 1998) The meta-theoretical approach is more conducive to further testing as it is not simply a theory which explains a situation but one which may be applied to a multitude of cases.

Practically speaking the findings of this work provide a holistic overview of the impact government policy has had on aggregate flows in the case of the Czech Republic. The important role individual choice makes leading up to a migratory decision should be taken into consideration by policy makers, as it would appear that barring a complete ban on visa issuance there are few policy measures which actually lead to a reduction in flows. Economic factors are perhaps a better indicator of future mobility, with a decline in GDP growth in regions of destination being closely linked to declining in-migration. For those authors who aim to understand mobility this work may provide a framework from which their research can benefit.

The following chapters detail the methodology applied during the course of the research, limitations of the techniques applied are discussed in detail in order to clarify the relevance of the work and the necessary precaution that must be taken when interpreting results.

CHAPTER 5

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter outlines the methodology applied during the multiple phases of the authors PhD research project. By briefly sketching the rationale of the research the chapter provides the reader with a general overview of the problematic. The core target group of the research project are defined and the types of mobility seen in the region described. The complexity of the flows and the large variety of migrant source countries are described before the outline of the research project itself is provided.

Research methods, testing, distribution, and selection of preliminary respondents (Slovaks) during the early phase of the project are explained in detail. The highly educated character of respondents is unique as this is a previously unstudied sub-group of migrants in the Czech Republic. After describing a breakdown of respondents the chapter provides a detailed discussion of the limitations of the project.

General findings are presented for the reader who wishes only to have a cursory overview of findings. The work then dives into a detailed analysis. The sample is described and limitations affecting the particular sub-group are elucidated before the work provides a detailed analysis of source regions, rationale for the migration decision and current status. Each subsection then provides a rich discussion of each response set. Focusing first on individual and aggregate positionality in the work force, salary levels and perceptions the work then provides details on responses detailing potential for return migration, individual satisfaction and demographic data. The section ends with a discussion of expectations of future trends among the particular group.

The presentation of research findings does not end with only a discussion of the results of the particular group but includes an additional two subsections which detail interesting findings related to the market segmentation of workers and network effects seen amongst survey respondents. The importance of social capital and variation across groups according to gender is discussed in detail. The importance of network effects for mobility and employability is discussed while areas requiring attention in the future are proposed. The chapter ends with a discussion of potential future trends in terms of labour migration in the Czech Republic and the need for further research focused on the risk of deskilling or sector hopping among highly educated migrants.

5 CZECH MIGRATORY STREAMS

Taking into account the reality that migrant itineraries are continuously under development and are subject to change, (Rallu, p. 289) this work seeks to clarify our understanding of migratory flows into the Czech Republic with a particular focus on highly educated migrants.⁴⁷ By analysis of a case study focused on post-accession migrants living and working in or near the capital city of Prague this work will address the central questions posed earlier. The primary research question relates to the degree of impact governmental policy has on migratory activities, an issue that was partially discussed previously. The following case study focuses more specifically on rational for migratory decision making, re-migration potential and experience in the Czech Republic. The case study clearly elucidates the various processes involved in migratory decision-making while clarifying individual re-migration potential. The cases study additionally serves to demonstrate the complexity of flows and support the authors' view that unitary theoretical models are not fully capable of elucidating the complexity of such mobility.

5.1 CASE STUDY- CZECH REPUBLIC - METHODOLOGY

Multidisciplinary work has yielded a variety of attempts to formulate unified theoretical frameworks to aid our understanding of the complex flow of individuals under the rubric of migration. While these attempts have greatly enhanced our understanding of determinates of aggregate flows comparatively little is known about remigration trends, second generation returnees or migrant resettlement during multistage migratory phases. Recognizing the difficulty associated with verification of intentions as it is only possible to verify intentions after undertaking extended multistage surveys. (Bahna, 2008) Authors differ as to the actual outcome of migration intentions although evidence from the Netherlands indicates that nearly a quarter of those who claim an intention to move actually make a move after 2 years. (van Dalen & Henkens, 2008).

In the interest of developing a better understanding of the complex web of flows within and across the target region this project focuses on post-accession Slovak migration to the Czech Republic. Recent work illustrates how 'mobility' has spawned

⁴⁷ We avoid the use of the term 'Highly Skilled' as it is not specific enough although it is often used by state bureaucracies.

dynamic streams of human movement based on an litany of personal choices, motivations and external factors, including but not limited to the state and society. (Salt, 2008) Taking up this theme this work will attempt to clarify the diverse factors which impact upon select flows within the Czech Republic.

Kaczmarczyk & Okólski (p. 16) have deemed the Czech Republic to be a 'new migration pole' part of a larger network of CEE countries exhibiting unique country specific mobility patterns which together form a unique and separate migratory system within Europe. Within this specific case we seek to determine the migration related intentions of migrants, both past and potential. Understanding the reality that current migrants have greater potential to re-migrate than non-migrants (Chiswick, p. 69) and that individual migration experiences are an ongoing process the researchers look to the underlying rationale for the original mobility decision, the potential for remigration (onward or return) as well as the current state of the individual's life situation in the Czech Republic. The large data set has provided a firm foundation for future work on migrant selectivity, remigration potential and migration rationale. This following section will explain the project methods and intentions, discuss limitations of such an approach and seek a deeper understanding of migratory trajectories within the results.

5.1.1 TARGET GROUP

Before the transition in the early 1990s the Czech Republic was incorporated into a heavily regulated regional migratory network which was based on historical relationships and political calculation. (Kaczmarczyk & Okólski, 2005) These historical flows were disrupted during the period of transition in the early 1990s but were later rapidly re-established and often expanded in scope. One of the most significant historical migrant groups in the country is comprised of Slovak nationals who were historically granted special status to live and work in the Czech Republic as a result of a variety of bilateral agreements agreed upon after the velvet divorce and as a result mobility between the two nations was more flexible than that of other regional neighbours. (Strielkowski W. , 2007; Divinsky, 2007; Horáková, 2000)

In addition to the large numbers of Slovak nationals in the Czech Republic there are also a number of other nationalities who play a significant role within the local labour market. In fact the number of foreigners registered in the Czech Republic has doubled in the past 10 years and now totals nearly half a million individuals with the capital of Prague hosting the largest number with foreigners. Foreigners now make up

14 per cent of the total population of the city as a result this survey is composed of respondents residing in Prague city proper and close surroundings.⁴⁸

It would appear that Prague as the capital city and the Czech Republic in general is seen as an ideal location for the majority of migrants from the proverbial 'East' as it is *less different* than further West but still '*West*' of the old soviet divide yet it is perceived from the other side as being an *exotic* eastern city which has a dynamic economy and is '*safe*' for westerners.⁴⁹

5.1.2 RESEARCH SURVEY DESIGN

The survey utilized during the course of this project was comprised of a collection of qualitative (open-ended) and quantitative (forced-choice) questions which were composed of three forms. *Close-ended* questions were applied to several cases related to demography as only binary responses were necessary, *partial open-ended* questions which were multiple-choice or user selected often included the option to provide 'other' as a response and were chosen for questions related to personal preference or experience, *scaled* questions were chosen for several questions in order to provide ranking and comparability (salary range as an example). The majority of the partial open-ended questions allowed for user generated input to be entered; as an example users were asked to choose a reason for having left their home town, in this case the last option was defined as 'Other please specify', thus allowing respondents to clarify as necessary. (The questionnaire utilized is appended as Table 11 in the annex)

In addition questions related to basic demographics such as age, gender, region of origin, educational achievement, data related to salary, region of origin ('town majority of youth was spent in'), as well as location of current residence in the Czech Republic were combined with questions focused on migratory experience, success, individual behavior and more subjective long answer questions from which rationale could be deduced.

Additional questions related to 'experience', 'perception' 'satisfaction' and remittance behavior were added in order for analysis to be more conclusive and elaborate, however their validity is questionable and depends on the case in question as perceptions and satisfaction are highly subjective. The qualitative responses provided a

⁴⁸ Total foreign population of the Czech Republic is 449,450. The population of Prague is 1,272,690 of which 178,177 are foreigners. (Czech Statistical Office, 2012) Some authors claim that there are up to a half a million unregistered migrants in the country. Leontiyeva (2011) quotes Drbohlav. The impossibility of estimating illicit flows is well known. (Castles & Davidson, Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging, 2000)

⁴⁹ Inverted comma's and italics indicate that these terms often have a loaded (often pejorative) meaning.

rich contextual base and allowed for comparison with past work. The projects outcomes have been compared and have been found to be broadly in alignment with previous surveys conducted by researchers in similar contexts. (IOMb, 2004; Williams & Baláz, 2002; Drbohlav, et al., 2009; Baláz, Williams, & Koll, 2004) During the course of the survey respondents were asked to complete approximately thirty five basic questions of which six pertaining to demographic information were required. Roughly 95% of respondents were willing to answer twenty additional questions related to their “life experience in the Czech Republic”. Not all responses have been included in the discussion which follows as the volume of data would preclude adequate analysis.

5.1.3 SURVEY IMPLEMENTATION

In order to obtain an adequate sample size the research team released the survey via online media. The preliminary version of the survey was reviewed and commented upon during the initial testing phase by several Slovak native speakers both in the Czech and Slovak Republics. Modifications were made to the initial translation in an attempt to reduce the number of misleading or misunderstood questions.⁵⁰ There was no further verification of the questionnaire for bias. The survey was launched publically in June 2012 and was distributed via several unique pathways. The survey was disseminated directly to Slovak nationals and their acquaintances that were known to the researchers via social media and email in the form of a 'link' to an online digital survey. This 'snowball' sample of individuals and their contacts led to the accumulation of approximately fifty individual respondents. As this number of respondents was deemed insufficient (due to the potential for a high level of statistical error) the researchers opted to post the survey online for the general public. The intention of the survey and a link to the electronic survey was posted on a website used exclusively by Slovak nationals in the greater Prague Region.⁵¹ Via this online platform nearly 200 additional respondents participated in the survey.

By virtue of the sampling method the majority of respondents tended to be from the same social group or network/cohort; leading to a convenience sample of respondents.⁵² This sampling method led to over representation of highly educated

⁵⁰ We recognize the challenge associated with translations and the nuance that is often lost in translation. (Castles, 2007) Attempts have been made to reduce this risk.

⁵¹ <http://www.somvpraha.sk> (*I am in Prague*) A member only website which claims to have more than seventeen thousand members – This website is commonly used for networking, information gathering, ride sharing and is used extensively by the Slovak community in the Prague region.

⁵² Social media used include; *LinkedIn*®, *Facebook*®, and *somvpraha*

individuals (ISCED level 4 and above) located in the Prague capital region. The sample is composed of 150 respondents; three have obtained Czech citizenship, two of whom are dual citizens (these three all spent the majority of their youth in Slovakia). Only twenty one and a half per cent of the sample has a secondary level education. Such a distribution was not unexpected given that this is a convenience sample of respondents and also the reality is that the majority of respondents are employed in the capital region where there is high demand for highly skilled and highly educated employees. Migrants within this sample exhibit high participation rates in the labour market much in line with research from other European countries which demonstrates the same.⁵³

Analysis of the data was undertaken with the aid of the software IBM SPSS Statistics (SPSS) as it is a powerful tool for statistical analysis. SPSS is capable of handling large data sets and then computing complex statistical algorithms in order to determine validity of hypotheses it is also capable of creating charts or graphical outputs. Within our target population there is no control group, as all individuals are migrants, as a result SPSS was an invaluable tool given the robust analysis possible and the programs functionality which allowed for correlation detection and regression analysis.

5.1.4 LIMITATIONS

This project was affected by several limitations as a result of the design and implementation. The preliminary language version was translated by volunteer translators who were native speakers, however, no secondary translation was possible, nor was back translation. Back translation would ensure continuity and clarity of meaning as it would have provided verification that the intended gist, or meaning, was preserved through the translation process. Without this verification it is not possible to ensure that translations conferred the same meaning as the original English language questionnaire. From anecdotal responses and appraisals by colleagues it would appear that the majority of questions were understood as intended, with socio-economic and cultural differences playing a more significant role in how respondents were likely to understand and respond to the subtext of questions, irrespective of the attempted neutrality sought by the authors. Aside from the limitation of having only one primary translator involved in producing each survey an additional limitation was the lack of a

⁵³ No data is available which would allow us to compare the qualification level of migrants across regions although it is often mentioned that the highly qualified are more likely movers than others. (Niessen & Schibel, Immigration as a Labour Market Strategy - European and North American Perspectives, 2005; Massey, D. et al., 1998; Baláz & Williams, 2004)

population frame for our target groups. The lack of any population frame for educated foreigners in the Czech Republic results in our sample being necessarily purposive. (Drbohlav, et al., 2009; Leontiyeva, 2011)

Irrespective of the fact that this exploratory survey is non-representative we believe that it is a large enough sample to justify our preliminary conclusions.⁵⁴ A wider sampling from other regions would, of course, improve the quality of the data however given the concentration of foreigners in the capital region it is not unexpected that the sample would be dominated by those located in major centers of employment. The relatively small sample size of sub groups led to a limitation during data analysis. Limitations resulting from a small sample size were offset by the rich long form data available which was not analyzed using SPSS. Long form answers provided an additional qualitative response set which supported the development of our understanding and verified statistical predictions.

The limitations of this survey are important to keep in mind and are reflective of the limited time frame for data collection and the limited accessibility of the target population. Future research should attempt to overcome the limitations of this survey; suggested methodological improvements include targeting 'new comers' via direct face-to-face interviews or approaching individuals directly at their workplace, a more advanced computer aided geographical sample would be the most effective option although in all likelihood it would be prohibitively costly for the purposes of this project. These methods of data collection would aid in overcoming the limitation of this survey while follow up in-depth interviews would serve to clarify and deepen our understanding of the problematic.

5.2 RESULTS

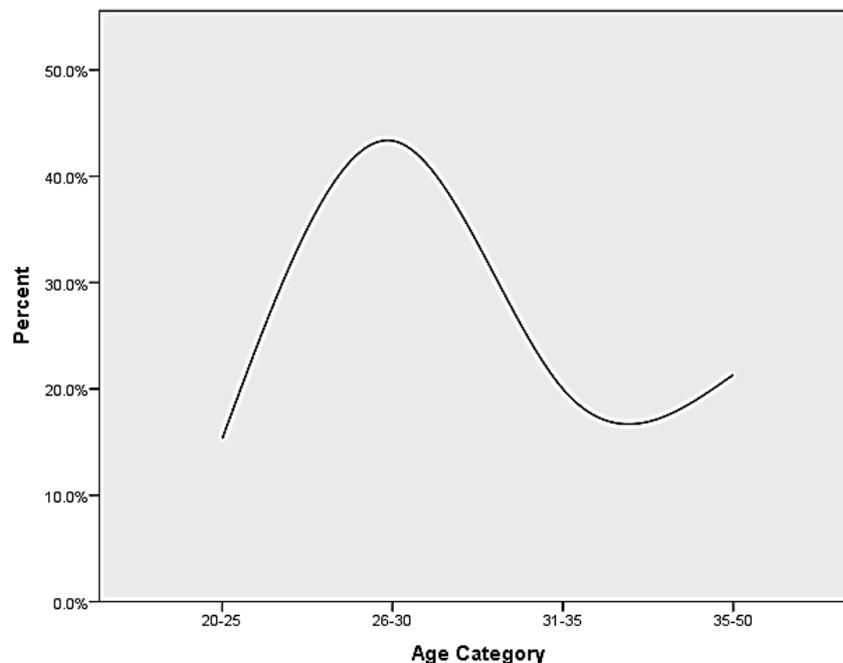
Online distribution has resulted in a balanced number of responses from both female and male respondents, which closely match the natural population demographic.⁵⁵ In terms of age profile and length of residence in the country this sample includes only those respondents who have entered the country since 2004. This post-accession sub population is divided according to age group accordingly: 15 per

⁵⁴ The sample shows a confidence interval of 7.1 with a 95% confidence level. As noted the original sample is non-representative, however for statistical purposes it appears that the sample is large enough to justify certain generalizations. We take solace in the fact that the European Commission has published very similar findings as noted previously.

⁵⁵ The Slovak sample was 53% Female, 47% Male. Total Czech population as of 26 March 2011 (in percent): 50.9% Female 49.1% Male (Czech Statistical Office, 2012)

cent are between the ages of 20-25, 43 per cent are between 26 and 30 years of age, 20 per cent are 31-35 years of age and 21 per cent are over 35 years of age. (see Figure 14 for a graphic representation) The subgroup of less educated respondents is slightly younger than the average, primarily as a result of the number of current students included in the group.

Figure 14: Age Range of Respondents



No. Valid: 150

The outcome of data analysis indicates that there are a variety of factors which drive flows into the Czech Republic. It was expected that socioeconomic differences would lead individuals to provide differing justifications for their original migration decision; however, this is not the case with each group providing similar explanations. Interestingly there was much variation among the groups when data was differentiated at the level of gender. Factors which influence decision making related to re-migration or return were similarly varied with particular individuals being more or less willing to return home if they were to find themselves unemployed over a period of time exceeding six months.

In general when discussing the original reason for making a migratory decision the most common justifications were related to perceived or actual lack of opportunities in home communities, networks of connections in both source and receiving regions, psychological explanations such as a need for change, and family reunification.

Migrants living and working in the Czech Republic can be categorized as fitting

one of the following categories; settlers, flexible movers, transients, students. Retrospective analysis of responses clearly indicates that there are several distinct subgroupings within the group included in the survey. Those who are living in the Czech Republic and plan *to settle for the long term*, those who are more *flexible* and are *unclear as to their future* migration(remigration) intentions and those who are what have been deemed *transient migrants*. Within this group we see a clear distinction between those who moved for *personal reasons* (lifestyle migrants),⁵⁶ those who moved in order to gain international experience, and those who sought out a more stable environment in which to *further their professional and personal growth*.

Indeed the opportunity potential for ambitious youth is very positive looking forward as unemployment has historically been very low in the capital region.⁵⁷ Another significant portion of respondents conform to the category of student migrant, those who have studied or are studying for a local degree. In addition we have seen the demonstrable influence which networks have on some migrants. Slovak respondents generally tend to rely on the internet or business acquaintances more than on friends when seeking employment; the so called strong and weak informal networks which link migrants together in destination states. (Morawska, 2007) This difference may be a result of historical flows which have resulted in the established of a network of employed migrants which then provides a springboard for newcomers. (Strielkowski, Glazar, & Weyskrabová, 2012) The case of highly educated is unique as it would be anticipated that they would be less dependent on a network of kin or compatriots (Bakewell, de Haas, & Kubal, 2011, p. 17) for settlement and employment given their skill set and personal ambitions. When discussing return potential limiting factors were often a perceived or actual lack of employment in region of origin.

Given the significant, and well documented, gender pay gap in the Czech Republic it was anticipated that female respondents would earn less than average wages, which was indeed one finding which was consistent with expectations. In sharp contrast, however, it was determined that individual earning power is not as closely linked to satisfaction as expected; with individuals earning lower than average incomes claiming to be more satisfied than those who earn higher than average wages. This

⁵⁶ (O'Reilly, 2012) Discusses lifestyle migration in terms of British retirees along the Spanish Coastline. Here the concept is more apt to apply to young Westerners who do not intend to stay for the long term and may be taking advantage of the permissive social environment of the country. One individual went so far as to say he was in the country because of 'escapism plain and simple'.

⁵⁷ Unemployment in the Capital hovered around 2% before the recent economic crisis and remains low even today with average unemployment in the county at roughly 7%. (Eurostat, 2013)

discrepancy is likely to be a result of perceived income levels in comparison to peers. Specifics of this finding are discussed in the relevant section below.

While a significant pay gap exists between genders a strong predictor of earning potential is country of highest degree. It was determined that the likelihood of being employed in ones profession of choice (the industry connected with a particular degree of study) is closely linked to qualification for that sector. e.g. Slovak nationals indicate that they are primarily employed in the sector for which they are qualified.⁵⁸

This work lends credence to the understanding that individuals often move in order to find employment, improve their quality of life or for reasons of family reunion and for a variety of other reasons. This study does, however, cast a shadow of doubt on theoretical understandings which claim to be able to explain migration in the aggregate. Taking a macro level approach as espoused by theories of the dual labour market or world systems ignores the agency of individuals and their ability to negotiate and manoeuvre within the existing political and social reality. (O'Reilly, 2012) A micro level perspective would fail to incorporate state level factors which influence visa policy and the general political climate which can impede or support cross border flows. As noted previously Czech legislation was historically somewhat permissive and has only recently become restrictive and securitized as a result of entry to the Schengen area and the implementation of EU practices. (Trlifajová, 2012) Given the reality that micro and macro level factors are inadequate heuristic devices in generating an understanding of migratory flows it is imperative that we take a more holistic approach which is capable of incorporating micro level factors such as migrant voice and agency alongside macro level factors such as the role of the state and the influence restrictive policy have on migrant behaviour.

The author posits that any understanding of flows can only adequately capture the current situation if it incorporates a multi-level approach to flows and simultaneously includes the role of individual agency and subversion, macro-economic factors, familial influence, gender expectations or gender norms, state level policies which shape, control or limit particular flows, as well as historical connections which may aid or limit migratory network development or lead to decline. In essence the best understanding of flows can only occur if a holistic approach to understanding migration is applied. An adequate approach is a holistic approach which transcends traditional

⁵⁸ Williams & Baláž (2002, pp. 655-656) discuss how Slovak nationals working in Vienna tend to work in professions which are broadly commensurate with their human capital, or skill set.

academic disciplines, incorporating a sociological understanding of agency (Morawska, 2007) as well as a political understanding of institutional factors and their role in shaping flows. (Chiswick, 2000; Hollifield, 2000; Bauböck, 2003)

5.3 EXPLANATION OF THE CASE STUDY

The following sub chapter provides an overview of results generated during the course of a survey conducted in 2012 in the Czech Republic. The survey was focused on gathering information related to individual migration experiences, trajectories and future intentions (remigration trends). The survey was distributed to Slovak speakers via online media in summer 2012. Data presented below is focused on those migrants who arrived after the Czech Republic entered to EU (post-accession migrants) and is divided between those respondents with a university level certificate (ISCED 4 or above) and others who have completed secondary school, are still studying, or who have completed an apprenticeship. Participants have provided the researcher with rich content related to their living conditions and experience in the workplace. The quality of data is wide in scope as well as dense in content. The limited sample size presented a challenge at times and limited the application of various statistical approaches when the number of responses did not meet the specified threshold required for particular tests.

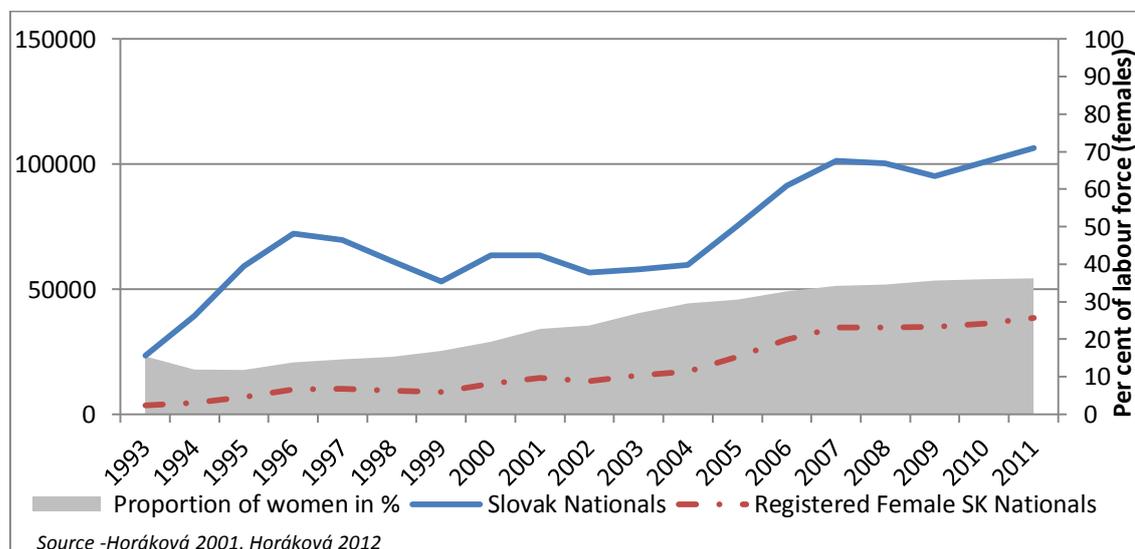
CASE STUDY: HIGHLY EDUCATED SLOVAK NATIONALS

5.4 TARGET GROUP- SLOVAK NATIONALS

To give a sense of the importance of historical mobility between the Czech and Slovak Republic's and the relevance of this particular group in relation to this study we draw attention to evidence which indicates that approximately 2.8% of the Slovak work force was employed in the Czech Rep in 1996. (Strielkowski W. , 2007) This percentage is far higher than in the case of other migrant streams from New to Old member states of the EU where new member countries only account for 0.4 per cent of migrants in the EU 15. There is of course significant variation between destinations among western European states with several acting as primary destinations for EU migrants such as Ireland (2 per cent), Austria (1.4 per cent) and Germany (0.7 per cent). (Fouarge & Ester, 2008; Divinský, 2007)

According to the most recent census there are 149,140 individuals claiming Slovak ethnicity who live in the Czech Republic with 84,380 individuals indicating that they hold Slovak citizenship. Of those 37,792 live in the greater Prague area. (Czech Statistical Office, 2012) Figure 15 demonstrates graphically the number of Slovak nationals registered with the Czech authorities in the past two decades. The proportion of Slovak citizens as a percentage of the total labour force in the country has remained relatively stable at approximately two per cent of the total Czech labour force. Figure 15 also indicates the increasing importance women play in flows between the two countries, now accounting for 35 per cent of all Slovak nationals registered at Czech labour offices. The relative stability of flows seen among this group is indicative of the limited difficulty they face in gaining access to the Czech labour market.

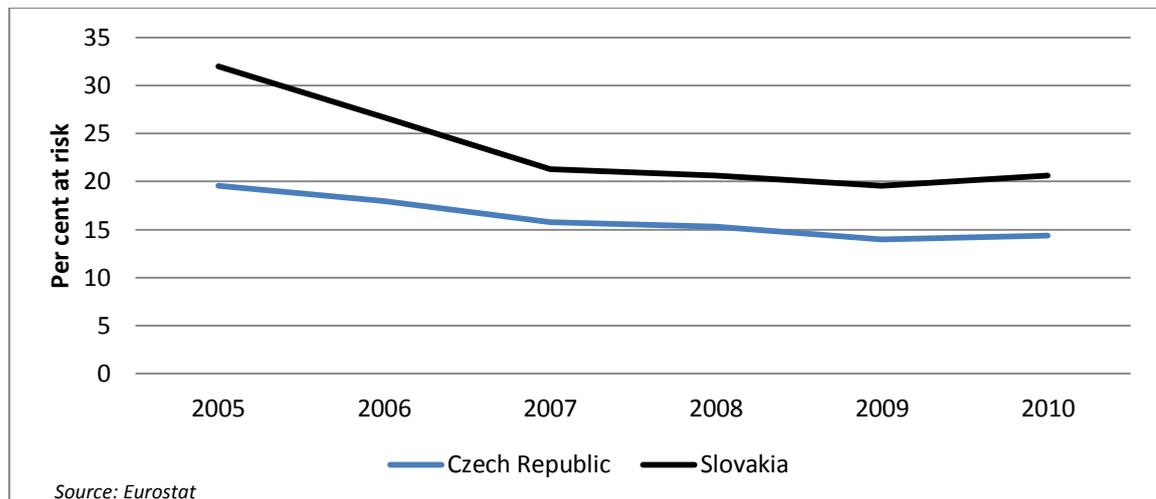
Figure 15: Slovak Nationals Registered at the Czech Republic Labour Office



The high level of labour force mobility between the countries is no doubt influenced by historical connections yet current migratory decisions are affected by a combination of factors such as high regional unemployment in Slovakia and the economic shocks experienced during the 1990s. Surprisingly the overall trend of migratory flows between the two countries has not changed significantly; even given persistently high levels of inequality between the countries in terms of GDP per-capita, unemployment, regional imbalances in development or significant differences in the risk of poverty as measured by the European Union. (See Figure 16) One issue which limits our understanding of flow dynamics between the Czech and Slovak Republic is the relative 'invisibility' of the flows. This implies that, unlike other foreign migrants, Slovak nationals are able to blend into the Czech population with relative ease reducing

potential friction and removing socio-linguistic barriers which normally limit migrant incorporation into society and thus reduce their visibility to ‘outside’ observers. Slovak nationals reside across the country and are employed in all sectors of the economy. The majority are settled in the Czech Republic permanently or semi-permanently with only a small minority of shuttle migrants traveling across borders on a regular basis.

Figure 16: Risk Of Poverty By Country



Authors such as Strielkowski (2007) have analyzed the migratory trend of Slovak citizens in the Czech Republic and have found that neither economic differences nor differing unemployment rates in the two countries play a significant role in influencing movement.⁵⁹ Strielkowski has shown that levels of migration do not exceed 2% between the two countries; even taking into consideration significant differences in income between the two countries. The relative immobility of Slovak nationals is not clearly explained utilizing traditional theoretical understandings of the forces which drive migration such as neoclassical economics or the new economics of migration as both theories posit higher migration in the face of wage differentials seen in the case of these two countries. The relative stability and weak character of flows is additionally of surprise given the limited administrative and linguistic burdens imposed upon Slovak nationals who enter the country for the purpose of employment.

The unique nature of cross border mobility in the case of the Czech and Slovak Republic’s is fascinating as it provides a novel comparator for other regional flows. Limitations to mobility traditionally utilized as explanatory factors which reduce the likelihood of migration are absent in this case; distance, secure borders, linguistic differences. The risk that individuals will lose touch with source regions or families as a

⁵⁹Brücker and Schröder (2007) discuss this as a general fact while Strielkowski discusses the Slovak case in more detail.

result of extended periods of absence is low in the case of Slovak migrants. Close proximity between source and destination regions reduce the risk that migrant workers who develop circulating patterns of migration will become less integrated into their home economy. A risk that other migrant labour in the CEE region experience as a result of their permanent mobility, a claim made by Wallace in his work on European mobility and immobility. (2002, p. 614) In the case of Czech and Slovak migration similar culture, proximity and family ties reduce or basically eliminate the risk that a large number of migrant workers would find themselves socially or culturally disadvantaged. In the case of Slovak migrants the risk of poverty is far higher 'at home' than in the Czech Rep; with self-selection resulting in a high rate of success for Slovak migrants. Individuals who are unsuccessful in securing employment are likely to return home if they cannot find work. Something that our data verifies with roughly half of respondents indicating that they would return home if unemployed for more than 6 months.⁶⁰ In addition there is little risk of welfare shopping given bilateral agreements which exist between the countries. (IOMb, 2004)

Slovak nationals, for the most part, do not define their move to the Czech Republic as being migration, strictly defined, and prefer to see it as 'going to Prague'. Their interpretation of their action is self-defined not as migration but as mobility, irrespective of the reality of the cross border movement that has occurred. In order to better grasp these types of individualistic understandings this work attempts to incorporate both a political and sociological understanding of movement from the perspective of the individual.

Continuity of cross border mobility and the consistency of flows present an opportunity for migration research unparalleled across the globe. The following section presents the result of a survey of highly educated Slovak nationals employed on the Czech labour market, a case which serves as a baseline for future work which seeks to explain migration intentions and decision making within the European context.

5.4.1 SAMPLE SIZE

Within our total sample of 222 respondents, 150 respondents were deemed to be valid for the purposes of this survey. Validity was determined to be fitting the criteria of moving to the Czech Republic after the country joined the European Union, and, at a

⁶⁰ 45.8 % who responded agreed to the question- If unemployed for more than 6 months would you return to Slovakia?

minimum, answering basic demographic questions. Within our sample 75% of respondents have a university level education. (Ba, Ma or higher) Given the large proportion of respondents with tertiary level education and the otherwise balanced demographic character of survey respondents the authors believe that a higher proportion of the target population residing in the capital have a tertiary level education than the general population even if other authors have indicated that the majority of Slovak emigrants are lower skilled.⁶¹

While it would appear that this is a relatively balanced sample; demographically, in terms of region of origin, and with a wide range of the individuals from different socioeconomic backgrounds a wider sampling from other regions would, of course, improve the quality of the data. (See Map Figure 17) Our data shows balance in that respondents are not exclusively from one category of the demographic. Online distribution has resulted in a balanced number of responses from both female (53%) and male (47%) respondents, which closely match the natural population demographic.⁶² From a statistical perspective it would appear that our current sample exhibits a 95% confidence level and has a confidence interval of 7.1.⁶³ Keeping this relatively wide interval in mind caution in interpreting the results is urged and further confirmation of results is necessary.

5.4.2 REGION OF ORIGIN

Previous work by the International Monetary Fund indicated that “regional disparities in the level of GDP per capita, labor productivity, and labor utilization have widened since 2000.... [as] rapid economic growth appears to have only marginally touched three of the four eastern regions where unemployment rates remain sticky around 20 percent.” (IMF, 2009) Uneven development within the country led the author to anticipate that a majority of individuals would prefer internal migration whenever possible, which would logically lead to a majority of individuals sourcing from the less developed central and eastern regions yet our sample indicates that this is not the case.⁶⁴

⁶¹ This has also been corroborated by personal experience and communication with business leaders in the Czech Rep. Divinský, for example indicates that only slightly more than 10% of émigrés have higher level degree.

⁶² Total population as of 26 March 2011 (in percent): 50.9% Female 49.1% Male (Czech Statistical Office 2012)

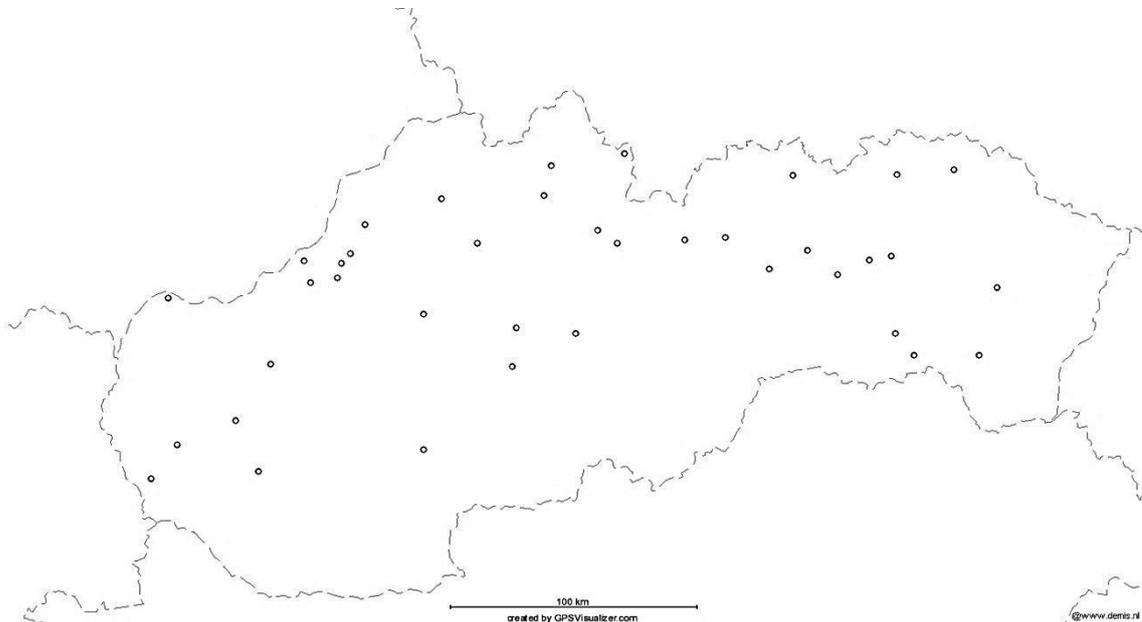
⁶³ In order to have a confidence level of 95% +-5% a sample double the size of our current sub-sample would be required.

⁶⁴ Internal migration is deemed to be larger in scope and importance than international migration, both in developing and developed regions. (IOM, 2008) In the case of the Czech Republic individuals do not appear to differentiate between internal and international migration (cognitively) due to the historical connection. Several individuals commented that they have a degree from 'Czechoslovakia' or that 'I was born in Czechoslovakia' indicating their perception is that they are 'not truly migrants'. See King, Skeldon, & Vullnetari, (2008) for a discussion of the trouble with distinguishing between internal and international flows.

Rational choice models and systems theory espouse views that generally stress how economic factors lead to migratory decision-making. Within our sample simplistic economic rationalizations appear not to act as primary motivations as the cross border flows are rooted in historical matrices.

The distribution of individuals in terms of source regions is clearly balanced across the country and also between small, mid and large towns; with 25% of respondents having left from small villages, 31 % from mid-sized towns, 31% from large towns and 13% originating in the capital. It was anticipated that those who spend the majority of their youth in a capital city would be less mobile than those who come from rural areas, however with only 19 individuals coming from the capital region of Slovakia this belief appears unsubstantiated.⁶⁵ (See Figure 17) The regional distribution of migrant origin is unexpectedly well balanced, it was expected that geographical clustering would occur as a by-product of the utilization of a snowball method of sourcing respondents however it would appear that the migrants are sourced from a wide area across the country.

Figure 17: Location of Migrant Origin



(Source: Authors data Maps: GPS Visualizer. One circle represents one city or town of origin)

⁶⁵ It may be of some surprise to readers that no respondents were sourced from the southernmost regions of the Slovak Republic, however with roughly 10% of Slovak Nationals belonging to the Hungarian minority and the majority inhabiting regions bordering Hungary it is clear that these regionally concentrated minorities choose other regions of destination when migrating, primarily Budapest as a regional centre. (Daftary & Gál 2000, p.6)

5.4.3 REASON FOR LEAVING ONE'S HOME COUNTRY

From the perspective of factors which lead to a migratory decision responses varied considerably to the question 'Why did you leave Slovakia'. Responses ranged from work (32%) to study (27%) to a need for change (25%). Our findings are validated/corroborated by a similar survey undertaken by the European Commission which found that “a quarter of respondents moved in order to study in the new Member State.” (2010) It is clear from our data that a large number of those who moved in order to study have stayed on and have become employed, more than half of all respondents end up staying and working in the Czech Republic.

We find a disjuncture between respondents' rationalization for their migration decision and their actual activity in the country. Even if individuals do not perceive their rationale for migration in terms of employment the end result is just that. Only 3% claimed to move due to family reunification and 12% for personal relations. (See Table 2) There was significant divergence in the percentage of respondents who claimed to have come for work when the data was differentiated according to gender, with males being far more likely to claim to have moved due to work and females were more likely to indicate that they moved due for family reunification, need for change or in order to study. There is some minor variation which is dependent on education level. As an example, four per cent of highly educated women indicated that they moved for purposes of family reunification, whereas none of the less skilled respondents indicated the same.

Table 2: Reasons For Leaving Home Country By Per Cent Valid

	Total	All Female	All Male
Personal	12%	11%	13%
Family reunification	3%	5%	2%
Work	32%	22%	41%
Business	2%	0%	3%
Study	27%	37%	18%
Need for change	24%	25%	24%
Number Valid	126	63	63
Valid per cent within group. May not equal 100			

Several individuals mentioned that they were looking for diversity or wanted to improve their living standard and experience life in Prague. The appeal of the city is something of a subtext in several responses, and is unsurprising given that nearly half of these individuals come from towns of less than 50000 inhabitants. We find that the typical direction of migration from semi-rural to urban settings is maintained within our

sample.

In the case of Slovak migrants the risk of poverty is far higher 'at home' than in the Czech Rep, and self-selection most likely leads to a high success rate for Slovak migrants. Individuals who are unsuccessful in securing employment are apt to return home if they cannot find work.

The substantial number of those who migrated in order to study was an expected response, given that nearly four percent of university students in the Czech Republic are Slovak. (Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2010) Although more than half of all Slovak respondents were students prior to migration of greater significance is the large number of respondents (37%) who were gainfully employed prior to moving to the Czech Republic. (See Table 3:) More than a quarter of respondents were employed pre-migration, something that flies in the face of economic rational choice theories and clearly indicates the complexity of flows seen within this region. For those who face unemployment or underemployment in regions of origin migration may function as a risk reduction strategy or a lifestyle choice.

Even if only a small percentage of respondents (6%) indicated that they were unemployed prior to migrating it is relevant that the level of unemployment in Slovakia has remained high over the last decade in comparison to the Czech Republic. (Baláž & Williams, 2004) This is especially the case with the Prague region where unemployment typically hovers around two or three percent. (ČTK, 2012) Additionally, the risk of falling into poverty is consistently higher in Slovakia, which may be an additional, unmentioned, factor involved in or which drives individuals to make a migratory decision. High employment rates post-migration validate theoretical models which argue human capital development or economic factors are the primary factors leading to migratory decision-making.

Table 3: Employment Pre and Post Migration

Full Sample	Employed	Self Employed	Student	Unemployed**	Other*	Total
Pre Migration Activity	37%	5%	51%	6%	0%	99%
Post Migration Activity	77%	6%	9%	4%	3%	99%
*Includes temp and seasonal workers and maternity leave						
**Includes those 'changing employer'						
Total may not add to 100% due to rounding						
Source: Authors Data						

The majority of respondents indicated that they were employed in full time positions in firms, both domestic firms and international corporations. Interestingly very few Slovak nationals are self-employed, something which contrasts the behavior of

other non-citizens who exhibit high rates of self-employment. The low rate of self-employment among Slovak nationals is indicative of the ease with which they integrate into the local market, their high skill level and perhaps socio-cultural similarities. Many other foreigners have utilized self-employment as a method to circumvent restrictions on visa provision and renewal. It is no doubt also beneficial that Slovak nationals do not require specific work permission in order to be employed on the Czech labor market.

Table 4: Employment Pre and Post Migration- Totals By Gender

	Employed		Self Employed		Student		Unemployed **		Other*	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Pre Migration Activity	31%	44%	1%	8%	58%	43%	7%	5%	2%	0%
Post Migration Activity	77%	71%	3%	9%	11%	6%	6%	1%	3%	%
*Includes temp and seasonal workers and maternity leave										
**Includes those 'changing employer'										
Source: Authors Data										

Variation between genders is also of interest as although both genders exhibit low levels of unemployment males are somewhat more likely to be self-employed (8%) in contrast females are far more likely to be employed in firms. Females were also more likely to have been students prior to migration. (Table 4)

68% of respondents have full time contracts with an employer which is fairly unusual for foreigners who more commonly have fixed term contracts only 10 % in our sample have such time limited agreements. This may be due to two factors, firstly Slovak nationals have little trouble integrating into Czech society, and secondly self-selection can be expected to lead to relatively high levels of success in securing employment. Thirdly, the sample studied is 'successful' in that it only includes those who have not left the country. Thus our survey is bound to be over representative of 'successful' migrants. From the total respondents who do not have full time contracts 8.7% are students and 6.3% are independent contractors/self-employed.

When the target sample is split by both gender and education level it becomes clear that there exists some significant variation between those with higher education and those without. It should be noted that 20% of female and 14% of males who are classified as less educated indicate that they are still in school. Taking this into consideration some interesting variation seen between the groups includes the following: lower educated females were more likely to be unemployed pre-migration whereas highly educated are more likely to be unemployed post-migration, highly educated males were more likely to be students pre-migration females equally so as a

result the highly skilled were therefore less likely to have been employed pre-migration. Self-employment is more common among the less educated but not non-existent amongst higher educated. For all migrants the likelihood of being employed post-migration is higher than pre-migration. (see Table 8 and Table 9)

5.4.4 WAGES, LENGTH OF RESIDENCE, AND PERCEPTIONS

Large private firms play a major role in the Czech labor market, they dictate the rate of employment and are at the same time are susceptible to the market economy and its fluctuations (i.e. economic cycles of boom and bust). On the other hand the public and non-profit sectors are at the lower end of those offering employment opportunities and therefore Slovak nationals who are employed by multinationals are better off in relation to those employed by non-profits.⁶⁶

From amongst those respondents who are employed the majority of respondents (82%) are employed in the private sector (18%) in the public sector, (55%) in large firms, (24%) in mid-sized firms and 20% in small firms. Results demonstrate that there is a clear statistical correlation between salary and gender with a Pearson Correlation 0.302 with a two-tailed significance at 0.002. (correlation is significant at the 0.01 level) This is a significant gap, with gender accounting for 30% of salary difference. In addition educational level accounts for a significant difference in salary level. Pearson Correlation 0.394 with a two-tailed significance at 0.000. (correlation is significant at the 0.01 level) This statistical correlation verifies our understanding that females earn significantly less than males and that education is an adequate predictor of earning power; with the less education leading to weaker earning power.

In contrast to the total variation we find more variation between those with higher education and those with lower education. Table 5 demonstrates the correlation and indicates that amongst the higher educated there is educational level is a strong predictor of wage something not seen amongst less educated. Among less educated respondents gender has far stronger predictive power in determining salary level. This finding is confirmed when data is presented graphically in the wage graph shown in the appendix. (Figure 28) Interestingly the variation in salary seen previously based on gender is weaker amongst highly educated in contrast to less educated. In fact that weak correlation for highly educated indicates that educational level is of greater significance

⁶⁶ Prague residents earn the highest average wage of 31,845 Kc gross. Even if the Czech Average is 24,436Kc (Czech Statistical Office)

than gender. Amongst less educated gender remains the primary factor determining wage variation. We find no correlation between years in the county and salary, this is potentially related to the fact that all respondents have been in the country less than 10 years and also the fact that the age profile of respondents is in general quite youthful.

Table 5: Correlation - Gender and Salary

Higher Educated	Gender	Pearson Correlation	.288**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.009
		No. Valid:	82
	Educational level	Pearson Correlation	.374**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.001
		No. Valid:	82
Lower Educated	Gender	Pearson Correlation	.554**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.005
		No. Valid:	24
	Educational level	Pearson Correlation	.124
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.564
		No. Valid:	24
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).			
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).			

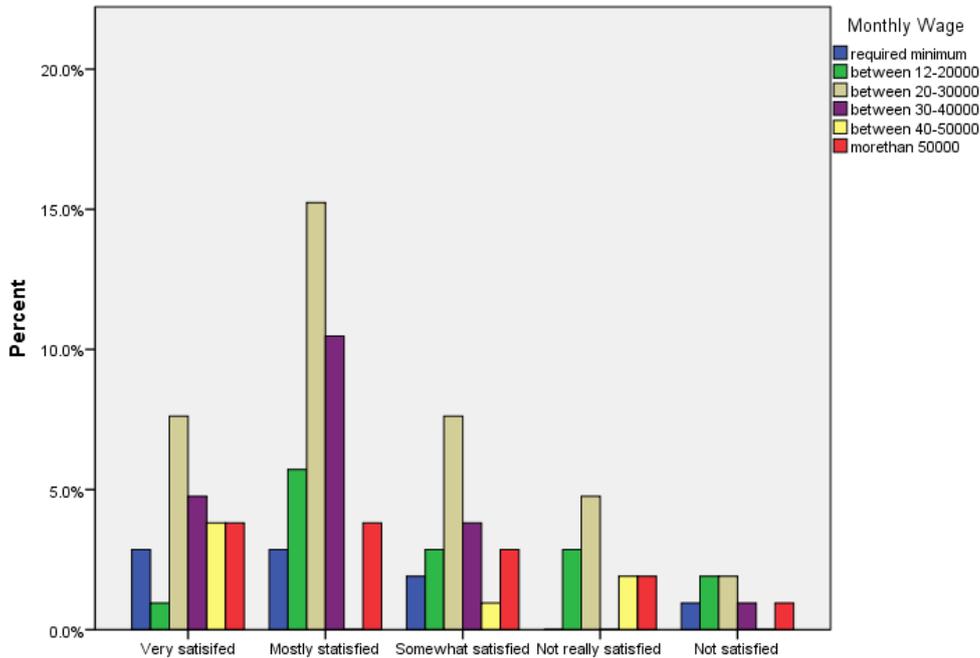
Although there are a few outliers who are unsatisfied the majority of respondents are satisfied with their decision to move to the Czech Republic. Across all income groups we find high levels of satisfaction. Figure 18 demonstrates that there is some variation among Slovak speakers. Dissatisfaction is indicated more often among male respondents than female. We hypothesis that this is related to how individuals compare their earnings relative to their colleagues and income in their home region; female respondents generally indicate that they earn more in the Czech Republic than they would be able to at ‘home’. This is a result of the three factors, low levels of development in regions of origin, high demand for educated workers in the Czech Republic and the large number of respondents employed by multinationals who have offices in the Czech Republic.⁶⁷ Contrasting salary and satisfaction we find that female respondents are generally more satisfied than male respondents.

A control question confirmed satisfaction with regard to stability of income. Among all respondents only 4.5% were ‘Not Satisfied’ with the stability of their income, leaving 95% of respondents ‘Very Satisfied’ or ‘More satisfied Than Not’. There was some moderate variation when grouped by education. Highly educated

⁶⁷ Gender disparity is greater among locally owned firms than multinationals who follow standardizes wage scales.

respondents were much more likely to indicated that they were ‘Very Satisfied’ with stability of income (31%) than lower educated (12%) while lower educated were more likely to be ‘More satisfied Than Not’ (79% vs. 66% for highly educated)

Figure 18: Satisfaction With Decision To Move By Salary In Czech Koruna



No. Valid 106

Additionally we find that 90% of highly educated consider that making a migration decision to the Czech Republic has had a positive effect on their professional development, in contrast only 75% of lower educated indicate the same. This is most likely indicative of the relative success of individuals post migration.

5.4.5 REMITTANCES

Amongst this particular group of migrants only a small number indicate that they remit money home. Keeping in mind the youthful nature of the cohort studied this is not surprising, especially as a number of respondents are still students or only recently entered the labor market. Only 8 % of respondents send money home roughly half of whom remit in cash and half via bank transfer there is no significant difference between highly educated and their lesser educated respondents. Primary reasons for sending money home include; helping family, buying gifts when home for holidays, paying for siblings school costs, paying debts or insurance for car or second home.

5.4.6 RETURN HOME IF UNEMPLOYED

When it comes to questions related to satisfaction in employment the majority (90%) are 'very satisfied' or 'more satisfied than not' with their work. One unexpected outcome of this survey was the finding that a significant number of individuals would return home if they were unemployed for more than six months 51% indicated that they would return home to Slovakia. When split by educational level there was significant difference in responses with only 46% of highly educated expressing willingness to return and 68% of lower educated stating they would be willing to return. It was anticipated that the highly educated would, in general be disinclined to return home given the high levels of unemployment in regions of origin.

5.4.7 SATISFACTION

Overall individuals indicate a high level of satisfaction with their past decision to migrate, 92% claim to be satisfied when asked a yes or no answer. When asked 'how satisfied' a slightly different picture emerges. (23% being very satisfied, 38 % being mostly satisfied, 20% being somewhat satisfied and only 11% being unsatisfied or very unsatisfied 6%) A relatively balanced picture emerges when such a distribution is represented graphically. (Figure 18)

5.4.8 SKILLS AND EMPLOYMENT-(DUAL MARKET)

Roughly twice as many of the respondents received their highest level degree from their home country of Slovakia than those from the Czech Republic with several indicating that they have combined or multiple degrees from Slovakia/Czech or Slovakia/USA. Males were more likely have obtained a degree from the Slovak Republic (68%) with only 26% having a Czech degree, while female respondents were similar have a degree from home (68%) as opposed to the Czech Republic (30%). Analysis shows that nearly half of the variation in income within this group is related to education levels with those holding higher level university level degrees benefiting greatly in this regard.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Pearsons correlation -0.374 (two-tailed at .001) significant at the 0.01 level.

5.4.9 FUTURE EXPECTATIONS

Anticipating that return migration is to be expected from migrant workers is increasingly out of step with reality as individuals settle and integrate into the local labor market. In the case of Slovak nationals residing in the Czech Republic it is unlikely that individuals will leave the enhanced quality of life to which they have become accustomed once settled and have integrated in the receiving society. This investigation demonstrates that a large number of individuals plan to remain as 88% of respondents answer positively to the question 'Do you intend to stay in the Czech Rep for a long time'. Associated questions indicate that the majority of individuals are relatively well settled in their adopted home, with 54% of individuals planning to stay indefinitely and 17% unsure as to how long they will stay.

Variation between higher educated respondents and less educated respondents indicates that a significant number of less educated respondents will return home within 3 to 5 years as demonstrated in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Length of Intended Stay

	Highly Educated	Less Educated
One Year	3%	0%
2-3 Years	13%	27%
4-5 Years	9%	12%
More Than 5 Years	11%	15%
Forever	45%	35%
Don't Know	19%	11%
Total	100%	100%
No. valid: 119		

Another question we asked as researchers was 'Would Slovak migrants move back to Slovakia or move onwards in the face of differing conditions?' Respondents corroborated results of a survey undertaken by the European Commission in 2010, indicating that they would move for reasons of work (41%), 19% for love, 16% in search of better weather, 9% for retirement, and 15% due to 'nicer people' living abroad. In addition several respondents indicated that they would move in search of 'change' or 'lower cost of living' 'better environment for business' and 'higher standards of living in other countries'; all in all very commonly expressed reasons for migration. Somewhat surprisingly, especially given the high average salaries seen among respondents, 11% indicated that that they would move in order to 'save money' when asked 'What about

the current situation makes you think about moving to another country?' On the other hand 9% indicated that 'low income' pushes them to think about making another move. Only 6% indicated that the lack of job opportunities locally makes them think about moving. It should be noted that the risk of unemployment or underemployment is of no greater significance to this particular group than it is to the wider host population.

Broadly speaking individuals provided very detailed explanations of where and why they would move to other countries. Although the question was hypothetical in nature Slovak speaking individuals overwhelmingly indicated that they would move to the old EU states. Figure 19 indicates locations individuals claim to have in mind if they move in the near future. Respondents indicated that they would choose countries such as France or Germany due to stability or increased income potential or conversely Spain and Italy due to the weather. Several indicated that they would move in order to seek out employment, or opportunities to study language. Several respondents also indicated that the opportunity to gain a competitive advantage in the Czech labor market after returning from abroad would be of benefit to their future careers. This confirms the findings of research conducted by Baláž and Williams (2004) whose in depth interviews fielded similar responses from students coming from Bratislava, thus adding a new dimension, that of highly educated and employed Slovaks in the Czech Republic.

In addition to the more typical responses related to work or salary, individuals indicated the need for more 'freedom' or 'no-stress'. Untypical responses ranged from Italy, due to it being a vegetarians paradise, (Czech cuisine is heavily meat based) to Croatia and Spain for retirement and cheap real estate, respectively. Predictably, given the large number of recent students included in the survey 26% would move in order to enhance their education, 21% would move if they were offered a job, and 33% would move in order to see other countries or simply in order to live abroad. Roughly nine percent would move in order to be with friends and family, while 36% of respondents believe that an advantage of moving would be higher salaries.⁶⁹

This sub population of migrants has demonstrated that individuals are able to enhance their salary potential and quality of life via the migratory experience. Much as proscribed by the segmented labor market theory there is a demand within the market for highly educated migrants who are able to enter the labor market of host countries. Rational choice models of migration appear to lack explanatory power amongst this

⁶⁹ Question asked was "What do you see as a potential benefit to moving to another country (aside from the Czech and Slovak Republic)"

particular group. The large portion of individuals who reside in the capital indicate that a network effect has influenced the settlement patterns of individuals to some extent, while respondents indicate that pre-existing contacts have indeed played a role in the migratory experience. The high number of individuals who intend to stay in their region of settlement may ensure continued perpetuation of the social capital which supports migratory flows.

Figure 19 Potential Destination of Future Migration



(Source: Authors data Maps: GPS Visualizer- One circle represents one city)

Although the survey sample is under-representative of the total population of Slovak nationals living in the Czech Republic previous studies undertaken by the European Commission corroborate the findings more generally. This project has additionally determined that there is a disconnect between the apparent willingness of individuals to deskilling in the case of future migration, with individuals apparently not accepting deskilling in the case of the current move into the Czech Republic but

claiming a willingness to deskill in the case of making a move 'west'.⁷⁰ This unexpected finding from the research would make for an interesting follow up study, as it appears that moving to the near-abroad is, in the case of Slovak nationals, not perceived as 'real' migration due to those old connections which exist in the minds of many individuals.

⁷⁰ 60 % of respondents would be willing to change profession in the case that they move to a new location.

SOCIAL CAPITAL

Networks are those connections between individuals both at home and abroad which individuals are able to take advantage of before, during or after making a migration decision. The role of networks is well documented and is supported by the findings of this work. (Arango, 2000; Faist, 2000; Hadler, 2006; MacDonald, 1964; Putnam, 2007) The importance of connections was of significance for a large number of individuals when searching for employment which conforms to previous research that demonstrates an individual's strong ties or connections within the community play a significant role in settlement and in the stabilization of an individual's living situation. (Putnam, 2007; Easley & Kleinberg, 2010) While it is not possible to clearly determine the importance of these personal connections for settlement per se they are clearly important for ensuring access to employment for up to a quarter of respondents.

Networks formed by migrants and non-migrants are seen as a form of social capital which is of great benefit to individuals as it grants them access to goods of an economic nature which are beneficial for individual success; employment opportunities, informal support structures, information, or other benefits which reduce the costs associated with mobility. (Massey & España, 1987) Migrants often benefit from historic migrant flows. These pioneer migrants are able to provide support for potential or new migrants at several different levels and may play a significant role in the ultimate success or failure new migrants experience in the early days after their arrival in a new location. Evidently, individuals who are established in destinations may provide support to individuals in their kin group in the form of information related to employment opportunities, legal constraints or loopholes. Such networks may also provide financial or moral support for new arrivals or they may act as a conduit of information passed over to potential migrants.

The literature indicates that such support networks vary in importance and can involve information being shared via the internet, on chat rooms, via email or other forms of communication, including face to face meetings. Such support may extend to financial or physical support by enabling transit (official or otherwise) or providing a place to stay during the early days after arrival. These networks also serve a secondary, although no less important, function reducing the psychological costs of migration. (de Haas, 2008) Pioneer migrants may act in a supportive capacity and thus aid further movement from regions of origin. There is also the risk that a well-developed network

may limit individual opportunities or even limit access to wider society; as individuals who are inwardly focused may ‘miss’ opportunities to make or maintain contact with society at large or may preclude certain behaviour which could potentially benefit individuals. (de Haas, 2008)

Conversely such pioneer migrants who are well established in regions of destination may also restrict or limit future migration by reporting back negative experiential narratives, with the hope of reducing the number of compatriots who attempt to migrate. Pioneer migrants may function as ‘bridgeheads’ who facilitate further migration or as ‘gatekeepers’ who restrict or reduce further potential migration. (de Haas, 2008; Bakewell, de Haas, & Kubal, 2011) Network support structures have the ability to both enable and constrain aggregate flows.

The dichotomy of strong vs. weak network ties, as originally formulated, focuses on the durability of the ties in question as well as the potential benefit one can gain from having those connections. Weak ties relate to contacts which are known to individuals via business, ethnic affiliation, or similar kin group. Strong ties relate to those contacts which are maintained through daily contact, familial relations or other close contact. This conception implies that an individual can *access* a weak network based on distant kin based relations, language, country of origin status, church or association membership, or mutual obligations which stem from a shared community of origin. A strong network connection might be familial in nature or of a friendly nature, having greater intensity as a result of being developed or nurtured over time and thus can be expected to provide an individual with greater support over the long term than a weak link might. (MacDonald, 1964; Putnam, 2007; Morawska, 2007) This is not to say that weak ties are not beneficial and indeed evidence suggests that weak ties are as important, or even more important, for accessing employment opportunities than any other factor. (Easley & Kleinberg, 2010)

Migrant success within a sociological conception, in terms of integration potential or long term earnings potential, is closely tied to the effective utilization of networks and the social capital they confer. Individuals benefit from the inward focused and exclusive character of the group and therefore those who utilize the social capital from their kin network may be more likely, or better able to adapt, and be *successful* migrants in the long term. The utilization of networks not only provides economic stability but also has a social impact which reduce the psychologically stress individuals are put through during the various migratory phases.

5.4.10 NETWORK EFFECTS UPON SLOVAK MIGRANTS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

From the literature we infer that highly educated migrants are less dependent on networks to ensure their integration or access to employment. (Bakewell, de Haas, & Kubal, 2011, p. 17) This is due to the unique combination of skills, experience and knowledge that should, theoretically, reduce or even circumvent barriers which typically limit mobility. The case of migrants in the Czech Republic is unique in that we find significant variation in terms of dependence on networks of kin or compatriots in terms of settlement and employment. Understanding that ambitious highly skilled individuals have human capital and skill sets demanded by employers the level of dependence on acquaintances by some respondents was of some surprise.

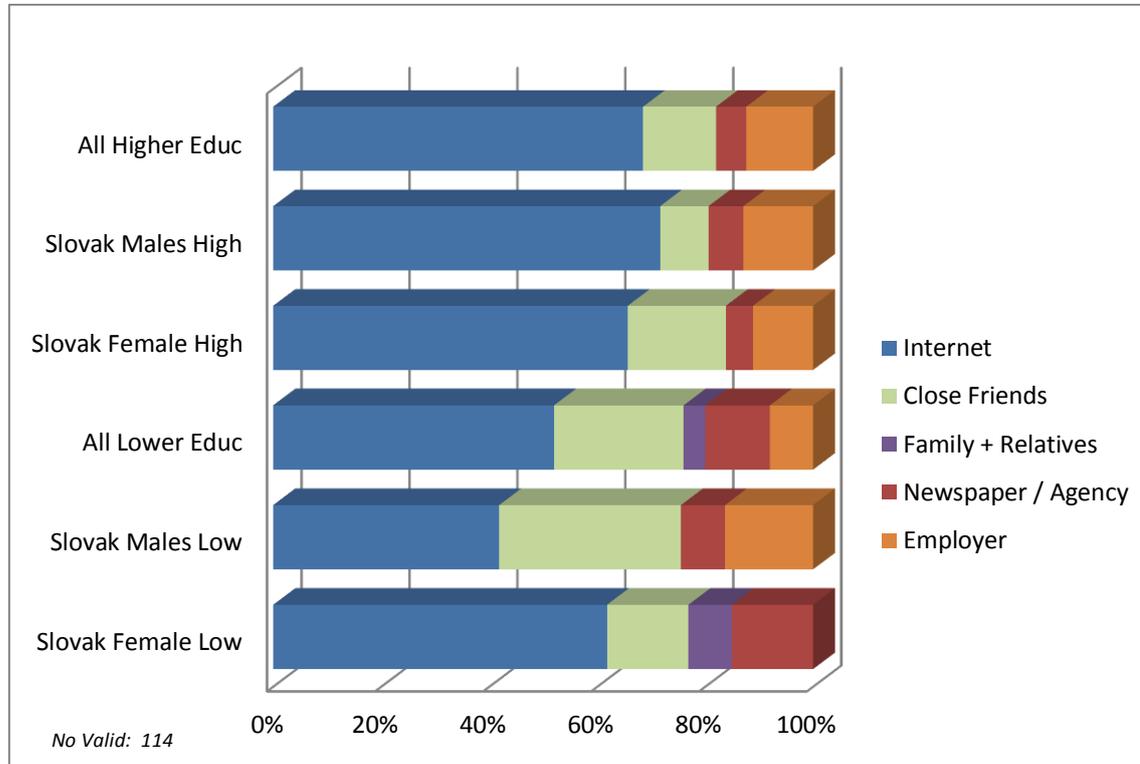
The importance of network effects on income varied greatly across this population. When asked how they found their current employment in the Czech Republic 65 per cent indicated that they found work via the internet, 16 per cent via close friends, 6 per cent from agents and only 11 per cent directly from their employer. The fact that a large portion of respondents were dependent on the internet was not of much surprise and it is in line with the youthful character respondents.

Interestingly there is significant variation between groups in terms of reliance on *connections* for employment. Looking at data which is segregated according to gender and educational level we see that amongst highly educated the majority depend on impersonal internet searches when seeking employment. In Figure 20 we see that the relative importance of what has been called ‘social capital’ varies significantly between groups. (Putnam, 2007) Educated women are more dependent on close friends for finding employment (18%) the educated males (9%). In distinct contrast lower educated respondents indicated a much higher rate of dependence on friends (33% for males, 15% for females). Additionally less educated males were far less likely to find employment online (only 41% in contrast to 62% for females in the same category). In this area it is possible to say that less educated females tend to rely more on internet and print announcements while males in that lower educated category rely on direct employment and contacts when searching for employment.

Relying on those you know can be a boon in terms of employment but may also relegate individuals to lower end jobs (in the case of less educated migrants who rely on close friends) whereas it may be more beneficial to depend on industry specific

acquaintances or employer selection, selection that can provide better jobs within ones area of expertise. The dependence on close friends vs. online is of great interest and requires further analysis utilizing a broader sample population as the small sample size analyzed here limits our ability to determine causality with any certainty.

Figure 20: Relative Importance Of Social Capital On Employment



The dependence on networks may put individuals at risk of being confined to particular ‘niche’ markets such as construction or in particular industries such as manufacturing. Highly educated Slovak respondents in contrast are generally employed in positions which transcend particular industries or sectors or within which transferability of skills is possible. They are primarily employed directly by companies or web portals and exhibit variation in income level.

We find that networks provide much needed social capital to some individuals who seek out employment, yet may also have a limiting effect, as individuals become ‘trapped’ within a particular socio-economic category. Continued reliance on social capital within migrant communities is unlikely to ameliorate this situation. The reliance of Slovaks on either direct employment with firms or via the internet conforms to the youthful nature of the cohort and the reality that they are best able to taking advantage of standard channels of employment made available to the wider Czech populace, something other foreigners are unlikely to be able to gain access to. The general lack of

dependence on a network of contacts for all but a few Slovak respondents is unusual; however. Wide variance in income is seen between genders thus the wage gap seen in this group may only reflect normal market variation and may not be related to the character of the migrant population. Further work focused on the impact of social capital on employability is necessary in order to ascertain the true relevance of network theory in relation to income potential. Although evidence from other regions indicates that language skills are tightly connected with segmentation of labour markets in the case of the Czech Republic, and this sample in particular, it appears that education is a stronger predictor for wage segmentation than language abilities. (Castles & Miller, 2009)

5.5 BIFURCATION ON THE LABOUR MARKET

Common theoretical arguments see migration as being driven primarily by economic rationales. Research indicates that economic factors weigh heavily on migratory decision-making with economic rationalizations combining with structural factors in driving migratory flows. (Massey, D. et al, 1994; Morawska, 2007; Piore, 1979; Sassen, 1991) Migrants find that local conditions and structural factors in regions of destination function to constrain choice in employment; pushing individuals into either the primary or secondary labour market. If this argumentation were correct we would assume that migrants would be more likely to accept employment outside of their intended occupation, due to structural constraints which limit their ability to choose.

We recognize that that bifurcation exists in the Czech labour market and therefore conforms to the segmented labour market theory of Sassen and Piore. (1991 and 1979) Anecdotal evidence indicates widespread of migrants in the secondary labour market, both officially and unofficially. (Horáková, 2000, Association for Integration and Migration / Sdružení pro integraci a migraci, 2012, Valentová, 2012) This project finds that migrants participate almost exclusively in the primary labour market. Gendered patterns of employment and variation in levels of reimbursement are clearly visible across groups, however, the vast majority of individuals are employed within the primary labour market or are self-employed.⁷¹

⁷¹ It is not possible to determine the profession of the self-employed from the survey data, however, self-employed earn higher wages, on average, than salaried employees within the sample.

5.5.1 CHANGE PROFESSION

The following sub chapter discusses an anomalous finding during the course of data analysis. Survey respondents were asked questions related to their willingness to make future migratory decisions and what factors influence such decision making. It was discovered that highly educated Slovaks would be willing to deskill in the case of a move 'west' but not in the case of a move to the Czech Republic. It was believed that individuals would be willing to deskill in the case that migration was not intended to be permanent yet we find that this is not the primary factor influencing employability.⁷² Further analysis reveals a much more complex reality, with educational attainment playing a far greater role in actual deskilling than expected.

The following discussion stems from the discovery that a majority (60%) of Slovak respondents would be willing to 'completely change their profession' in the event that they moved to another state within the EU. With slightly fewer more than half of highly educated respondents being willing to change profession in contrast to 85% of less educated respondents. (which includes current students) This finding is in contrast to our understanding of the current situation of Slovaks in the Czech Republic where the majority of respondents are employed in a profession that is closely related to their education, this is demonstrated by the scatter plot. (Figure 21)⁷³

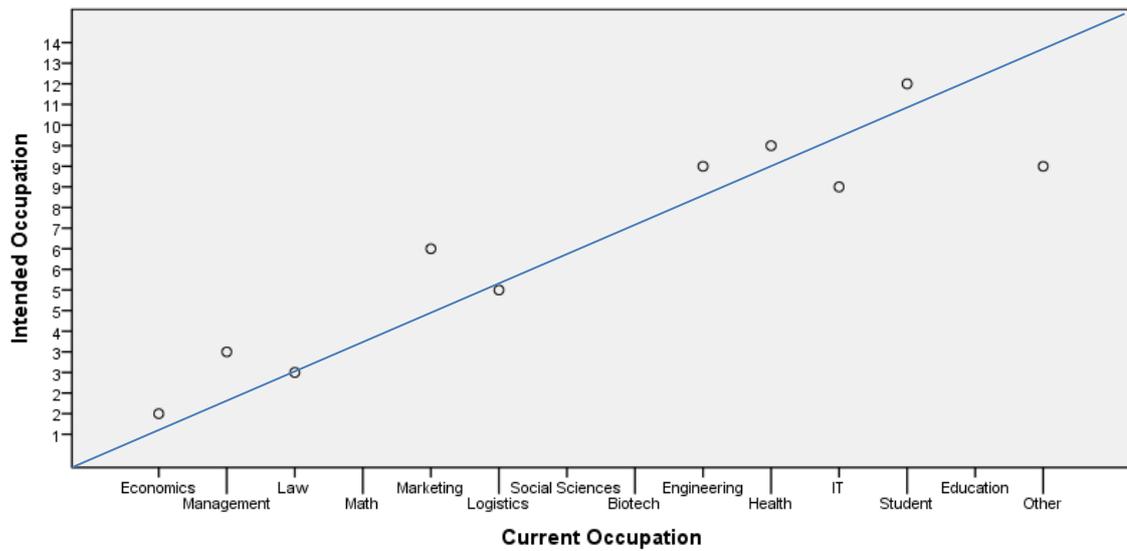
The chart demonstrates the mean similarity and mean difference between the profession individuals studied for and the job they currently hold. While not a perfect fit in all cases the scatter plot of 'Current Occupation' and 'Intended Occupation' indicates that, for the most part, individuals are employed in similar professional areas to that which they studied for. (Figure 21) The chart demonstrates that a tight fit between an individual's current employment and the ideal profession matching educational attainment would sit along the midline between the x and y axis. Clustering along the midline would support the supposition that those who intend to stay are likely to attempt to remain in their chosen profession. Those who do not 'fit' the midline are either employed in non-standard professions or have taken a job outside of their profession of choice.⁷⁴ We find that the bulk of respondents have jobs largely commensurate with their education. Outliers currently employed in marketing are the least likely to have studied for that particular profession.

⁷² Willingness to deskill during 'trips' abroad was a significant finding of the work of Baláz & Williams (2004)

⁷³ Mean Occupation has been plotted in order to remove spurious cases.

⁷⁴ Some professions are, of course very similar, Economics and Management for example, however many professions are not.

Figure 21: Scatter Plot of Difference between Profession Studied and Actual Job



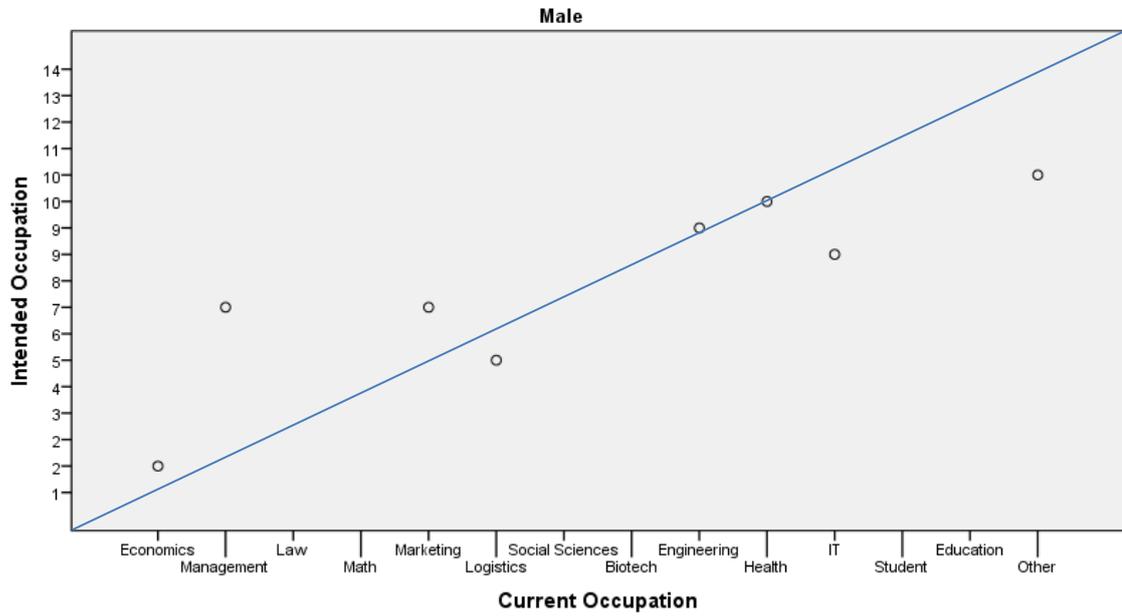
No. Valid: 94

The relative lack of divergence we see among Slovak respondents is perhaps explained by the fact that highly-educated individuals who migrate in search of work to the capital region are not willing or are not required to retrain or to deskill within or across professions due to high structural demand in the local economy. This understanding is supported by the large number of individuals who were employed prior to their move to the Czech Republic. (37%) It is unlikely that Slovaks would be willing to deskill simply in order to live and work in Prague as there would be little benefit in terms of professional development or earning power. This finding is corroborated by the data which indicates that within the Slovak speaking migrant population the majority of individuals (from both genders) are employed in industries which conform to their educational attainment. (Figure 22 and Figure 23) Theories related to human and social capital formation would appear to be relevant to this subgroup which is well integrated on the local market and benefits professionally from greater specialization, skill development as well as the formation and maintenance of business contacts.

The finding that highly educated Slovak nationals tend to be employed in primary sector occupations which conform to their educational qualifications is in sharp contrast to our understanding of individuals' willingness to change profession in the case of a future mobility decision. It appears that individuals are willing to make concessions in order to live in the far-abroad, but not in the near-abroad. It would appear that a desire for change outweighs the costs that such a transition would entail, with individuals balancing the potential gain in life experience or language acquisition

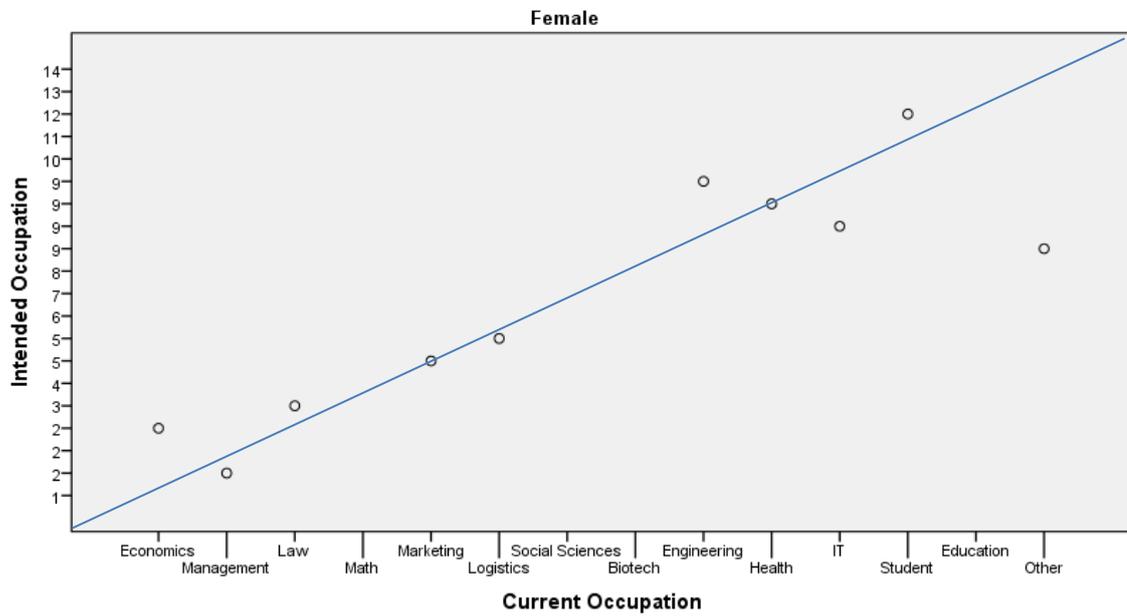
is against the loss of sector specific experience. A contention verified by the work of Baláž & Williams (2004)

Figure 22: Sector Studied vs. Sector Actual – Slovak Speakers- by gender Male



No. Valid: 40

Figure 23: Sector Studied vs. Sector Actual – Slovak Speakers- by gender Female



No. Valid: 54

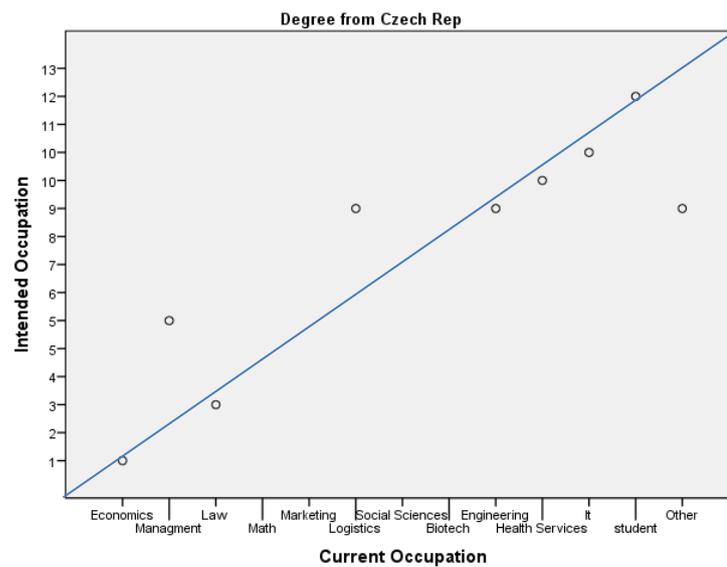
5.5.2 EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE AS A FACTOR

We find that those who obtained a degree from within the Czech Republic are only slightly less likely to work in the occupation for which they studied than those who studied in Slovakia. (See Figure 24 and Figure 25) Something which is counter intuitive if we accept the premise of the segmented labour market, which presupposes that migrants will be pushed into the secondary labour market. This variance with traditional explanations which stress the impact structural factors have in pushing migrants to de-skill is surprising, yet may result from the purposive nature of the sample and the high number of highly educated individuals who are capable of escaping or avoiding traditional pressures which lead migrants to deskill. Additionally, a number of respondents are in fact students who may be more willing to change sector as they have not yet entered the labour force. Respondents from this snowball sample are more likely to be successful migrants, likely to participate in the primary labour market and fit the categorization ‘highly skilled’.

It is conceivable that migrants are more focused in their specific area of expertise due to a combination of individual desire to ‘get ahead’ and demand in the local market; as one observer astutely put it ‘they come here because local specialists moved to Germany’ and are thus filling gaps in the economy abandoned by locals who move in search of better wages in other EU states. Therefore, migrants are filling the void left by locals who have migrated in search of higher wages in the west. A ripple effect has been created, as locals move west others come to replace them.⁷⁵

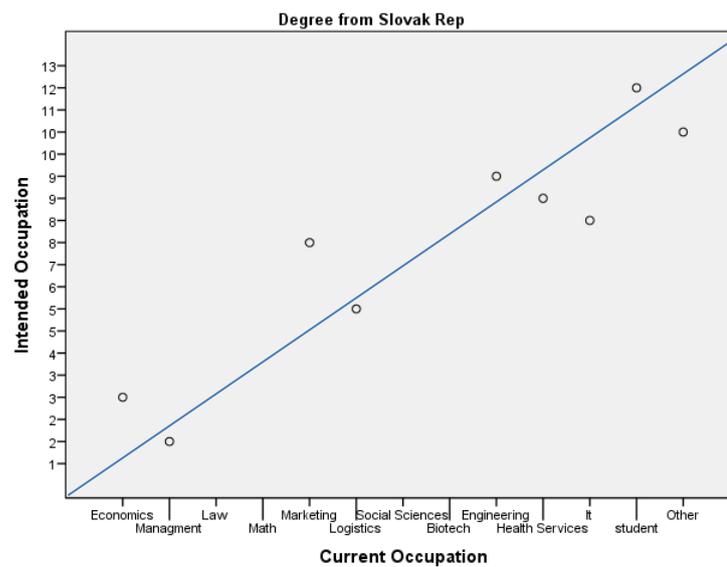
⁷⁵ This has not been demonstrated empirically although authors are now beginning to discuss this reality. (Divinský, 2007 quoting Halas, 2007) Substitution has not been demonstrated in this context. (King, Skeldon, & Vullnetari, 2008)

Figure 24: Sector Studied vs. Sector Actual – Czech Degree



No. Valid 31

Figure 25: Sector Studied vs. Sector Actual – Slovak Degree



No. Valid 79

5.5.3 FINDINGS

We can hypothesize that those migrants who are focused on building a career would be less willing to deviate from their profession of choice; however, those who are not planning to remain (short term migrants) would be more willing to take on jobs outside of their area of expertise. Thus, we find a link between the segmented labour market theory and human capital models. Those who have invested themselves in gathering human capital via education and networking are more likely to have a vested

interest in staying in higher level positions in the primary market. In contrast those with less education or weaker skillsets are pushed to adapt to the local market. Deskilling is a distinct possibility for some migrants, however, we have not seen true deskilling within this sample only underemployment or employment outside of individuals intended profession.

Comparing variation across groups and even within groups we find significant variation in human capital development and intention to change profession. It is possible that the specific human or social capital utilised in daily life is not lost during short term migratory experiences but, on the contrary, may be enhanced. Thus, some individuals may be willing to take the risk of de-skilling in the case that their migratory trajectory had a limited time horizon, i.e. working for 6 months in England. The same individual would not, however, be willing to deskill if they were intending to 'stay' for any given period of time. Therefore, we postulate that individuals who make short term, experiential, migratory moves are willing to deskill as a result of the fact that work experience is not their key objective. Those who make such moves are focused on enhancing their language skills, networking, traveling and the like. (European Commission, 2010) Factors confirmed by work undertaken by Baláž & Williams in their study of Slovak student migration from Bratislava. (2004) Of course this applies predominantly to those who do not 'intend' to stay for the long term. The case of 'settled' migrants or 'grounded' individuals is the opposite, with their intention to stay precluding deskilling whenever possible.

5.5.4 FUTURE TRENDS

Taking into consideration the multifaceted nature of migratory experience we find that each individuals exhibit differing characteristics and potential for onward or repeat migration. Slovak nationals, in general, may have the human capital but are not willing to risk a move or to change profession in the case of making a move to the Czech Republic. For Slovaks this is partly due to fact that they often do not perceive this current migratory experience as migration at all. A more detailed examination of additional micro level factors which impact upon decision-making may further clarify our understanding of individual experience.

5.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has provided a detailed overview of findings generated during the course of a research project carried out in 2012. The results have been analyzed and have provided unique insights into the rationale for individual mobility decision-making, the various experiences highly educated migrants have while employed on the local labour market as well as the influence mobility, education and networks have on earning potential.

Understanding that the migratory experience of individuals is a complex multistage process under constant re-visitation we find that the complexity of migratory flows within the Czech Republic defies generalization. Decision making falls into multiple categories and is reflective of; the social position of the actor, educational attainment, life history and long term intentions. Micro and meso level factors play a significant role in the process itself. For example: intention to settle, employment prospects, the presence or absence of family, strength of networks, connection to the destination as well as the level and ease of integration into the social milieu. Macro level factors appear to be of limited importance in shaping decision making. This project has revealed the complex nature of Slovak migratory streams in the Czech Republic and serves to shed light on the complex decision-making processes which are involved in individual migration trajectories.

The complex flows included in this project can be broken down into several distinct groups; those who came due to reasons of family reunification, those who migrated as students and stayed, (or returned after graduation) lifestyle migrants, those who migrated for personal reasons (may they be politically driven or a result of a need for change) and labour migrants of mixed typologies. Other forms of migration are understood to exist but are not covered within this research project. (tourism, asylum seekers, 'pendular' migrants or transitees)

Within these flows we find that income or potential earning power plays a significant role in the decision-making process but are not the only factors of relevance. Quality of life, potential for new experiences, job opportunities and the presence of friends or family in potential destinations all play a significant role. Given the limited scope of this project we are not able to determine the actual likelihood of remigration or onward migration; follow up research involving a multi stage survey spanning several years would be necessary in this respect.

Structural pull factors which increase the likelihood of migration into the Czech Republic include employment opportunities which result from shortages of local specialists in the labour market which has resulted from relatively rapid economic growth since the early nineties. Push factors which drive individuals to make migratory decisions may include local economic conditions in countries of origin or even a desire for change or variety in life.

Of interest is the finding that individuals express willingness to undertake the risk of working in professions or positions which are not directly related to their original field of study. As an example Slovak nationals are unwilling to work outside of their target profession while in the Czech Republic (close to home) but claim to be willing to deskill or work in jobs unrelated to their field of study while abroad. We understand this to relate to general inclinations towards settlement and as part of long term planning in relation to the utilization of individual human capital.

It is apparent that some individuals are willing to take risks while 'abroad' as the primary motivation of short term employment abroad is language skill development, travel or life experience. In contrast decisions about work 'at home' in the Czech Republic are informed by longer term interests such as career planning, the stabilization of living conditions or the establishment of a family, in short what is termed human capital formation.

In relation to the original objectives of the work this study have provided a vast data set from which the authors have extracted information related specifically to decision making processes and remigration potential. The role of national and EU policy in influencing migratory trends has been determined to be minimal. Economic factors and personal choice appear to provide greater explanatory power at the aggregate level than restrictive governmental policy. More specifically, among this particular typology of migrant the rationale for migration or remigration is less often economic in nature than would be predicted based on commonly applied theoretical approaches. Amongst the group included herein: personal choice, lifestyle, previous migration related experience and family reunification play a more significant role than had been anticipated after reading migration related literature. There is, however, significant variation across as well as within this group, this variation limits the applicability of particular theoretical models as there is a lack of continuity amongst respondents.

The results of a targeted survey indicate that mobility is influenced by a plethora

of factors ranging from educational levels, past mobility experience, perceived earning potential, lack of opportunity in region of origin and network effects amongst (partially) settled migrants. The importance of economic factors is downplayed by individual respondents; which is a reflection of the highly educated character of the particular migrant population studied. The capability of individuals to determine their destiny is striking, with individuals indicating a significant level of agency in determining where they will live, in what occupation they will be employed and for how long they will remain mobile. The results of the survey are perhaps non-representative of the total migrant population in the region studied; however, results reflect the characteristics of successful migrants. Future work is needed in order to fill gaps in our knowledge related to particular (ethnic) flows.

CHAPTER 6

6 MET-THEORETICAL APPROACH APPLIED

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter presents an overview of the variation between anticipated results and the results found amongst a targeted survey of Slovak migrants who entered the Czech labour market post-accession. The findings are compared and contrasted with known data related to Slovak emigration trends in order to draw attention to the unique nature of these recent flows. This chapter then discusses the applicability of various theoretical models to the particular flows described in this work. The complexity of flows, being as they are composed of a mix of skilled and unskilled migrants leads to the conclusion that it is necessary to incorporate a mixed understanding in order to adequately predict and understand movement amongst this particular group of migrants, those who are young, educated and in search of opportunities.

6.1 FINDINGS IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

The unique group of post-accession migrants discussed in the previous case study indicate that traditional understandings of migratory behaviour are variably applicable in the case of post-accession movement within the European Union.

In order to set the stage for a discussion of the variable application of traditional theoretical insight upon this particular group the following section presents background information and commonly understood migratory trends related to this particular group. Recent understanding of Slovak migration trends is presented in a contrasting fashion to the findings of this particular work. This will highlight the variation seen amongst the particular group of respondents to this author's survey and general trends as presented in a recent overview of Slovak labour migration trends. (Divinský, 2007)

Divinský has indicated that "there is a lack of high-quality, complex and topical data on emigrants from Slovakia" (Divinský, 2007) the limited data which is available allows us to compare and contrast this author's survey in order to ascertain any significant deviations. As an example it was believed and it is still understood that the

majority of individuals who express an intention to migrate claim to wish to migrate only temporarily, a study from 1998 indicated that only 28% of Slovaks indicated a wish to migrate for a few years, and only ten per cent were intent on permanent migration. (Divinský, 2007; IOMa, 2004) In addition Divinský indicates that the average Slovak migrant profile is as follows “a man more often than a woman, a young person mostly aged 20-29 and a person well educated” (Divinský, 2007) This author also indicates that major push factors leading to potential migration for Slovaks include low living standards at home, high unemployment, high wage differential between home and destination regions and also non-economic factors.

In terms of educational level several historical reports indicate that lower skilled male migrants prevail in terms of overall outflows. These authors (reported by Divinský 2007) indicate that two thirds of Slovak labour migrants are men and that the majority (74%) have a secondary level education, (22% university level) something which conflicts with our own findings. In addition the author indicates that (in general) individuals rely on various resources when searching for a job abroad including: paid job agencies, temporary agencies, the EURES system, individual searches, the Internet and social networks. (Divinský, 2007) In general there has been a rapid rise in the number of Slovaks employed abroad with numbers presented by Divinský indicating that there has been a threefold increase in the number of labour migrants since 2000. The labour forces survey from 2006 also indicates that Slovak workers are predominantly employed in low skilled occupations abroad and the only roughly ten per cent of migrants are university graduates. (Divinský, 2007)

To review, according to Divinský the majority of Slovak emigrants are *young males, under 35 years of age, with secondary education*. There is little additional information available related to these migrants, and as noted previously the majority intend to *return home after working abroad for some time*. As indicated above we find that this is not the case within our sample of Slovaks residing in Prague and surroundings.

This work provides additional information related to Slovak immigrants who have settled in the Prague capital region, thus providing valuable insight into the migratory trends in the region. Within this sample of Slovak nationals employed in the Czech Republic we see that migrants are as likely to be male as to be female and are highly likely to have completed a university level education or to be enrolled in a study program. The vast majority of respondents are in the age category between 26 and 30

years of age. In addition we find that major sending regions include the whole country. [which conforms to the findings of Divinský (2007)]

We see that a major portion of respondents migrated due to economic based reasons (32% of respondents) or in order to seek out more satisfying employment opportunities and ‘change’. (25%) It is likely that a number of those respondents who indicated that they move in order to seek out ‘change’ are in fact economic migrants. (much in line with the findings of Divinský) Indeed male respondents are far more likely to move for work related purposes. Whereas females are more likely to indicate that they moved in order to study. Both genders are equally likely to have moved in order to seek out change. Family reunification was evidenced although only a very few female respondents indicated they moved in order to reunite with their family. Marriage was not explicitly indicated as a rationale for making a move. More often individuals are student migrants who are studying, and often working at the same time. Divinský (2007) indicates that major driving forces for emigration include: family reunion, marriage, and labor opportunities (often hidden under ‘other’ reasons for moving).

In distinct contrast to findings presented by other authors we find that a majority of migrants residing in the Czech Republic intend to remain indefinitely. 88% of respondents indicate that they plan to stay in the country for ‘a long time’ with 54% planning to stay indefinitely. Only a small percentage indicates that they plan to stay for a short time.

The draw of the big city was a factor which underpinned the subtext of much rationalization although push factors related to low wages, lack of opportunity for career advancement and higher risk of poverty in home regions also led individuals to make a migratory decision. This is interesting as 37% of respondents were employed prior to their move; indicating that higher wages or better career opportunities abroad may drive mobility (at least in the case of skilled migrants). Additionally half of all respondents were students prior to moving to the Czech capital. This indicates that a certain amount of brain drain or loss of human capital is occurring amongst this particular group. Further study is necessary in order to confirm if this is the case or if the limited sample size has skewed results.

With 75 per cent of respondents have a higher level degree our findings are out of step with those presented by Divinský who indicates that only 10 per cent of Slovak migrants are highly skilled. This result is partly reflective of our methodology and perhaps also the fact that a large portion of recent graduates and students have moved to

the Czech capital city in search of opportunities.

In relation to how respondents found employment the findings are much in line with information provided by Divinský, with the internet playing a significant facilitating role in bringing individuals and employers together. The limited role of networks for highly skilled in contrast to lower skilled migrants is of interest and should be taken into consideration in the future.

A unique finding of the work is that amongst highly educated respondents more than half would be willing to completely change their profession in the event that they were to move to another country while 85% of lower educated respondents would change professions. This result is interesting and requires further exploration as it may have implications for deskilling in the case of some migrants, or in contrast couple theoretically increase individual human capital, depending on the type of occupation taken up abroad.

In contrast to the findings of other authors this work finds that the average Slovak migrant who moved to the Czech market after accession to the EU to be *equally likely to be a young female as to be young male, roughly 26-30 years of age, and with a tertiary education*. This average migrant is likely to be employed in a large firm with above average wages and *intends to settle permanently*. If male the average migrant is likely to have above average income if female average. If we distinguish between the migrants with different educational levels we find that the only significant difference between the two groups is the average wage, which is significantly lower for those with only a secondary education.

6.2 THEORY APPLIED

The applicability of various theoretical perspectives is highly dependent on the type of migration studied. In the case of post-accession migrants in the Czech Republic we find that various theoretical perspectives applied depend on which subgroup is being analysed. Table 7 presents several commonly utilized theoretical approaches which are relevant to the migratory flows found amongst post-accession migrants.

The impact of European accession on migratory flows would appear to have had some impact on the nature and size of migratory flows. (see Chapter 2) In relation to the particular movement of Slovak nationals there has been a relatively circumscribed increase in migration in line with economic growth in the region. (Figure 6) the

'opening of borders' which occurred with the entry of the Czech Republic to the European Union has not impacted regional flows as Slovak nationals were able to take advantage of bilateral agreements which existed historically between the nations and thus did not see significant difference in terms of limitations on mobility often imposed on other migrants of differing nationalities. Thus governmental policy which is traditionally seen to restrict flows, has not applied in the case of Slovak mobility to the Czech Republic. This historical policy resulted, or was a result of, a traditional trend to select the Czech Republic as a destination for Slovak migrants. Since accession to the EU other countries have become more attractive; such as the United Kingdom. (Bahna, 2013) Thus restrictive policy in the case of one country, the United Kingdom, diverted flows to another region with less restrictive policies, such as was the case with the Czech Republic.

When looking at the particular case of post-accession Slovak migration we see a clear application of theories which relate to economic or human capital explanations for migration. In addition we are able to apply several other theoretical perspectives to the flows. This is due to the heterogeneity of flows seen in this sample.

When reflecting on the applicability of various theories it is relevant to note that no one theory is capable of describing or adequately explaining all flows. While a portion of respondents, as an example, indicate that they move for economic purposes, a similar number indicate that they moved in order to pursue their studies, and again a similar number indicated a desire for change in lifestyle. Thus the most applicable theoretical model which can be applied to post-accession flows in this case is a neoclassical model which stresses the role of individuals and economic forces. This theory, however, fails to adequately incorporate the fact that personal choice drives individuals to select the Czech Republic as a destination state, and not another European state which may have absolute higher wages in relation to Slovakia as a sending region. Thus we must incorporate a more nuanced understanding of micro level factors and a sociological understanding of the role individual agency plays in determining destination selection, additionally it is imperative that we recognize the historical habit of migration within this particular region, as it was for the past two generations one state.

Looking now at how theories from various levels of analysis can be applied to post-accession flows in the case of Slovak migrants in the Czech Republic we find surprising diversity amongst post accession migrants. It is especially interesting that we

find that even amongst highly educated migrants no single theory adequately explains flows. Skilled migrant do not conform to traditional explanations due to their diversity and require that multiple theoretical models be utilized to generate any sort of prediction related to future potential flows. It would appear that post-accession flows are unique and do not conform to pre-accession flows which have traditionally been understood to be composed of primarily secondary educated male migrants.

Table 7: Theories applied to Post-accession Slovak Migration

<u>Theory</u>	<u>Level of analysis</u>	<u>Connection between theory and Experience</u>
Rational Choice Models	Micro	No- Quarter of respondents were employed pre-migration Yes- Higher risk of poverty in sending region.
Network Impact	Micro/ meso	No- Individuals are not dependent on networks, however, Yes- individuals utilize networks, especially the less educated. Individuals have information pre-migration related to labour market however, this information may come from a variety of sources, Media, colleague, contacts etc.
Cumulative causation	Micro/Meso	Yes- Historical connections, language a cultural history serve to perpetuate flows. Culture of 'going to Prague' may exist.
Human Capital	Micro	Yes- Correlation between income and education, connection between income and plan to move. Desire for enhanced opportunities among young migrants. Highly educated more prominent in sample.
Neoclassical Economics	Micro	Yes- High risk or poverty and significant variation in wages act as push factors. Large number of young individuals move
Push/ Pull Models	Micro/Meso/Macro	Yes / No - economic push/pull factors But weaker
New Economics Of Labour Migration	Meso	No evidence of familial migrant decision making behaviour, limited remittance behaviour. Relative deprivation not demonstrated
Transnationalism	Meso	No- No significant evidence of cross border links, network effect limited, historical familial relations may transcend the border. Europeanization forces may be modifying individual perceptions of border.
Migration Systems	Macro	Weak- Historical ties. Individuals perceive it as 'going to Prague' not as migration (when compared to other destination countries).
Dual Labour Market Theory / Segmented Labor Market Theory	Macro	Yes- Segmentation occurs. Primarily in wage structure. Highly skilled in demand. Low skilled in demand
Liberal State Thesis	Macro	Yes- Bilateral agreements existed pre-accession and were utilized by Slovak migrants, post-accession EU regulations open up other markets to Slovak Migration.
The classification and definition of micro-meso-macro is perhaps an oversimplification although it does allow us to easily compartmentalize for the purpose of theorizing and discussion.		

6.2.1 MICRO LEVEL EXPLANATIONS

At the micro level it is possible to utilise several theoretical approaches including: rational choice models, network theory, theories of cumulative causation, human capital explanations as well as models based on neoclassical economics. Rational choice models explain why some Slovak nationals would seek out opportunities in the near abroad given high demand for workers in the Czech Republic and the higher likelihood of falling into poverty in Slovakia However, this does not clearly explain why individuals who were employed pre-migration would leave their existing jobs for the uncertainty of a different job in a different city. However, an

agential approach may clarify this as individuals exhibit significant levels of agency in determining their migration experience, choosing Prague as a destination may be practical as it is close to home, but far enough, in the case of lifestyle migrants or youth who seek escape. It may also be the case that individuals seek out opportunities for personal growth, more dynamic work environment or upwards mobility, options which respondents indicated were not available 'at home'. In addition the high prevalence of willingness to abandon ones career path and undertake employment outside of one's field in the event of future move onwards indicates that either individuals are willing to deskill (or change occupation) in situations where they are abroad, and perhaps are establishing contacts, gaining language skills, or are learning new skills in new occupations. The same cannot be said for those currently in Prague who have a vested interest in building specific human capital related to their current occupation. This is a unique finding of this work and indicates that further examination of this dynamic, and indeed the gap in willingness to deskill or change occupation among migrants requires further study.

Network based explanations which describe how connections between individuals aid in migration decision making and may shape the nature of flows by guiding individuals to locations where they have acquaintances who can aid in securing employment or to help them settle in are only moderately applicable. The long history of migration within Czechoslovakia, the fact that families in both countries are prone to have family members living in the other country and the ease of access to information via internet or new media limits our ability to determine causality. From what has been seen from the sample of post-accession migrants network affects are of limited importance for highly educated migrants as they tend to rely on the internet when seeking employment and generally do not depend on contacts in order to settle in upon arrival in the capital. Lower educated males on the other hand are more likely to depend on their contacts, at least in relation to finding employment. This implies that network affects are variable and highly dependent on educational attainment. In this respect the flow of educated migrants is unique. It is possible that this variation is connected to the fact that Slovak speaking individuals are able to easily integrate into the Czech labour market, given similarity in language, education and common cultural background.

Much in line with network theories it would appear that a model of cumulative causation would explain particular destination selection of Slovak migrants who choose to move to Prague. Historical connections and a sense that making a move to the Czech

capital is not migration in its traditional sense may explain why so many individuals choose to move to Prague post-accession and not to go further afield. Similarities in language should not be discounted, yet neither should the idea of a culture of migration existing be passed over. This is not to say that a culture of migration exists, whereas individuals consider a move to be a rite or ‘act of passage’ as has been used to describe some groups in the Maghreb (de Haas, 2007) however, it does appear that individuals do not always consider a move to Prague to be migration. Given the historical fact that many individuals know Prague as their capital they do not perceive such as move to be migration as they would consider a move further afield; knowing that they can easily return home for holidays and the like. In this sense the cultural similarities and the knowledge that a fair number of brethren reside in the Czech Republic may alter the context within which decision making occurs, thus increasing the propensity for some to migrate. Additionally, perceptions that more opportunities exist in the ‘big’ city may act on individuals, leading to migration based decisions.

In relation to human capital explanations we find a very strong link between income and educational attainment. The large number of educated migrants and the large number of students within the study are indicative that there is a close connection between employment and migration. The significant relationship between income and intention to move is indicative that migrants value opportunities which allow for the utilization of their capabilities, or human capital. The fact that individuals expressed the desire to have better opportunities and professional growth also aligns with human capital based explanations. Human capital models combined with neoclassical economic explanations may serve to better explain post-accession Slovak migration than any other theory or combination of theories. It is clear from the data that individuals seek out higher wages, be they students who moved in order to find work, or those who were previously employed and sought out a better opportunity in the Czech capital. The higher risk of poverty and higher unemployment rate combine with perceived limitations on growth potential at home to drive a large number of respondents to migrate.

6.2.2 MESO LEVEL EXPLANATIONS

Approaching the problematic from a different viewpoint we see that meso level approaches have some applicability in describing flows. Push/pull models which are

similar to neoclassical explanations but with a regional scope of explanation may be applicable as they explain some economic based rationales for migration behaviour. Transnational approaches which seek to explain the interconnected nature of migrants at home and abroad have not been demonstrated in this sample, with the caveat that the survey did not seek to determine if political connections exist across borders. Surprisingly, the new economics of labour migration does not appear to have significant explanatory power in the case of post-accession Slovak migrants, which may be result of the youthful nature of the sample.

Push/pull models, much in line with neoclassical models are clearly applicable in the case of migrants originating in Slovakia. A combination of economic factors at home and abroad clearly drive migration, limited opportunities (perceived or actual) feed migration desires amongst youth, while the opportunity to study in Czech Universities appears to act as a draw.⁷⁶ A combination of higher average wage seen in the Czech Republic and the higher rate of poverty seen in the case of the Slovak Republic may additionally lead to migration. The fact that educated migrants make more than even the Czech average wage indicates that Slovak migrants are highly successful in terms of improving their living conditions and integrating into the local labour market.

Although alluring in their conception transnational approaches do not appear to apply in this particular case. No significant evidence of cross border linkage were found, network effects are of nominal importance although historical familial relations may exist we have seen no clear connection in this respect, via business or otherwise. This may reflect how Europeanization is affecting trans-border spaces within the Union although this is undocumented and only speculative at this point.

The new economics of labour migration does not appear to provide significant explanatory power in regard to this particular group. The lack of evidence of familial based pressures to migrate and the low incidence of remittance behavior may be connected to the youthful character of migrants, or may be indicative of a new trend. Younger, more dynamic, better educated migrants who remit less than previous generations of migrants. Additionally, relative deprivation was not demonstrated as a factor leading to migration decision making, although it should not be precluded from future research.

⁷⁶ Study programs taught in the Czech Language are free of charge for those who pass entrance exams. Czech Institutions have an excellent reputation in the region.

6.2.3 MACRO LEVEL EXPLANATIONS

Theories which focus on macro level variables or which approach the problem from the top down provide additional explanatory power. Although there is no clear migration system in the region, historical factors do provide a framework for those who wish to make a move. When discussing the variation seen between highly educated and migrants with a secondary level education we see that there is a both a clear segmentation in the labour market in terms of opportunities available to the highly skilled, but also a clear duality in the demand for both highly skilled and lesser skilled employees. In addition we find significant stratification within and among highly educated migrants, segmentation which is according to educational level. It is clear that there is demand at both levels within the labour market.

In term of migration systems theory it is difficult to clearly make a claim for or against at this time. Historical ties exist although we find no clear proof that there is a wider system in place which supports migratory flows between the two countries. In relation to a higher level political perspective such as the liberal state thesis it is clear that historical bilateral agreements have supported and eased the flow of migrants between the two countries. The lack of a restrictive policy since the nineties has essentially permitted the free flow of labour between the two countries. Post-accession migrants have only benefited from greater choice and flexibility in terms of destination selection.

6.2.4 APPLICABILITY OF THE APPROACH

Utilization of a variety of approaches to explain post-accession migration is imperative if we are to fully account for the diversity seen amongst this group. While lower educated migrants generally conform to predictable models and their migration can be explained according to neoclassical explanations supplemented by network theory the case of highly educated migrants is more diffuse.

Undertaking a meta-approach it is possible to incorporate various theories in an attempt to explain the diversity seen amongst the highly educated migrants. Individual agency plays a clear role in guiding destination selection, choosing to move to Prague is clearly connected to the ease of traveling home, the ease of integration into the labour market and a perception that job opportunities are readily available in the city.

Rationally speaking an individual with higher education could make more money if they were to travel further afield, to England or Germany for example, as many post-accession migrants do. (Bahna, 2013) It is entirely conceivable that there has been a shift post-accession where highly educated individuals choose to move to a regional urban center where returns on their human capital is high, while concurrently lesser educated or unskilled workers move further abroad.⁷⁷ Although the majority of respondents indicate that they study or know at least one other language it is possible that individuals select their destination not only in terms of absolute income potential but also in line with historical factors or knowledge. For example a large number of students migrated immediately post-graduation whereas another large number studied or are studying in the country. It is foreseeable that once they have become established in the market the likelihood of settlement will increase due to sector specific human capital and business contacts they develop. Given the high average salaries seen amongst this group and high propensity for settlement it is possible that a large number will choose to purchase a home (utilizing a mortgage) in lieu of renting, thereby cementing their status in the country as long term settlers.

The relative stability of the capital also serves to hold individuals who fear a 'downgrade' in pay or living standard if they return home or move onwards. Risk mitigation strategies appear to play a role in the case of the highly educated who would not, generally, return home even in the face of long term unemployment. They perceive greater opportunity to exist in their current location and would move only in the case that the financial incentive was beneficial to them, or their partner were to move. These unique characteristics seen among highly educated post-accession migrants demonstrate that a simple theoretical model is not capable of providing compelling explanatory power.

Revisiting the figure seen in chapter three (Figure 13) which demonstrated the ability of a meta-approach to encompass a variety of theoretical perspectives we see that the dynamic nature of post-accession migration is not confined and cannot adequately be explained utilizing only one particular theory. The unique nature of this particular group requires a more nuanced understanding which includes: human capital explanations, an understanding of economic factors at play as described by neoclassical explanations as well as an understanding of the historical factors which have shaped

⁷⁷ An occurrence described by Stark and Taylor in the case of Mexican migration as discussed by King, Skeldon, & Vullnetari. (2008)

historical flows, providing individuals with a contextual understanding of what ‘going to Prague’ entails. Additionally the role of individual agency must be taken into account, either as part of human capital, cumulative causation or wider systems based explanations given that individuals (particularly the highly educated) have great opportunity to shape or modify their migration trajectories. The ability to choose destinations, to seek out better employment and to decide ones future is something is a liberty that a great number of migrants do not enjoy. Within this particular migrant stream recognition of the role agency plays is of significant value.

A meta-approach which incorporates a wider gamut of explanatory factors provides better explanatory power for particular sub-streams of migrants. In terms of future potential for migration or when making a prediction it is possible to say that when speaking of *highly educated migrants* the: propensity for settlement is higher, return potential is lower and their integration into society is more or less assured. Continued economic growth in the Czech Republic and limited opportunities for advancement at home indicate that there will be a continuous outflow of educated migrants seeking and students from the Slovak Republic to the Czech Republic. Return migration will be minimal unless adequate opportunities for career advancement or salary improvement are provided in sending regions. In terms of *lower educated migration* from the Slovak Republic migratory flows are likely to: continue as demand for lower skilled workers in the Czech Republic and abroad combine with a lack of employment opportunities at home to drive (circular) outmigration to regions of high demand where higher income can be expected. This particular group will be more likely to return to region of origin in the longer term.

CONCLUSIONS

Migration has occurred since the dawn of civilization and yet academically speaking the field of migration studies remains in its infancy in comparison to other fields. It is this author's hope that via the implementation and application of perspectives derived from diverse disciplines, specialists will be able to move forward and gain a better grasp of the intricacies of human mobility. This work has taken a tentative step in this direction, utilizing a mixed methodology applied to various levels of analysis in conjunction with a meta-theoretical approach drawing on work that originates from several academic disciplines. A case study that focuses on regional migration streams has been utilized as a test case for the application of such a mixed approach.

This work provides a unique case study in the field as the inclusion of discussion related to highly educated Slovak migrants fills a void in the literature. While this work is limited by its overt focus on Slovak migrants residing in the capitol region of the Czech Republic the findings do have broader applicability; findings indicate that economic factors are not necessarily a driving force leading to mobility and that lifestyle or familial based decision are of importance when it comes to migrant decision making. The theoretical approach utilized is, arguably, more adept at providing robust explanatory power in the case of mixed streams as seen in the case of the Czech Republic as it allows for the application of a more nuanced understanding of migrant behaviour than unitary approaches are capable of providing.

This work provides only a limited snapshot of a particular type of mobility in the Czech Republic and does not exist in a vacuum. A variety of large-scale projects are underway that look at various regional migration streams and support the application of mixed methodological approaches, broadly based theoretical construction, as well as the application of meta-theoretical approaches and enhanced statistical testing of hypothesis.⁷⁸ Given the limitations of this work it is not possible to make grand claims about applicability or outcomes. Incrementally speaking, however, this work provides support and credence to the utilization of a meta-theoretical approach in migration studies. The results of the survey and this thesis are supported by, and much in line with, recent work produced by the European Commission and other regional specialists.

⁷⁸ The THEMIS conference held at Oxford in 2013 is a case in point. The author presented preliminary results of this work during the conference and received critical feedback from several top migration theorists. See also SOPEMI reports prepared for the EU and OECD.

(European Commission, 2010) Indeed, the utilization of mixed methodology and theoretical approaches drawn from a variety of fields fulfills the call by migration researchers such as Faist (2000) or Hollifield (2000) for cross-disciplinary work which incorporates a multi-level or multidimensional approach to the study of migration.

There exist several typologies among migrants; ranging from lifestyle migrants, to economic migrants seeking employment, to student migrants who remain after their studies, to various cases of family reunification. Such variation naturally led the author to seek out and apply several diverse theoretical explanations. The utilization of a meta-theoretical approach allows for and provides a framework that guides the utilization of such diverse approaches when discussing the various groups included in the study. Onward or re-migration is a distinct possibility for a large portion of respondents. This partly reflects the young age and flexibility of the cohort studied and partly reflects the large number of lifestyle migrants included within this highly educated sub-population.

The application and incorporation of various levels of analysis ranging from micro, to meso to the macro level creates challenges as it leads to ever greater complexity of explanations, something which is hard to grapple with at times. At each level of analysis we see that there are a compendium of factors limiting, pushing, pulling and influencing mobility.

The application of a holistic understanding of migration related decision making is unique as the majority of authors tend to remain within the confines of their particular discipline, rarely venturing to include cross-disciplinary explanations. This reluctance on the part of most authors to branch out into other fields or to include additional levels of analysis is due to the inherent complexity and ‘messy’ reality that is associated with such methodological and theoretical dynamism. A meta-theoretical approach incorporating a political perspective, a sociological foundation as well as economic rationalizations is unique to the field. The unique approach of the author utilizes a robust framework which incorporates an understanding of the political and economic environment within which migrants must operate while also taking into account the influence policy has upon mobility. A sociological perspective is utilized in seeking to determine individual agency and the role of various stakeholders in individual migrants itineraries, including, but not limited to: other migrants, families or employers. Although such a complex understanding of migration is challenging, this work and the conceptualization of a meta-theory is of great benefit for the field and future work will undoubtedly benefit from the application of such an approach.

The work adequately demonstrates the complexity of the problematic and serves to remind that policy outcomes will not necessarily conform to the expectations of policy makers. Individuals demonstrate great flexibility and adaptability but also a certain amount of subversive behaviour, which is liable to undermine any governmental attempt to curtail mobility regionally. This work has demonstrated the continued need for cross-disciplinary work that transcends traditional disciplinary boundaries while incorporating a variety of alternative perspectives.

There are currently a select number of new works being produced by sociologists who clearly utilize various formulations of a meta-theoretical approach, whether they are based explicitly on structuration theory or more generally apply a mixed methodology. Cross-disciplinary work can additionally benefit from the application of a meta-theoretical approach such as that applied in this work, as future work will be forced to take into consideration and incorporate mixed migratory flows. In the case of intra-European mobility, flows include a multitude of different individuals coming from diverse backgrounds. Such mixed flows present a challenge for traditional approaches and future theoretical construction will be pushed in the direction of broader applicability.

Work which seeks to explain migration in the CEE region or the EU in general will benefit from the application of broadly inclusive theoretical constructions, which understand that mobility is driven by multiple forces, economic, social, political and personal. Such an understanding is not usually possible through the utilization of particularistic discursively constrained theoretical constructs. New theoretical models based on cross-disciplinary sharing of knowledge will be necessary, if not imperative in the future.

Further study is necessary in order to verify, or at a minimum, contrast the findings of this preliminary work which seeks to understand the rationale for migratory decision-making and remigration trends among post-accession migrants. Connecting unique flows which link regions of origin and destination and further analyses of particular nuances is necessary in order to adequately grasp inter-regional mobility. The application of a similar approach to other migrant groups in the region would be of great benefit and would allow for further cross regional comparison and further refinement of our understanding.

Utilizing online media, this unique research project has benefited from significant participation rates with the result including responses from an extended

snowball sample of 150 individuals sourced from Slovakia who provided details related to their individual migration experiences. The utilization of online media provided rapid response collection while permitting respondents to respond in the relaxed, time insensitive setting of their home or office. Discretion was provided as respondents were not tracked nor were IP addresses logged. Identification of respondents is only possible if they chose to provide contact details, something a large portion of respondents chose to do when asked if they would be willing to participate in future research. The large number of individuals who provided contact information will allow future research which will be able to analyse remigration trends amongst this unique cohort.

The utilization of a snowball sample has led to overrepresentation of particular groups in the survey with a majority of respondents fall into the category of highly educated (ISCED level 4 and above). This project has provided a unique opportunity to grasp a better understanding of migration rationale, experience and potential from a migrant population which is generally understudied in the field of migration studies. This project provides a baseline from which further research can benefit.

The results of the survey have been collated and prepared for presentation in the form of conference papers that were presented at international conferences in 2013 held in Warsaw, Poland and Oxford, England. Publication of preliminary results is anticipated. The critique and commentary provided by reviewers and conference attendees were informative and their recommendations have been incorporated into this work.

Future work in this area requires a focus on the multidimensional nature of migration and as more comparable data comes available it will be possible to move away from descriptive research and analysis towards more rigorously statistical based quantitative work. This work has attempted to undertake such a statistically based analysis but is limited by the small size of the response base. The dynamic nature or character of flows requires researchers to adapt and incorporate cross-disciplinary approaches to the study of human mobility. This work has incorporated several distinct theoretical approaches as necessary to better grasp the intricacies of mobility decision-making and the impact of flows on migrants in the Czech Republic. Human capital explanations conform to expectations among the highly educated respondents while network theories provide explanatory power in the case of particular groups.

This work has sought to gain a better understanding of migratory flows with a particular focus on the Czech Republic. The work sought to *understand the various*

processes involved in migratory decision-making processes. The work has demonstrated that among post-accession migrants (particularly highly educated migrants) no singular theoretical perspective provides adequate explanatory power. A meta-theoretical approach was applied in order to allow the utilization of several disparate theoretical approaches from various disciplines in the context of one regional migration system. As an additional point this work also sought to clarify the importance and degree to which governmental policy impacts on migratory flows in the case of mobility. Evidence presented early on in this work points to a weak connection between governmental policy and flows, with policy having the greatest impact among migrants coming from outside of the region.

Established theories of migration offer weak explanatory power in relation to the mixed migrant flows in the Czech Republic as clear generalization is difficult if not impossible considering the complexity of flows. The application of several theoretical approaches provides greater insight with particularistic theoretical insights being applied to key cases as appropriate. A deeper understanding of the varied flows requires in-depth knowledge of the local market, something that should be taken into consideration during future research. Further study may benefit from an enhanced understanding of the complexity of these flows as well as an expansion in scope to include other migrant groups.

This work has demonstrated the adaptability of a meta-theoretical approach and has indicated the effectiveness and applicability of such an approach to mixed regional flows. Through the application of a meta-theoretical approach, this work has analysed key factors which lead to migratory decision-making and which may influence later remigration trends. Findings indicate that a variety of approaches must be incorporated into any attempt to make sense of regional migrations, as the inherent variety seen amongst individuals must be matched by a variety of disparate theoretical models. Some migrations are economic in nature, others are lifestyle related, others still are the result of family reunification; partly political and partly economic based. Mobility related decision making spans a continuum encompassing notions such as ‘forced’ and ‘voluntary’, or economic and political rationalizations. No one theoretical construct is capable of explaining all migrations in the region.

This work serves to demonstrate that a meta-theoretical approach, which incorporates multiple migratory streams in one region of destination, is capable of providing explanatory power for the rationale behind various migration related

decisions, while concurrently transcending traditional constraints which limit cross case applicability. Future research utilizing a similar approach will entrench the utilization of a meta-theoretical approach in the field.

SUMMARY

This work focuses on European migratory flows utilizing a case study of the Czech Republic. The work seeks to understand migration and remigration potential while also dealing with the issue of the role states have in modifying, limiting or controlling flows. The work has provided a comprehensive overview of migratory flows since the early nineties and includes a discussion of relevant governmental policy and impact upon flows.

In addition the work provides an overview of common theoretical models utilized when discussing migration. The work has demonstrated, with the aid of a unique survey focused on post-accession migrants from the Slovak Republic, that no one single model is capable of providing a robust explanation for migratory decision making among post-accession migrants. Due to the unique nature of the flows under discussion this work applies a meta-theoretical approach which seeks to apply various theories in order to better understand the diversity seen amongst migrants.

It is demonstrated that a broader conceptualization enhances our ability to understand diverse flows; taking into account economic, historical and agential factors it is understood that particular flows including highly educated migrants do not conform to commonly understood patterns of mobility. The deviation seen amongst educated migrants tends to indicate that emigration of skilled workers is higher than anticipated and that settlement is a common occurring. This finding is in distinct contrast to traditional understanding which tends to perceive regional migration between these two countries as being dominated by lower skilled workers and being circular in nature.

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APPENDIX

Figure 26: GNI Per Capita

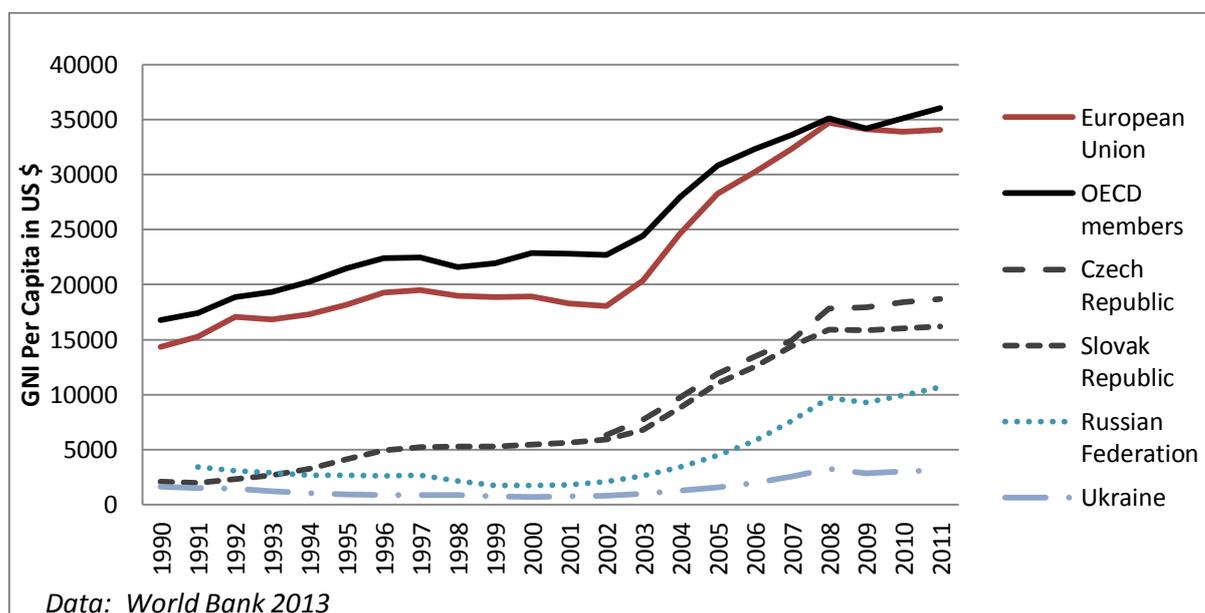


Table 8: Employment Pre and Post Migration- Totals By Gender and Education

Highly Educated	Employed		Self Employed		Student		Unemployed**		Other*	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Pre Migration Activity %	34%	38%	2%	8%	58%	47%	6%	6%	0%	0%
Post Migration Activity %	79%	82%	2%	8%	8%	4%	8%	2%	2%	4%

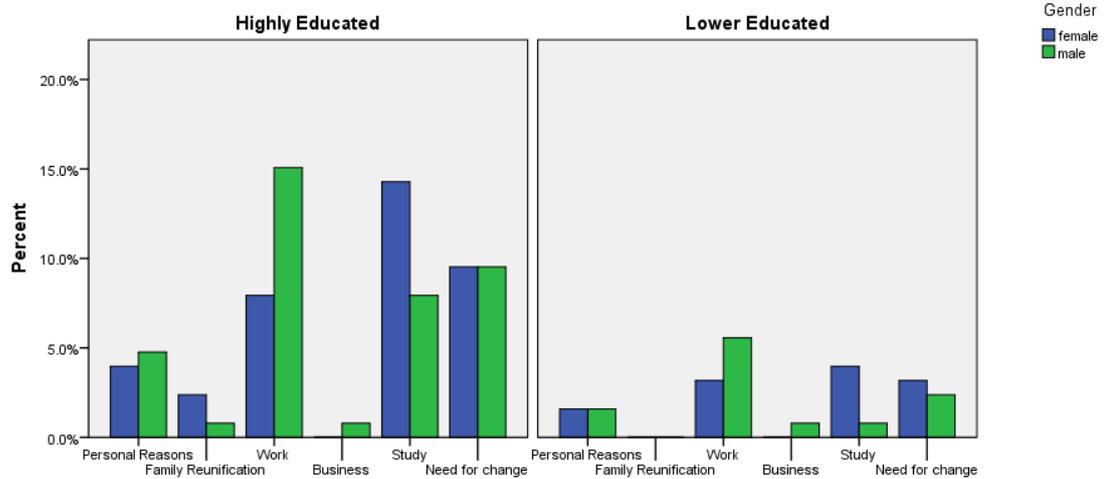
*Includes temp and seasonal workers and maternity leave
 **Includes those 'changing employer'
 Source: Authors Data

Table 9: Employment Pre and Post Migration- Totals By Gender and Education

Less Educated	Employed		Self Employed		Student		Unemployed**		Other*	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Pre Migration Activity	20%	64%	0%	7%	60%	28%	13%	0%	6%	0%
Post Migration Activity	66%	71%	6%	14%	20%	14%	0%	0%	6%	0%

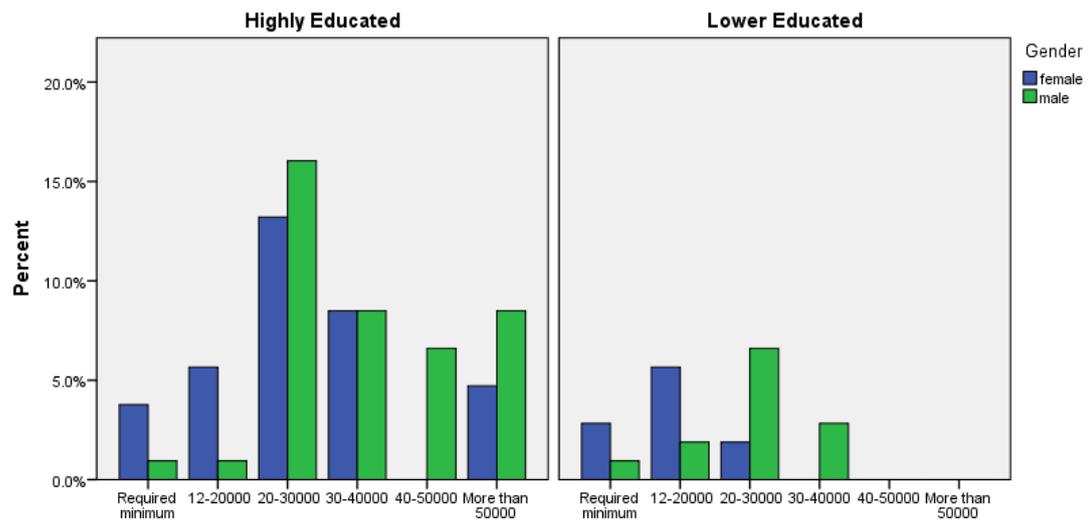
*Includes temp and seasonal workers and maternity leave
 **Includes those 'changing employer'
 Source: Authors Data

Figure 27: Reason for Leaving Home Country - Comparative



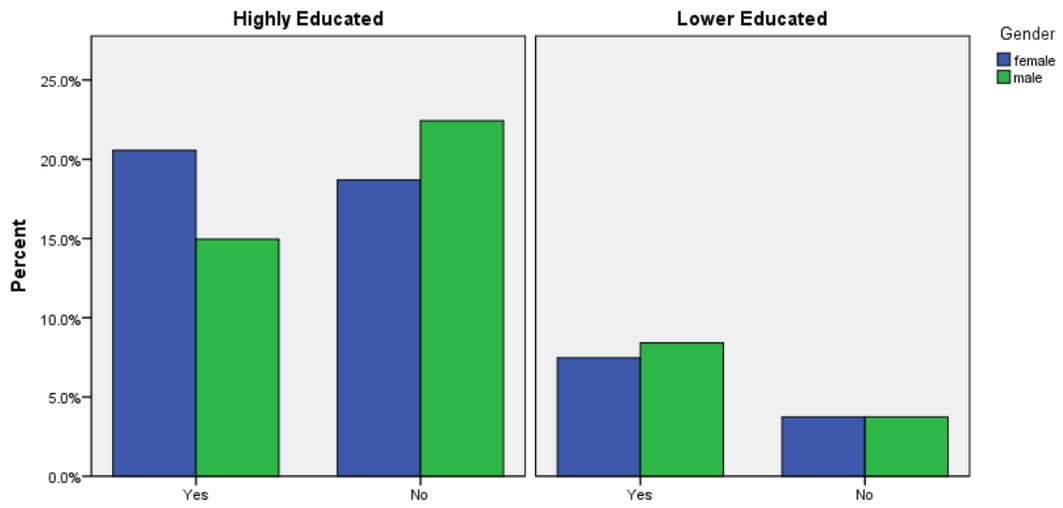
No. Valid: 126

Figure 28: Salary In Thousands by Gender - Comparative



No. Valid: 106

Figure 29: If Unemployed More Than Six Months Return Home - Comparative



No. Valid: 107

Table 10: List of Relevant Directives

Entry into force / Date	Name/ Title	Intended goal / Outcomes	Treaty/Directive
1985 and 1999	The Schengen area	<p>The Schengen area provides for the free movement of persons and the removal of border controls between EU States in conjunction with the strengthening of external borders. Common rules regarding visas, right of asylum and external borders controls were adopted as a result of the Schengen agreements to allow the free movement of persons within the signatory states without disrupting law and order.</p> <p>The Schengen Information System (SIS) was put into operation. The system provides a database authorities of Schengen countries can use in order to exchange data on people and goods.</p> <p>Schengen cooperation was incorporated into the EU legal framework via the Treaty of Amsterdam of 1997 which led this intergovernmental cooperation to be incorporated into the EU framework. As a result border and immigration co-operation became legally-binding for all participating members (unanimity required). Ireland, the UK and Denmark remained outside of Schengen.</p> <p>Schengen expanded at the end of 2007 to include new EU members. (Iceland, Norway, Switzerland also participate as non-EU states)</p>	Directive 1999/307/EC
1999	Tampere Programme (1999 to 2004)	<p>The European Council aims to ensure that the Union is an area of freedom, security and justice via the utilization of the Treaty of Amsterdam. This programme focuses on external issues of the EU and focuses on four areas.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Partnerships with countries of origin 2. A common European asylum system 3. Fair treatment of third-country nationals 4. The management of migration flows <p>The Tampere program prepared the groundwork for a common immigration and asylum policy for the EU while establishing common rules for family migrants, access to long-term residence and put into place the first phase of the Common European Asylum System which comprises four main legal instruments to cover reception conditions, asylum procedures qualifications while defining which Member State is responsible for examining an asylum application. (the Dublin Regulation)</p>	
2000	Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air,	Supranational legal prohibition on smuggling. Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime	
2003	Dublin II Regulation	<p>Builds on the Dublin convention of 1990. Restricts the ability of asylum seekers to apply for protection in only the country they first arrived to. Reducing the chance of asylum shopping.</p> <p>Disproportionately burdens peripheral states, such as Greece, Cyprus and Malta who have the highest number of land arrivals.</p> <p>Enhances the capability of states to identify responsibility for examination of asylum applications while preventing abuse of asylum procedures.</p> <p>Led to the creation of a fingerprint data base (Eurodac) which contains prints of every asylum applicant to the EU.</p>	Regulation (EC) No 343/2003
2003	Family reunification	Lays out the conditions under which third-country nationals may exercise the right to family reunification within EU member states.	Directive 2003/86/EC
	Hague Programme	<p>The Hague program lays out a five year plan intended to strengthen freedom, security, and justice across the EU. In essence the program is the EU's plan for future development of migration and asylum-related policies.</p> <p>The Hague program can be divided into five parts:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A common European asylum system 2. Legal migration and the fight against illegal employment 3. Integration of third-country nationals 4. The external dimension of asylum and migration policy 5. The management of migration flows <p>The Hague Program played a significant role leading up to the creation of the EU border agency FRONTEX (operational from 2006) as it expanded and continued the development of an integrated border management system.</p>	
2004	Right of Union citizens and their family members to move and	Outlines the conditions under which EU citizens and their families can exercise their right to mobility and residence within other EU member states. Also provides restrictions to mobility rights for reasons of public policy, public security or public health.	Directive 2004/38/EC

	reside freely within the territory of the Member States		
2004	European Agency for the Management of External Borders – Frontex	Created the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union (FRONTEX) tasked to improve management of the Union's external borders.	Regulation (EC) No 2007/2004
2004	Obligation of air carriers to communicate passenger data	Instituted in line with a variety of external securitization practices the directives requires airlines to transmit passenger data to the authorities of the destination State Before arrival. Non-compliance may lead to fines or sanctions against the operator.	Directive 2004/82/EC
2004	Status of non-EU nationals who are long-term residents	Clarifies the status of long term residents (non-EU nationals) within the EU and normalizes national legislation and practices in relation to the granting of residence status. By providing long term residents of member states with European resident status the EU provides enhanced protection against expulsion and requires that EU member states recognize long-term residence status after five years of continuous residence.	Directive 2003/109/EC
2004	Visa Information System (VIS)	Provides for the creation of a centralized data base including data related to all visas issued by member states.	Council Decision 2004/512/EC
2006	Mutual information mechanism concerning Member States' measures in the areas of asylum and immigration	Created a unified method (mechanism) for information sharing related to cases which may have an impact on other member states. (Focus is on asylum and immigration)	Council Decision 2006/688/EC of 5 October 2006
2006	Schengen Borders Code	Updated legislation related to border checks carried out on people. Improves legislation related to the integrated border management policy. Focus is on defining rules for crossing external borders and on the reintroduction of checks at internal borders.	Regulation (EC) No 562/2006
2008	European Pact on Immigration and Asylum	A pact which forms the basis for immigration and asylum policies across the EU. Aims to harmonize policies related to immigration and asylum further still taking into account the collective and individuals needs and interests of member states. This pact led to the implementation of the Stockholm Programme	
2008 (not in force)	European external border surveillance system (EUROSUR)	A framework prepared by the commission outlining the creation of a "European border surveillance system" (EUROSUR) intended to support EU states in their efforts to reduce the number of undocumented or (illegal) migrants entering the European Union. Should enhance situational awareness at external borders and increase reaction capacity of border control authorities.	COM(2008) 68
2008	A common immigration policy for Europe	Laid of the requirements for a common European immigration policy taking into account EU member states particular needs. Outlines 10 principles from which a common policy can be built as well as outlining the necessary actions for implementation. Focus is that legal immigration: contributes to EU's development, that EU actions are coordinated, that cooperation with non-EU countries is developed further while illegal immigration and trafficking in human beings is effectively dealt with. Outlines the requirements or best practices in relation to: best practices, clear rules and a level playing field, matching skills and needs, Integration is the key to successful immigration, transparency, trust and cooperation Efficient and coherent use of available means, partnership with non-EU countries, security (effective fight against illegal immigration), integrated border management, and effective and sustainable return policies.	COM(2008) 359
2008	European Migration Network	Established a European Migration Network which should provide up-to-date information related to migration and asylum for policy makers	Council Decision 2008/381/EC
2004 and 2011	European neighbourhood policy (ENP)	The European neighbourhood policy (ENP) is externally oriented and aims to aid countries to the EU's east and south in becoming more stable and prosperous. Via a carrot and stick approach EU aid, market access and co-operation will lead to the implementation of economic and political reforms. This approach has led to the signing of bilateral action plans with several partners. (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Moldova, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Tunisia and Ukraine)	

2009	Visa Code	Standardizes the procedures and conditions for the issuance of visas for short stays in and transit through Member States. Stipulates those nationals of third countries who are required to hold an airport transit visa when passing through the international transit areas of EU states airports.	Regulation (EC) No 810/2009
2009	Lisbon Treaty	This treaty modified the way in which the EU makes immigration related policy. In essence policy related to legal immigration will be dealt with under ordinary legislative procedure. (co-decision) Therefore measures to determine the entry, residence, and rights of legal migrants will no longer be agreed by a qualified majority. This has resulted in the European Parliament now having a right of veto over new legislation regarding legal migration. Individual member states retain the right to determine the volumes of admissions. The Lisbon treaty also includes a provision for the development of EU policies in support of integration of third-country nationals.	
2010	The Stockholm Programme	The Stockholm Programme building off of the Tampere and Hague programmes and seeks to enhance or strengthen the area of justice, freedom and security. It is a wide-ranging programme encompassing many areas including: External border management and visa policy Migration and asylum (including integration) The external dimensions of freedom, security, and justice For the first time external border management and visa policy are dealt with separately while the Global Approach to Migration targeting cooperation with third countries is given priority.	
2011	Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM)	The EU's renewed Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM) emphasises legal migration, development promotion and migrant rights. The GAMM will be implemented via the Migration and Mobility Dialogues utilizing Mobility Partnerships.	
2011	A comprehensive European migration policy	The Commission has presented a set of measures aimed at establishing a comprehensive European migration policy. Focused on greater solidarity between Member States it should enable the EU to respond better to the challenges presented by migration in the future.	COM(2011) 248

Table 11: Survey Questionnaire

Introduction / Welcome	
<p><i>We Have Contacted You In Order To Ask That You Participate In A Survey Related To Your Personal Experiences Of Living In The Czech Republic, The Reasons For Migration To The Czech Republic And You View On The Current Situation In The Czech Republic. We Are PhD Students And Researchers At Charles University In Prague And Comenius University In Bratislava Who Are Currently Looking Into This Issue. The Survey Will Be Used For In Order To Enhance Our Understanding Of Individual Intentions And General Outcomes Of The Migration Experience The Survey Does Not Focus On Individual Responses But The Overall Perspective - Results From This Work Will Be Used For The Purpose Of "Specific University Research Of The Institute Of Political Studies, Faculty Of Social Sciences, Charles University, Supported By The Ministry Of Education, Youth And Sports Of The Czech Republic" As Well As For Scientific Research At Comenius University In Bratislava.</i></p>	
	<p>* = required</p>
	<p>Possible Answers</p>
1*	<p>Are you willing to participate in an academic research survey which is related to your personal experience in the country in which you currently reside? Participation in this survey is completely voluntary, you are not required to answer all the questions - however several basic questions are necessary (marked with asterisks).</p>
	<p>Yes No</p>
2*	<p>Nationality</p>
	<p>American</p>
	<p>British</p>
	<p>German</p>
	<p>Other:</p>
3	<p>Current residence in the Czech Republic (Choose from list)</p>
	<p>Preset</p>
4	<p>Language spoken at home</p>
	<p>Český</p>
	<p>Slovenský</p>
	<p>Other:</p>
5*	<p>Gender</p>
	<p>Female</p>
	<p>Male</p>
6*	<p>Age</p>
	<p>Open Ended</p>
7	<p>Do you study or have you studied a foreign language</p>
	<p>No</p>
	<p>English</p>
	<p>German</p>
	<p>Russian</p>
	<p>French</p>
	<p>Spanish</p>
	<p>Italian</p>
	<p>Other Language</p>
8	<p>Do you have dual citizenship?</p>
	<p>No</p>
	<p>Yes (Which):</p>
9*	<p>Marital status</p>
	<p>Single</p>
	<p>Divorced</p>
	<p>Married</p>
	<p>Common Law/ Co-Habitation</p>
10	<p>Profession (by training/education)</p>
	<p>Open Ended</p>
11	<p>Profession (actual)</p>
	<p>Open Ended</p>
12*	<p>Education (highest level attained)</p>
	<p>Elementary / Basic School</p>
	<p>Grammar School/ High School / Higher Secondary</p>
	<p>University Or College – First Stage (Bachelor’s Degree Or Diploma)</p>
	<p>University Or College – 2nd Stage (Master’s Degree - Ing., Mgr., Mddr., Mudr., Judr., Phdr., Paeddr.)</p>
	<p>University Or College – 3rd Stage (Doctoral Level – Phd., Artd)</p>

		Professional Training
		On The Job Training
		Apprenticeship
		Other
13	From which country did you receive your highest academic degree?	Open Ended
14	Town (where you spent most of your youth)	Open Ended
15	Town of origin (size)	Village (Up To 5000 Residents)
		Small Or Mid-Sized Town (5000-50000 Residents)
		Large Town (Over 50000 Residents)
		Capital City
16*	Year that you left [HOME COUNTRY]	Open Ended
17	What were you doing before you left your home country?	Employed
		Unemployed (Less Than 6 Months)
		Unemployed (Over 6 Months)
		On Maternity Leave
		At Home
		Student
		Self- Employed
		Other:
18	Why did you leave your home country?	Interpersonal Relationships
		Family Reunification
		Work
		Business (As Self-Employed)
		Study
		Need For Change
		Other Reason:
19	Have you achieved what you wanted to achieve, or you managed to full fill the purpose of your move?	Open Ended
20	How satisfied are you with your decision (to live in the Czech Republic)? On a scale of 1 to 5 tick the appropriate value (1 - very satisfied, 5 - completely dissatisfied)	Satisfaction 1-5
21	Are you happy with your decision to leave your home country?	Yes
		No
22	Do you intend to stay in the Czech Republic for a long period of time?	Yes
		No
23	If yes, for how long?	1 Year
		2 – 3 Years
		3 – 5 Years
		More Than 5 Years
		Unlimited Time
		For Ever
		Don't Know
24	Current employment status	Full Time Employee (Contract For An Indefinite Period)
		Employed Full-Time (Fixed-Term Contract)
		Employed Part-Time -Including Working On An Agreement Or Seasonal Employment
		I Am Changing Employment / Between Jobs
		On Disability
		Unemployed
		On Maternity Leave
		At Home

		Student
		Self- Employed
25	If you are currently employed: In which sector (you can select more than one answer)	Private Firm
		Public Sector
		Non-Profit
		Large Company
		Medium Sized Company
		Small Company
26	Is this your first employer?	Yes
		No
		If Not, How Many Times Have You Changed Your Employer In The Czech Republic?
27	What is your monthly income in the Czech Republic (in CZK)? NOTE- PRE AND POST TAX DIFFERENCE NEEDS TO BE CLEAR	About The Minimum Allowed (8000 CZK) to 12 000 CZK
		Roughly 12 000 - 20 000 CZK
		Roughly 20 000 – 30 000 CZK
		Roughly 30 000 – 40 000 CZK
		Roughly 40 000 – 50 000 CZK
		Over 50 000 CZK
28	Do you consider your current income to be higher or lower than the income of your colleagues in the same position?	Higher
		Roughly Equal
		Lower
29	Has leaving your home country had a positive or negative impact on your professional development?	Positive
		Negative
		No Impact
30	How did you find work in the Czech Republic.	Internet
		Newspaper
		Friends
		Family
		Distant Relations
		Employer
		Agency (Travel, Employee, Student Or Other)
		Other (Which):
31	How satisfied are you with your current employment?	Very Satisfied
		More Satisfied Than Not
		Not Satisfied
32	If you are currently unemployed: How long have you been unemployed (last time unemployment)?	One Month
		2 To 4 Months
		4 To 6 Months
		6 Or More Months
		One Year
		More Than One Year
33	Are you unemployed by choice (for travel)?	No
		Yes
34	Have you improved the quality of your life after leaving your home country?	Yes
		No
		Cannot Compare
35	If you were unemployed in the Czech Republic for more than 6 months would you return to your home country?	Yes
		No

36	Under what conditions would you return to your home country (Describe in your own words)?	
37	Are you willing to answer a few more questions related to your experience in the Czech Republic?	Yes
		No
38	If you are an entrepreneur does your entrepreneurial activity cross the border of the Czech Republic and another country (for example, the movement of goods across the Czech-Slovak border, or providing services in Slovakia)?	Open Ended
39	If Yes, how often you travel across borders because of business?	
40	Do you support your family financially in your home country?	Yes
		No
41	Do you send money home money?	Yes
		No
42	If Yes, do you use the services of banks or do you take/send cash home?	Bank Transfer
		In Cash
43	If Yes, for what purpose?	Open Ended
44	Are you satisfied with the stability of your current household income?	Very Satisfied
		More Satisfied Than Not
		Unsatisfied
45	Do you work with other migrants (from your home country and other countries)?	Yes
		No
46	If you would move again would you would be willing to completely change profession (away from your current specialization or training)?	No
		Yes
47	How long do you plan to remain in the Czech Republic?	1 Year
		2-5 Years
		More Than 5 Years
		Unlimited Time
		Forever
		Don't Know
48	If you plan to move to another country (other than your home country), why?	Love
		Work
		Climate
		Pension / Retirement
		Nicer People
		Other
		Family Reunification
49	What about the current situation makes you think of moving to another country?	No Jobs
		Low Income
		Poor Living Conditions
		Help Family
		Save Money
		Purchase Of Land
		Build A House
		Other:
50	To which EU country would you move and why?	Open Ended
51	What do you see as the advantage in moving to another country (other than the Czech Republic or your home country)?	I Want To Get To Know Other Countries

		I Want To Live Abroad
		I Have Family There
		I've Got Friends There
		Got / I Have A Job
		I Study There
		Greater Earnings
		Enhance My Education
		Due To Safety
		Other
52	Did you know right away how to manage the first day in the Czech Republic?	Open Ended
53	What problems did you encounter?	Insufficient Practical Information
		Discrimination
		Bureaucracy
		Corruption
		Other:
54	Do you think that the Czech Republic is friendly to / accepting of foreigners	Yes
		No
55	What would be needed in order to improve the living conditions for foreigners living in the Czech Republic?	
56	Do you think the officials in the Czech Republic are well trained in dealing with foreigners?	Yes
		No
57	What would you consider necessary for improvement in the care of foreigners in the Czech Republic?	Open Ended
58	Comments?	Open Ended
59	Would you mind if, in the future, we contacted you in relation to other university research projects? Your e-mail address will only be used for further scientific research at the university- not for any other purpose.	Open Ended
60	Language spoken at work	Open Ended