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Bachelor's Thesis

**Emigration and Unemployment in Lithuania:
Correlations, Influencing Factors and Destinations**

by

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Abstract

This paper examines the extent to which emigration correlates to unemployment in Lithuania during 1994-2012, unveils the main reasons behind the decision to emigrate and presents the trends among emigrants' destination countries. Even though there is no unanimous opinion, it is argued that emigration is negatively correlated with unemployment. The Lithuanian case is quite interesting and the numbers in Lithuanian statistics requires a more thorough analysis. The conclusions drawn via IBM SPSS software are quite controversial and show positive correlation, to a certain extent, between emigration and unemployment in Lithuania. The main influences of emigration are extracted via the unique questionnaire and then analysed via different perspectives have a degree of controversy as well. The destination countries compared from two different data sets are quite different, yet, show similar trends.

Keywords: emigration, unemployment, reasons, factors, destination, host country, Lithuania.

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1. Introduction

Causes and consequences of immigration have become a topic of interest in recent years. This track of research was influenced by the immense influx of immigrants in the USA and Europe in 1970s – 1980s (Asch 1994; 1). While most of the literature is focused on the effects of migration into the host country, much less attention has been paid to the other side of equation; what effect does the migration have on the sending countries (countries from which migrants come). Not only emigration affects social structures, it can also have a wide range of economic effects on the source country. For instance, “emigrants often send money home, contributing to their families' standards of living and therefore supplies both, to the home economy and the nations' trade balance. By decreasing the labour pool in the sending country, emigration helps to alleviate unemployment and increase the incomes of the remaining workers. Most emigrants are young, male, and married, however, so there can be a destabilizing effect on the family” (Asch 1994; 4)

The lack of such studies might have appeared due to the deficit and reliability of data on emigrants, since in European countries a large part of emigrants was and still is uncovered (Barrell et al., 2007 & Baas et al., 2010). The importance of this topic is stressed by Kaczmarczyk and Okolski (2008; 1), “emigration has become one of the most conspicuous population movements in contemporary Europe”.

The specific case of Lithuania is a challenging experience due to its unique history which includes German Nazi and Soviet occupations and later on the entrance to the European Union (EU). The research will cover two periods: newly independent Lithuania before the admission to the European Union and after the accession to the EU. While different academics present different conclusions on correlation of emigration and unemployment, it seems that Lithuania does not fall in any of the categories. Throughout more than 20 years of independence Lithuanian migration and unemployment statistics have rather fluctuated with total emigration reaching 83,157 people and 18% unemployment in the year 2010. During the 1994 and 2012 the average emigration estimated with a minimum of 24,875 people and the average of over 14.5% unemployment (Eurostat). To my mind, Lithuania is an interesting case to study because the range of emigration and unemployment rates is rather wide; emigration rates fluctuate from just over 7,000 to more than 81,000 people in one year and unemployment ranges from 3.8% to over 18% (Eurostat, Lithuanian National Statistics).

Basing on Pryymachenko's (2011) findings which conclude that emigration in EU-8 countries has a strong negative effect on the unemployment, the purpose of this essay is to single out

and test the unique case of Lithuania while analysing correlation and trends between emigration and unemployment levels. It is also dedicated to analyse the reasons behind emigration and, thus, would serve as a set of possible guidelines for the creation of new migration or emigration prevention policies. In my research I will base on Eurostat and Lithuanian National Statistics data to check the extent of correlation between unemployment and emigration via different categories and my questionnaire that embraces quantitative as well as qualitative data in order to reveal the current trends in factors influencing emigration. In the next chapters I will acquaint with the background overview, previous researches in the field and a brief description of hypotheses regarding emigration effects on the source countries and factors influencing emigration. I will also present an introduction to the migration-related terms and definitions which will be succeeded by descriptive analysis and later on results and conclusions.

1.2 Research Questions

1. To what extent does emigration correlate with unemployment in Lithuania?
2. What are the main factors influencing the decision to emigrate?
3. What are the trends while choosing the destination country?

Basing on Asch's (1994) reflections that that emigration helps to alleviate the unemployment in the sending country and Pryymachenko's (2011) findings that emigration negatively affects unemployment in the source country, my aim is to test to what extent does emigration correlate with unemployment in Lithuania during 1994-2012, what are the main factors influencing the decision to emigrate and what destination countries dominated among Lithuanian emigrants.

2. Background

After the loss of sovereignty to the Soviet Union in 1940 Lithuania, from a free country, became a stagnated area where international migration was prohibited. In the Soviet Union Lithuanians were deprived of many rights including free choice to travel outside the territory of the Soviet Bloc. Like the two other Baltic Sisters, Lithuania suffered for a long time due to its peculiar geographical location. Lithuania had been brought under the control by Nazi German and subsequently occupied by the Soviet Union. In the short period of six years, during 1939-1945, Lithuania had been occupied four times (including the 1939 Nazi German

occupation of the municipality of Klaipeda, the harbor city). During the period of occupations (1939-1990) there were mass banishments and deportations of large part of Lithuanian population. This had a tragic impact particularly on ethnic minorities and the educated elites. The end of the Second World War led to the expulsion of Baltic Germans and the ethnic groups from the Soviet Union resettled in Lithuanian territory. Due to holocaust, deportations, exiles and other acts of war, between the 1940s and the 1950s Lithuanian population bled to the epic extent. The country lost an estimated over one million people. In addition, nearly the whole population of Lithuanian Jews was exterminated (Brake 2007). After 1945, during the post-war period Russians and ethnic groups from the eastern part of Europe like, Belarus, Ukraine, Tajikistan, Georgia and other regions were systematically resettled in Lithuania (and other Baltic countries). In such manner the central powers in Moscow, politically the most important geographic unit of the Soviet Union, sought to control the population and suppress the desire of independent Lithuania. In 1989 more than 10% of Lithuanian population was foreign born (Brake 2007). Furthermore, since the fall of the iron curtain in 1989 emigration has become a seemingly increasing problem in the Republic of Lithuania. After the reinstatement of Lithuanian independence in 1990 new migration patterns arose. Exiled Lithuanians returned and the former resettled eastern ethnic groups were leaving. However, although large numbers of Lithuanians immigrated back home, the net migration balance has been negative since Lithuania freed itself from the Soviet powers. In 1990 it was recorded an all time high over 3.7 million population and it has been only shrinking since then. Today, in 2013, the numbers are already below the 3 million line and are getting closer to the record low of 2.8 million in 1960. The next significant stage after the independence came to be in 2004. Until the early 1990s the prevalence of joblessness in Lithuania was extremely low. The unemployment was less than 1% of the working age population. Yet, the rate had been gradually rising and was as high as 10% in 1999 and 12,5% in 2001 (IndexMundi). On the other hand, while official total emigration in 1992 peaked at around 60,000 people, it had shrunk to just over 15,000 in 2002 (Stankuniene 2010; 6). Different data were recorded of declared emigrants, around 20,000 and 7,000 respectively (Lithuanian National Statistics). Thus, due to the lack of stability and historic context unemployment and emigration rates were shifting from year to year without no particular trend. It could be attributed to the creation of independent market and learning how to develop the country with no, or at least less, pressure from outside.

In accordance with the targeted development plan, a rather weak country with all the intelligentsia exiled or killed, became a part of another union. However, this time it was

different. Of its own accord, in 2004, Lithuania joined the European Union. It brought around a number of benefits including closer political, economic and social ties with other European countries. Yet, many challenges were to be faced. Admission to the EU marked the unprecedented ease to cross the borders. Schengen zone allowed citizens of Europe to travel more freely than ever (in the modern times). Labor force, students and people in search for better living conditions had freedom to chose their paths of emigration. Thus, Lithuanian international migration gained different characteristics. According to the national statistics, in 2004 declared emigration rose around 30%, from 11,000 in 2003 to over 15,000 in 2004). Since then the rates of emigration seemed to stabilize. In accordance to steadily rising immigration after the entrance to the EU, the net migration seemed to shrink as well (from 9,800 in 2004 to 4,800 in 2006). On the other hand, during the subsequent 4 years, while in the European Union, the unemployment rates were steadily shrinking and were 3.5 times lower in 2007 than in 2003. However, there was no regular continuous trend between rising emigration and shrinking unemployment, contrary, while emigration rose, the unemployment reached its peak as well. The average emigration of 2009-2011 years was as high as 60,000 people per year in combination with just below 16% of unemployment (Eurostat). As one can notice, during more than 20 years of independence emigration and unemployment rates were influenced by different internal and external factors ranging from gaining independence from the Soviets to joining the EU, meaning that perceptions and outlooks of the common shifted, became more European on open-minded, and, thus, the reasons of emigration then and now are rather different. Since migration, and emigration in particular, consists of individual (or group) decisions it is important to learn on what bases were the decisions to emigrate adopted and how they had shifted.

3. Theory

3.1 Definitions

Migration is a rather frequent phenomenon which has occurred throughout human history. It is believed that the roots lie within the movements of the first human groups originated from East Africa to their current locations in the world (Human Migration Guide). Migration occurs at different gamuts like, *intercontinental* – between continents, *intracontinental* – between areas within a certain continent or *interregional* – between regions. One of the most widely spread type of migration is defined as the movement of the people from the countryside to cities in search for better opportunities and is usually referred as *rural-urban*

migration (Human Migration Guide 2005).

According to Human Migration Guide (2005; 6), human migration is “the movement of people from one place in the world to another for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi-permanent residence, usually across a political boundary”. There are also different types of migration. For instance *internal* migration describes the movement of people to a new home, yet, within the state, country or other described area like continent. Whereas, *external* migration is a movement to a different country, state or continent.

Migrant is a person who moves from one place to another in order to find work or better living conditions (Oxford Dictionary), yet, to my mind, such definition is not sufficient and the level of abstraction should be implemented. At times economic conditions might be the least concern of a migrant and better living conditions should not be the case if the decision to migrate had originated from different incentives like volunteering or helping people. A *long-term migrant* according to OECD glossary (2001) is nothing else but an individual “who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year (12 months), so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence. From the perspective of the country of departure, the person will be a long-term emigrant and from that of the country of arrival, the person will be a long-term immigrant.”

The main difference between emigration and immigration is the direction of the movement. *Immigration* defines the act of coming or entering a certain area from a different location while *emigration* reflects an opposite direction - the act of leaving from a certain place. In general every migrant is both, emigrant because of leaving a certain area and immigrant in the sense that he or she reaches a different location. The difference lies only in the perspective. However, if a person leaves an area of residence due to fear of prosecution for racial, religious, ethnical or other reasons, he is usually referred as a *refugee*. A close, yet, different term is IDP, *Internally Displaced Person*. The definition embraces individuals who are forced to leave their home location because of unfavourable political, social, environmental and other conditions but do not cross any boundaries. Unlike refugees, these are usually amongst the world’s most vulnerable people including civilians made homeless by natural disasters or internal conflicts.

What concerns areas where or wherfrom people move, the host country is usually defined as a country to which people immigrate and the sending country is the one from which individual or groups emigrate.

Furthermore, people’s decisions to move are influenced by a variety of different factors.

Individually or collectively people tend to discuss or consider the positives and negatives of staying versus moving via different angles. For instance travel costs, time, distance, transportation, terrain, cultural barriers and etc. come into play while deciding. Lee (1996) distinguishes the two types of underlying factors that influence the decision to move or stay. The *push factors* are referred as the reasons for emigrating because of certain difficulties, whereas, the *pull factors* are described as the reasons for immigrating or staying in the current location because of anything desirable. These two types of factors usually include environmental, social, political, economic and cultural aspects such as, climate, war, work, religious freedom and etc.

Usually there are two different types of labour force distinguished: *high-skilled* and *low-skilled*. Nonetheless, one might discern groups as semi-skilled or semi-unskilled. A *skilled worker* is generally any worker who has a special skill, knowledge or ability in a certain work. The abilities are usually acquired while working or attending colleges, universities or technical schools. On the other hand, *low-skilled workers* are ones with no special knowledge or skills and their job perspectives are rather limited and include such positions as, washing dishes, cleaning streets and most of physical-demanding jobs.

Another important notion closely related to skilled labour is *brain drain*. The concept is also known as *human capital flight* and reflects emigration of highly-skilled labour force. However there is no unanimous definition of this phenomenon in the literature. For instance, Merriam Webster's dictionary defines it as "the departure of educated or professional people from one country, economic sector, or field for another usually for better pay or living conditions" (online 2013). Whereas, the Oxford dictionary presents it as "the loss of academic and qualified personnel because of their emigration" (Oxford Dictionary, 1998). In general the phenomenon is connected with an increase in emigration, whether short- or long-term, of educated or/and skilled people. However, Castells suggests that one must distinguish migration of talents like, scientists, academic personnel and other professionals and highly-skilled migration that consists rather of financial analysts, managers consultants of special services, engineers, scientists, computer specialists, biotechnologists and etc. Nevertheless, brain drain is perceived different in various countries and is problematized in a unique manner according to a countries history and current trends. In Italy brain drain is seen as a loss of Ph.D. students whereas Canadians are more concerned about nurses and medical staff in general (Brandi 2001; 115-130).

3.2 Previous Researches

There is a lot of diverse literature on migration effects on labor market (see Hughes 2007; Bonin 2005; Friedberg 2001; Card 1990 and etc.). Methodologies and data sets vary from researcher to research and conclusions are not unanimous and sometimes differ a lot.

Actually, if to search thoroughly, one can find that all the three completely different conclusions are available. For instance, Winegarden & Khor (1991), using the spatial correlation, found that there is a positive +0.13% correlation between unemployment rates and emigration in the United States. On the other hand, Pope & Withers (1993) did a research on Australia and presented that there was a negative -0.08% to -0.11% correlation and that with increasing emigration unemployment declined. However, if to look at Lemos & Portes (2008) work, there was no effect found between the same variables. Thus, it seems that there is no unanimous trend and while methodologies and data used differ, the conclusions are not the same as well. Therefore, it is quite difficult to generalize the conclusions and in order to learn a specific case of Lithuania it is needed to dig deeper in the particular case.

Table 1

Research	Country	Methodology	Dependent variable	Effect
Akbari & Devoretz (1992)	Canada	production function	employment	-0.41%
Altonji & Card (1991)	USA	spatial correlation	employment rate	no effect
Angrist & Kugler (2003)	EEA	natural experiment	unemployment rate	no effect
Blanchflower et al. (2007)	UK	spatial correlation	unemployment rate	no effect
Bonin (2005)	Germany	skill cell	unemployment rate	no effect
Card (1990)	USA	natural experiment	unemployment rate	no effect
Card (2001)	USA	spatial correlation	employment rate	-0.02%
Carrasco et al. (2004)	Spain	skill cell	employment rate	-0.18%
Carrington & De Lima (1996)	Portugal	natural experiment	unemployment rate	no effect
Goldner & Paserman(2004)	Israel	natural experiment	employment	no effect
Dustmann, et al. (2005)	UK	spatial correlation	unemployment rate	+0.06%
Friedberg (2001)	Israel	natural experiment	employment	-0.16%
Gilpin et al. (2006)	UK	natural experiment	unemployment rate	+0.01%

Greenwood et al. (1997)	USA	production function	employment	-0.07%
Grossman (1982)	USA	production function	employment	-0.08%
Hughes (2007)	Ireland	natural experiment	unemployment rate	+0.09%
Hunt (1992)	France	natural experiment	unemployment rate	+0.2%
Kugler & Yuksel (2008)	USA	natural experiment	employment	no effect
Lemos & Portes (2008)	UK	natural experiment	unemployment rate	no effect
Longhi et al. (2006)	OECD	meta-data analysis	employment	-0.024%
Parasnisi et al. (2006)	Australia	skill cell	employment	+0.16%
Winegarden & Khor (1991)	USA	spatial correlation	unemployment rate	+0.13%
Ebmer & Zimmermann (1998)	Germany	natural experiment	employment	-0.02%

Nonetheless, these researches could be called onesided as they all investigate the effects of migration on labor market of the recipient countries.

While there is a vast number of literature on the recipient countries, the number of studies explaining the impact of emigration on the source countries' labor market is rather meager.

One of the pioneers in migration studies was E.G. Ravenstein who in his 1885 "Laws of Migration" stated 10 laws (could be defined as trends or patterns) concerning migration which were identified during his researches. Ravenstein begins the laws with a simple notion that "most migration occurs over a short distance" (1885; 182). It is a relatively self-explanatory law of migration since moving from a small city to another small city or a capital of a certain area is more common than moving internationally. He also states that "migration occurs in steps" which implies that migrants tend to move from place to place within short distances until the day he finds himself far away from his starting destination (Ravenstein 1885; 183). Judging according to the distance of movement, according to Ravenstein (1885; 183), migrants who move longer distances tend to travel to bigger and urban areas. Further, since "every migration flow generates a return or counter-migration" it is rather a logical inference that emigration is a precursor for immigration. However the counter-current is not composed of disappointed migrants who come back home (Ravenstein 1885; 187).

While categorizing people groups, Ravenstein also found out that people from rural areas are more migratory than the urban dwellers and he also distinguished a pattern that females are more migratory when it comes to movement within their own country. On the other hand,

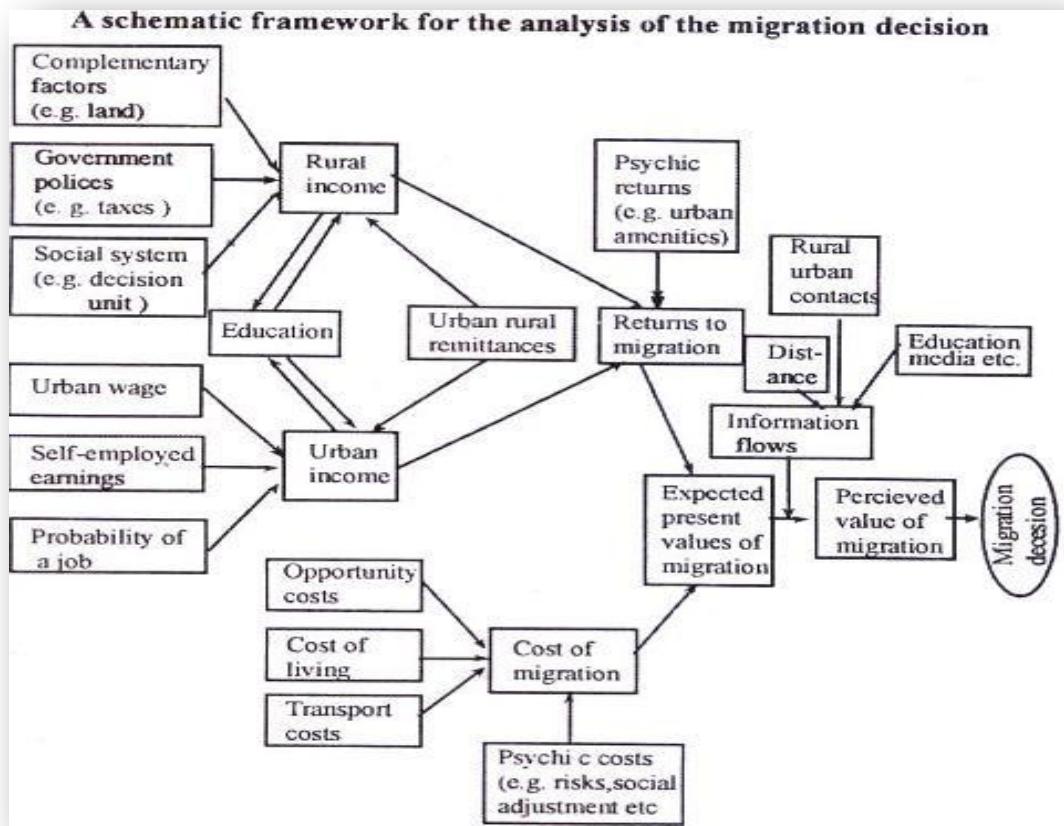
men prevail in long-distance migration (1885; 183-190). What concerns the age perspective, it seems that most migrants are adults. Such phenomenon is affected by restrictions on children's migration; most commonly families take decisions instead of their offsprings.

Ravenstein distinguishes the main factors behind migration to be of economic origin. He argues that most of the migrants leave their home countries due to economic incentives in order to find better living conditions. Subsequently he advocates that levels of migration increase together with economic development and that such increase by migration dominates over the natural increase in large towns (1885; 186).

Some of the laws like, "migration occurs in steps" or "each migration produces an opposite movement still holds today", yet, such statement that migration is mostly due to economic causes might be questionable. Factors behind the decision to emigrate might vary from political, to social, to economic, however, it is quite tricky to generalize such Ravenstein's notions. Thus, in order to unveil the situation in Lithuania I have conducted a survey and will analyze the data contracted from the questionnaire.

On the other end, American development-economist Michael Todaro is a well-known modern day migration researcher who developed Todaro's Migration Model. The model states that "despite mass unemployment in cities people are migrating from villages to towns and cities" (Harris & Todaro 1970; 1-2). Even though Todaro advocates that migrants are well-aware of the employment opportunities in a certain area, yet, they still migrate to the cities on the economic grounds. In his model migration is assumed to be a purely economic phenomenon. Even though such model backs Ravenstein's position to some extent, the question if losing the "reality check" is an economic phenomenon. To simplify, if a person knows that he/she will not be employed because of his/her knowledge, skills or requirements in a certain field in addition to high unemployment rates and still chooses to migrate, it seems to be not just economic phenomenon. In order to define such a phenomenon, Todaro (1970) refers to a sociologist Gugler who while studying labour migration in Africa portrayed this phenomenon as a "game of lottery"; even though the chances to find a job are low, yet, the disparity between rural and urban wages makes the successful location so attractive that unskilled migrants are willing to take chance (Harris & Todaro 1970; 128).

Figure 1



Source: "A Review of Theory, Evidence, Methodology and Research Priorities" (Todaro 1976)

The Todaro model was a predecessor of a collaborative Harris-Todaro model, which was conceived in cooperation with John Harris. The model was more comprehensive than the ancestor and explained the expectation part. The backbone of the model stated that migration decision was based on expected income differential between rural and urban areas rather than just wage differentials. In turn, it means that rural-urban migration in a context of high urban unemployment can be economically rational if expected urban income exceeds expected rural income. The critique expressed towards Harris-Todaro model is that migrants are being treated as risk-neutral agents. As Khala Sridhar and Venugopala Reedy argues, in such a manner migrants are being perceived as if "they were indifferent between their actual rural income and uncertain expected urban income of the same magnitude" (Sridhar et al., 2012; 3). Even though potential unemployment reduction is a positive consequence of emigration, yet, it does not prevent economies from labor market shortages. While opportunity of being employed might increase and the overall rate of unemployment would drop, still, labor market may lack employees with a certain set of skills and, therefore, employers would be required to

spend their capital and invest a lot of time and money into new labor trainings. In her findings, Kacinskiene (2005; 51) presents a survey of Lithuanian Free Market Institute which concluded that in 2004 and 2005 Lithuanian companies lacked qualified work force. Employers almost unanimously confirmed that it was a “rather bad situation”. According to Lithuanian scientist Pocius (2002; 34), international migration has a potentially positive impact on the sending country’s labor market. A short-term implication might manifest in the reduction of competition and increased employment for the population that remained in the country. Emigration might also benefit the economy if employers increase the share of investments into new technologies. Following the pattern, the salaries would rise in order for the employers to keep the already qualified staff in place. Such a phenomenon also hinders and possibly slows down brain drain (Greicius 2005). For example, Asch (1994) presents evidence that emigration in Mozambique increased wages, especially paid by local estate and plantation operators because of competition for the non-migrant workers.

Furthermore, Britain’s National Institute of Economic (NIESR) and Social Research prepared the report which concluded that there was found no or little impact of immigration on unemployment in Britain. NIESR report confirmed that there was “at most a generally modest impact on the less skilled” (Travis 2012).

Even though statistical researches usually show no or insignificant correlation between emigration and unemployment rates (see Pryymachenko 2011; 8-10), Thaut (2009; 211) and Pryymachenko (2011) advocate that emigration has played a significant role in the decline of unemployment rates. However, her findings were a set of summarized conclusions of 8 different countries, thus, it is important to discern Lithuania as an individual unit and learn its unique patterns. On the other hand, emigration fosters money transfers and the action is known as remitting. Remittances can affect the sending country in many ways. Income and goods received from emigrants can be an important source of stable money inflow. It can also have a reductive effect on inequality and poverty in certain communities. However, Asch (1994) and (Massey et al. 1998) spark a fire in the debate. The authors claim that although a country is receiving a large amount of remittances, they are used for inefficient consumption expenditure like investment in housing or/and land. Thus, they indirectly state that it depends on quality and not on quantity. In other words, the amount of remittances is less significant than the effectiveness of their absorption (Asch 1994; 35 & Massey et al. 1998; 254).

While there is plenty of researches on the effects of migration on the host areas, the emigration effects on the sending countries’ labor market is a rather limited topic. However, not directly about the effect on unemployment, yet, some studies were carried out. Mishra

(2006) explored the effect of emigration on wages in Mexico during 1970-2000. The conclusion claimed that there was a strong positive effect between the two variables with 0.4% wage elasticity. Such results were backed up by Aydemir & Borjas (2006) who investigated Mexican case between 1980 and 2000. According to them, wage elasticity ranged from 0.3% to 0.4%. Thus, even though the previous literature on the emigration effects on source countries' unemployment is quite poor and is being looked via certain perspectives, it seems to show rather strong correlations than studies which reconnoitre the impact of immigration on the host areas.

3.3. Analytical/Theoretical framework

Since migration is a multi-dimensional phenomenon it might be tricky to distinguish the real factors behind emigration as well as immigration and as Vaitekūnas (2006; 310) notes, learning these reasons is usually the most difficult part in migration studies. He also adds that people tend to mix up the reasons of migration with goals of migrants in new countries. It would be naive to assume that there is a single factor influencing migration. Basing on the literature (Massey et al. 1998; Lee 1996; Ravenstein 1885) migration depends on various economic, political, ideological, racial and ethnic (but not limited to) decision. However according to the afore mentioned researches, the most important conditions are those of socio-economic origins. However, notwithstanding the importance of any conditions, the act of migration is embraced by an individual himself (with exlcusions of people who cannot make their own decisions because of certain political, economic or social factors). In her work Vanauskaite (2011; 59) identified the major reasons hiding behind the then increasing (2006-2010) Lithuanian emigration. She distinguished the absence of consistent emigrational state policies, evolution of uncomfortable socio-economic and pshycological motivation to live in Lithuania, especially for the youngsters and weakening of the national mentality. She adds that Lithuanians tend to become more hesitant towards the nation as a whole because it is not trustworthy. Weak health care policies, extremely low salaries (compare \$371 in Lithuania to 980\$ in Slovenia and \$2404 in Luxembourg; effective from 2013 Jan) and stiff bureaucratic system adds to the problem as well. Furthermore, Vainauskaite (2011; 59-62) claims that people do not feel appreciated and needed in their country and that might be the main non-economic factor fostering emigration.

A number of researchers are advocating different theories which condradict each other or even are ocassionally simillar. Basing on the neo-classical migration models labor migration is seen as a response to the differences of social and economic conditions in certain migration

areas (Massey 1998; 362). However, if to look via more abstract perspective, Ravenstein (1885 & 1876) and Smith (1776) forged the foundation even of neo-classical approach which stated that maximizing utility of individuals resulted in a budget constraint. In the words of Erf & Heering (Eurostat 1994; 3p), “it is obvious that there is no integrated theory of international migration, yet rather a set of partial theories and models which have been developed via different disciplinary angles throughout the time”. Everett Lee in “Theory of Migration” distinguishes two groups of factors causing migration. These are called the push and the pull factors. Unfavorable conditions that incite individuals to emigrate are traditionally defined as the push factors and conditions attracting people to far away places are referred as the pull factors. The push factors might include too few job opportunities, poor medical care, pollution, discrimination, natural disasters and etc. On the other hand, factors pulling people to certain areas are usually connected with better education, job opportunities, attractive climate, political and religious freedom and many others (Lee 1996).

Table 2

Push Factors	Pull Factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not enough jobs • Few opportunities • Primitive conditions • Desertification • Famine or drought • Political fear or persecution • Slavery or forced labour • Poor medical care • Loss of wealth • Natural disasters • Death threats • Lack of political or religious freedom • Pollution • Poor housing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job opportunities • Better living conditions • Political and/or religious freedom • Enjoyment • Education • Better medical care • Attractive climates • Security • Family links • Industry • Better chances of marrying

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Landlord/tenant issues • Bullying • Discrimination • Poor chances of marrying • Condemned housing (radon gas, etc.) • War | |
|--|--|

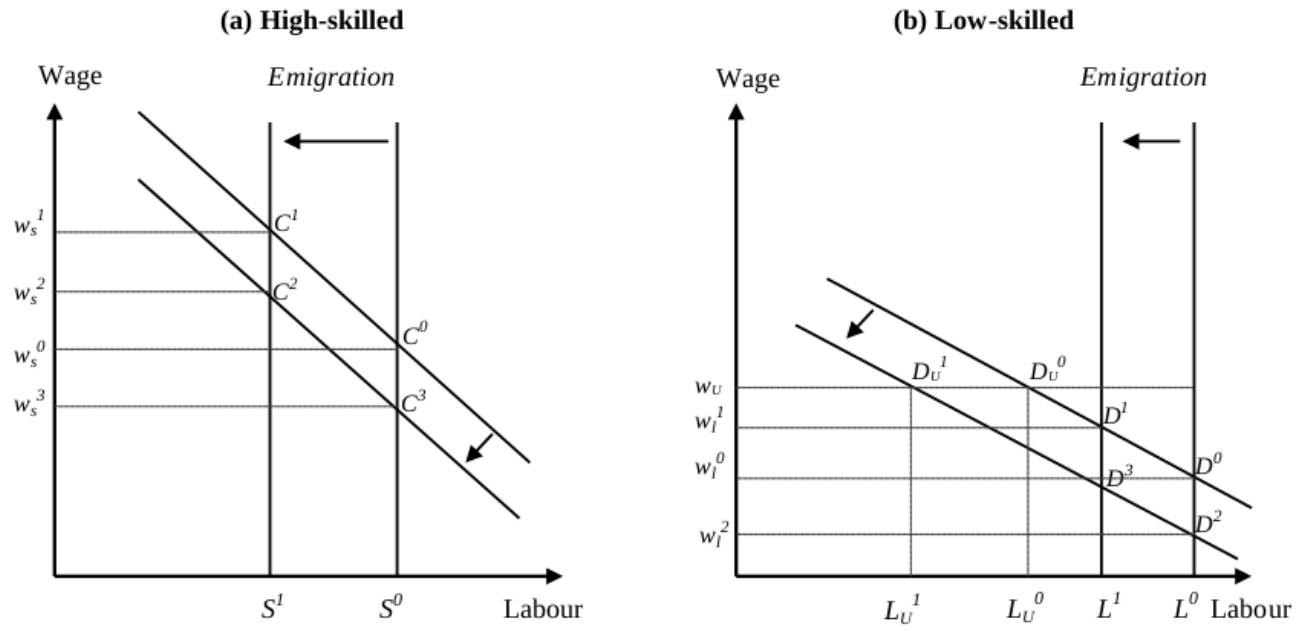
Source: "A Theory if Migration" (Lee 1966).

According to (Brandi et al, 2003; 14), the pull factors are more likely to affect highly-skilled migration and that push factors are more common in unskilled mass migration.

Generally, migration theories focus on international differentials. They stress the importance of differences in income levels, earnings, living standards, unemployment rates, migration costs, structure of welfare systems and etc. (Kahanec et al., 2010; 3-6). Cultural, linguistic, ethnic and geographical distances are also taken into account while analyzing migration patterns. Such phenomenon as psychological and social migration costs is recognized as well (Borjas 1985; Mincer 1978; Massey 1990; Sjaastad 1962). Early migration theories and models such as Harris-Todaro highlight the significance of regional disparities in welfare and economic factors influencing migration decisions (Harris & Todaro 1970). On the other hand, according to Stark (1991), the new economics of migration theories tend to depreciate individuals and put households in the forefront as the decision-making agents.

The two other sets of theories are closely related to this essay. It is important to discern the factors behind the decision to emigrate and to distinguish between the low- and high-skilled labor force movement and subsequent effects. Chiswick et al., (2011) and Chiswick (1980 and 2011) analyzed the effects of migration on receiving labor markets, which, they argue, are dependent on the substitutability and complementarity of migrant and native labor. The effects were clearly illustrated by Kahanec et al., (2010). Figure 2 represents the differences between low- and high-skilled labor migration impact on wages and unemployment.

Figure 2: The effects of emigration on the labour markets of high- and low-skilled workers



Source: "Lessons from Migration after EU Enlargement" (Kahanec et al., 2010)

The impact of rising high-skilled labor immigration to a certain economy, where the labor market consists of low- and high-skilled workforce, positively influence the demand for low-skilled workers. In a normally functioning competitive market this means rising wages for the low-skilled workforce. Under the control of working unions the demand increase, in turn, consequences in higher employment rates and in binding low-skilled workers' wages. Further, as Kahanec et al., argues, "this increase in lowskilled employment feeds back into the market for high-skilled labor and causes an upward shift in the demand for high-skilled workers, counteracting the original wage decline from W_h^1 to W_h^2 " (2010; 4).

It is rather clear that high-skilled emigration increases wages in the high-skilled labor market and influences the drop in low-skilled labor wages via the ensuing demand. The lowered employment rates of the low-skilled workers consequently backfires to high-skilled labor force and manifests in reduced demand and wages. Thus, it would be reasonable to conclude Figure 2 in a sense shows that "skilled immigration benefits unskilled and might be damaging to skilled native workers; and unskilled immigration impairs unskilled and can benefit native skilled labor force" (Kahanec et al., 2010; 5). Nonetheless, various more holistic positive effects appearing in the long-run can overwhelm the negative effects that might be the origin of concerns for the native workers.

Another set of theories includes Ravenstein's and Todaro's considerations that emigration is mostly an economic phenomenon. While Ravenstein argues that the main engine of

migration is of economic origin, Todaro backs him up advocating that the differentials that stimulate people's decision to migrate mostly lies in economic and material differences (Ravenstein 1885, Todaro 1976).

Finally, I am keen on testing a theory that emigration reduces the source country's unemployment rates or atleast corresponds negatively to them. Such attitude is based on the afore mentioned Pryymachenko's (2011) findings; if there is high unemployment in a certain country people tend to emigrate in search of better economic/social welfare (backed up Todaro's and Ravenstein's theories). Subsequently, when a share of population leaves the share of unemployed individuals should shrink. Thus, basing on the logical inference, emigration fosters a relative decline in the source country's unemployment rates and can influence higher employment rates.

4. Methods and Limitations

This section will be divided into 2 paragraph where I will unveil my methodology, sources and limitations. The following paragraphs are divided accoring to the type of the data, primary and secondary data.

4.1. Primary Data

The data used to analyse the profile of emigrants and their choices to emigrate and later on stay or travel to their home country was extracted via a survey, more precisely a questionnaire.

- *Questionnaire Design*

The questionnaire was designed to provide a rather thorough profile of emigrants and analyse their grounds to choose emigration. The questions included their education level, which country they chose as theirs destination, if they came back to Lithuania permanently and what were the reasons influencing those decision (for complete questionnaire see *Appendix*). Furthermore, I chose to record the cause of people who stayed in emigration. The questions were refined several times and more wide definitions were given for the clarification purposes. The questions were structured with multiple-choice opportunity and with a selection of open-ended option "other" in order to promote more genuine answers if a respondent felt like doing that. Since the questionnaire was based on snowball sampling technique, the

methods of presenting the questionnaire were quite flexible and not limited just to mail or e-mail. To analyse the data and distinguish the backbone of emigrants' choice to leave their home country, I divided the questions and, therefore, the answers into several categories.

I attributed nominal values to the variables and coded certain answers. For instance, reasons behind the choice to emigrate, come back to Lithuania or stay in the current location were divided into 4 sub-categories. The categories included push/pull and economic/social perspectives.

Such division would assist me in discriminating what kind of people leave their native habitat and what influences them more, social or economic causes. I present a visual example of the question "Why have you decided to emigrate?" below:

Table 3

Factor Category	Answers
Push factors	There were no satisfying jobs in Lithuania Because I could not exploit my talents in Lithuania
Pull factors	Because of better job opportunities in the host country To gain international experience Because of higher living standards in the host country
Economic influences	Because of better job opportunities in the host country Because of higher living standards in the host country There were no satisfying jobs in Lithuania
Social influences	To gain international experience Because I could not exploit my talents in Lithuania
Neutral	Other

Based on the questionnaire

If a person chose to leave the home country because he/she could not exploit his/her talents it was coded as a push factor and if a respondent left because of better job opportunities it was marked as a pulling influence.

- *Population and Sample Selection*

The sample consisted of 114 individuals. The respondents were deliberately selected by using the snowball technique, thus, 100% of the population was active and responded to the questionnaire. In order to learn a community organization's patterns and trends, a range of non-probability sampling techniques are used. They do not involve the use of randomization and, therefore, considered to be representative. In my research the respondents were selected using the snowball sampling technique with focus on migrants who are living or have lived abroad. Such type of sampling is a great help while tracking any group of people with distinctive traits which are of interest in a certain research.

The initial population had to be over 300 individuals, yet, due to certain limitations such as time and costs the sample was reduced to 114 respondents of whom 100% have had experience of emigration. No further restrictions were implemented on the population. In general such technique is used to identify members of a rare population and asking them to name members of the same population (Babbie 2010; 193-194).

As the experience from the case of Browne (2005) using snowball sampling technique shows, non-heterosexual women were more likely to trust her than to trust heterosexual researchers. Although migration might not seem be such a delicate topic, yet, in Lithuania people who emigrate are being judged not only by the ones who stay within the country but sometimes even by their families. Thus, since I have been living abroad for quite some time already and respondents who directed me to the next person vouched for me, it could have added some trust in the other respondents' perception towards me. However, since only a small part of the questionnaire was conducted as face-to-face interviews, the trust factor might have been not that significant.

Further, in my case I included only individuals who are or had been in emigration. Unless a subject had experience of moving and living in another country it would not be incorporated to the sample. The first respondents were several of my acquaintances whom I met while travelling and knew that they have been living abroad for quite a time already. After the interviews I asked if they could direct me towards their colleagues, friends or acquaintances with similar experiences. From then on it was not tough to follow the selected sampling technique.

- *Questionnaire Limitations*

In the process I incorporated different kinds of data gathering techniques such as, telephone calls, face-to-face interviews and questionnaires sent via e-mail. While performing face-to-face interviews I have gathered more data than questionnaires can provide, yet, since the incidence of individual communication reached just over 10 people, I incorporated one the questionnaire part and would treat the data in the same manner as the data gathered via other methods. Even though the size of the sample is rather small, it could be easily generalized in order to learn different patterns and trends of Lithuanian emigrants. However, one should be cautious in making the generalizations for the whole population since the topic is rather sensitive and refined.

Since the data was gathered using several different methods (phone, face-to-face, e-mail) the answers could have been influenced differently according to the method used. Most of the data was collected via the Internet, thereby, it may be the case that the answers were not thought of thoroughly and answered sincerely. One can never be sure, if not face-to-face interviewing, whether a respondent had gone through the questionnaire thoroughly and if he/she had taken it in seriously.

In general questionnaires rely heavily on people's ability to report past, current or future events accurately. However, one's memory and perspective can influence the perception of these events and make the answers rather unreliable (Mechanic 1989). Therefore, even though a respondent thinks that he/she recalls the past perfectly it may be the case of mental gymnastics, when a person tricks himself into a different reality. Furthermore, as David Mechanic (1989; 151) suggests, "most people will respond to one of the structured response categories, they often know that the correct answer is 'it depends'". Thus, learning from the previous researchers I left out the "it depends" option. Although most of the decisions people make every day are influenced not by a single factor, yet, by a number of variables, I aimed to omit the contradictory answers of my sample respondents and, in a way, to force them to choose one, the most suitable, response. The lack of open-ended questions in addition to a small-amount of face-to-face interviews could be a limiting factor in respondents' answers trying to depict the reasons behind their migration decisions.

Continuing, my personal categorizations of different questions and, therefore, answers, were based rather on a logical flow and "most likely" assumptions. Answers like "satisfaction with current living conditions" might implement both social and/or economic origin. Thus, if possible, future researches of a similar type would need more specifications and possibilities.

Also, since the amount of questions attributed to economic/social or push/pull factors was of different ratio, the results might have been influenced purely by the ratio of choices. For example, there were 3 push and 2 pull options in the “leaving reasons” category together with 3 economic and 2 social reasons behind the choice to emigrate, thus, looking via statistical perspective, a respondent was more likely to choose one of a push factors and one of the economic reasons (2/3 ratio means 60% versus 40% in both examples).

Finally, since one of my questions tries to identify the trends of choosing the destination country, I will compare the secondary data from Eurostat with my primary data source from the questionnaire. However, such a comparison might not result in generalizable conclusions since my sample is rather small and it may not reflect the real situation. Nonetheless, it will serve as comparison for a possible substantiation of the conclusions.

4.2. Secondary Data

Secondary sources include data of quantitative origin from national and international databases.

- *Sources*

The data I am using to distinguish to what extent emigration correlates with unemployment and what destination countries prevail among the emigrants in Lithuania were mostly retrieved from Lithuanian Department of Statistics (LDS 2013) and Eurostat database. Nonetheless, another dataset concerning Lithuanian long term immigrants to the UK was obtained via the collaboration with Office for National Statistics (ONS 2013).

- *Limitations*

My initial idea was to collect the data for the 1990 – 2012 period, which marks the beginning of an independent and free from oppression country (and continuation until now). I choosing this period I tried to avoid the credibility issue, since the data gathered under the oppression of the Soviet dictatorship could have been easily manipulated and would account as rather not credible. However, due to the lack of possibilities and absence of certain data sets it was impossible to implement the initial idea. Thus, the largest interval of the data like, total emigration, immigration and migration, is covering 19 years (1994-2012). Yet, unemployment by sex or employment by education levels statistics is for the period from

1998 or 2000 to 2012 or 2011 respectively. The data for Lithuanian emigrants' destination countries is available just from 2002, nonetheless, I will make use of it. To add, categorized data on emigration is very scarce and rather lack credibility (varies immensely from source to source with different time gaps, missing values and a range of different estimates which contradict to the simple data in Eurostat and Lithuanian National Statistics).

Furthermore, the data obtained from ONS was not available for the public overview, thus, it holds a degree of sensitivity. Terry Mullins from the Migration Statistics Unit of the ONS noted that the data on Lithuanian immigration to the UK can have several angles of limitations as well: "dividing the data into categories, such as a single citizenship, with small numbers of contacts, may not produce reliable results. If this category is then cross tabulated by another, such as particular years, then the reliability of the estimates becomes more uncertain. Please be aware of the confidence intervals associated with the estimates. We advise users to be cautious when making inferences from estimates with large confidence intervals". Thus, data in itself should be rather credible, however, one should be careful while categorizing it.

In general, limitations of the quantitative data extracted from LDS and ONS databases are quite simple. Comparison between two different data sets might foster minor inexactitudes since the data can vary because of different collection and presentation methods. Finally, I will compare the data according to the destinations of emigration from two different datasets; primary – the questionnaire and secondary – Eurostat database. Thus, I must mention that the total amount of options in Eurostat is equal to 7 and the questionnaire included only 6 choices. This could lead to relatively smaller shares in Eurostat case. Further, I have included an option of Scandinavia which is absent in Eurostat data, and the questionnaire lacks the choice of Norway that serves as one of the options in Eurostat database. Thus, since Norway, according to Eurostat, has only 5% share as destination country I will attach the choice of Scandinavia, in my comparison, to *Other* option.

5. Analysis

The analysis section will be structured according to the research questions. The first paragraph will cover the trends (descriptive analysis) of unemployment and emigration in Lithuania together with their analysis using IBM – SPSS software. In the second part, in order to distinguish what factors influence the emigrants' decision to move the most, I will present

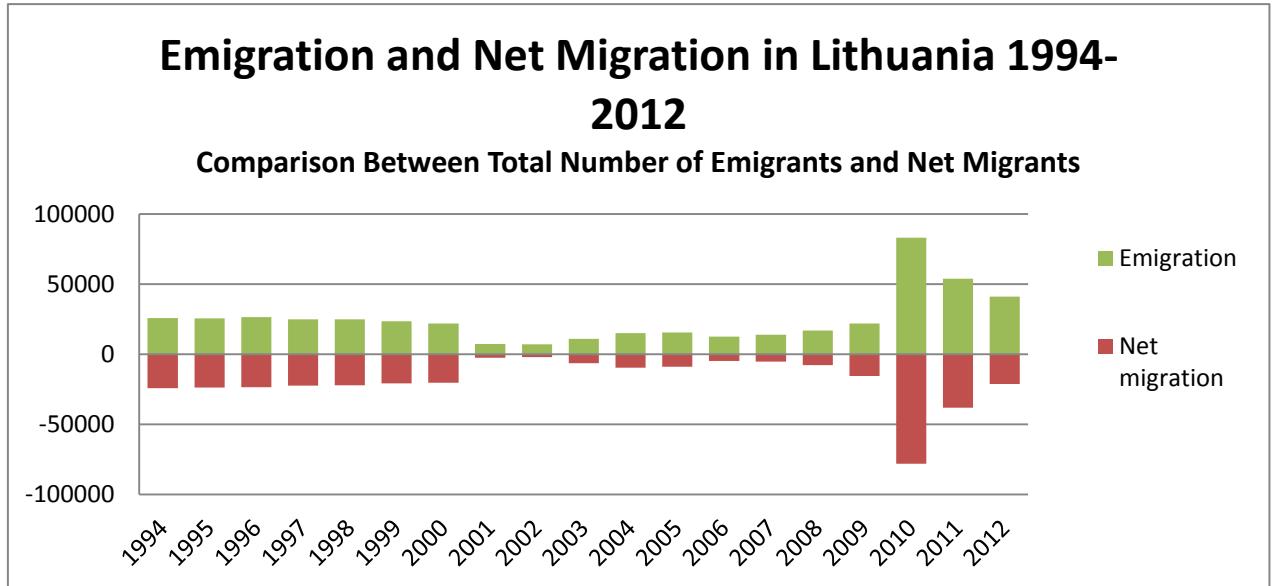
my analysis of the primary data. Finally, in the third part I will briefly overview the data on destination countries from both, Eurostat and the questionnaire, and compare them. I will also present the exceptional year of 2010 (falling out of all patterns).

RQ 1. To what extent does emigration correlate with unemployment in Lithuania?

- *Descriptive and Analytical analysis of Emigration and Unemployment in Lithuania*

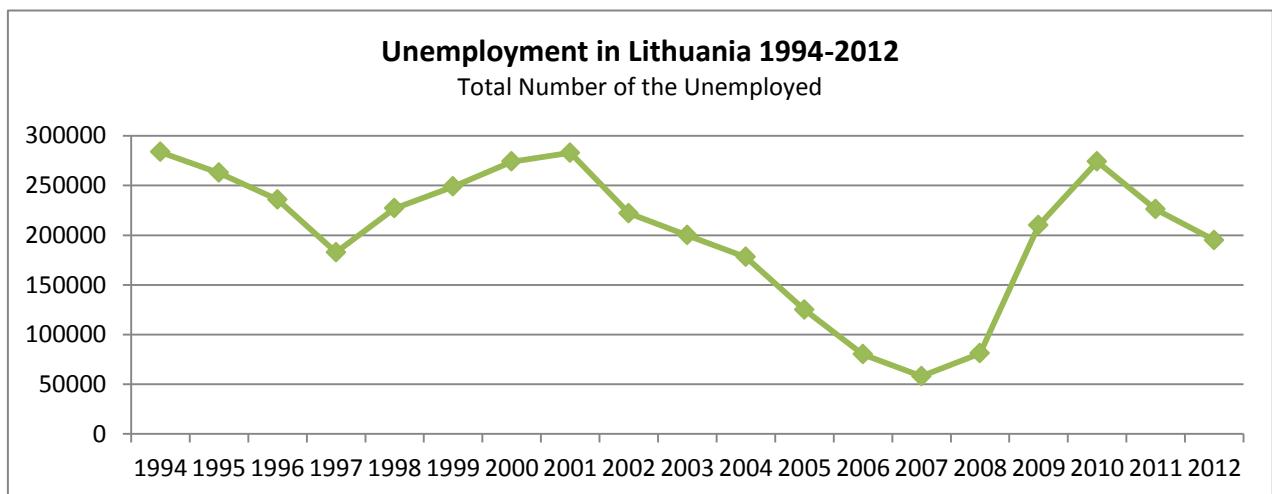
In this paragraph I will present the trends of migration and unemployment during the last 18 years, in the period 1994-2012. However, the data set on of unemployment is taken from 2 different sources since even Lithuanian Department of Statistics (LDS) does not present it from as early as 1994. As Misiunas (2012) notes, the lack of archival data is one of the main reasons for differences in the researches in migration studies.

As I have noted earlier, the patterns of emigration and unemployment after the collapse of the Iron Curtain changed a lot in Lithuania. Although the data is for the 1990-1993 period is rather not reliable and difficult to obtain, one can see, from the table below, that during 1994 and 2000 emigration shift was quite steady. The fluctuations were around 4000 people during this 6-year period. A sharp fall to just over 7000 emigrants in 2001/2002 was followed by more than a double increase in the next 3 years and reached the amount of 15,571 in 2005. The succeeding 4 years of steady ascension ended in an immense surge of emigrants in 2010; from 21970 emigration reached its peak at 83157. From then on it was only declining. Thus, it seems that most of the time prior to the entrance to the EU, emigration from Lithuania was shrinking. However, after and including 2004 the numbers of emigrants were steadily rising and peaked to the unseen heights in 2010.

Graph 1

Source: Lithuanian National Statistics

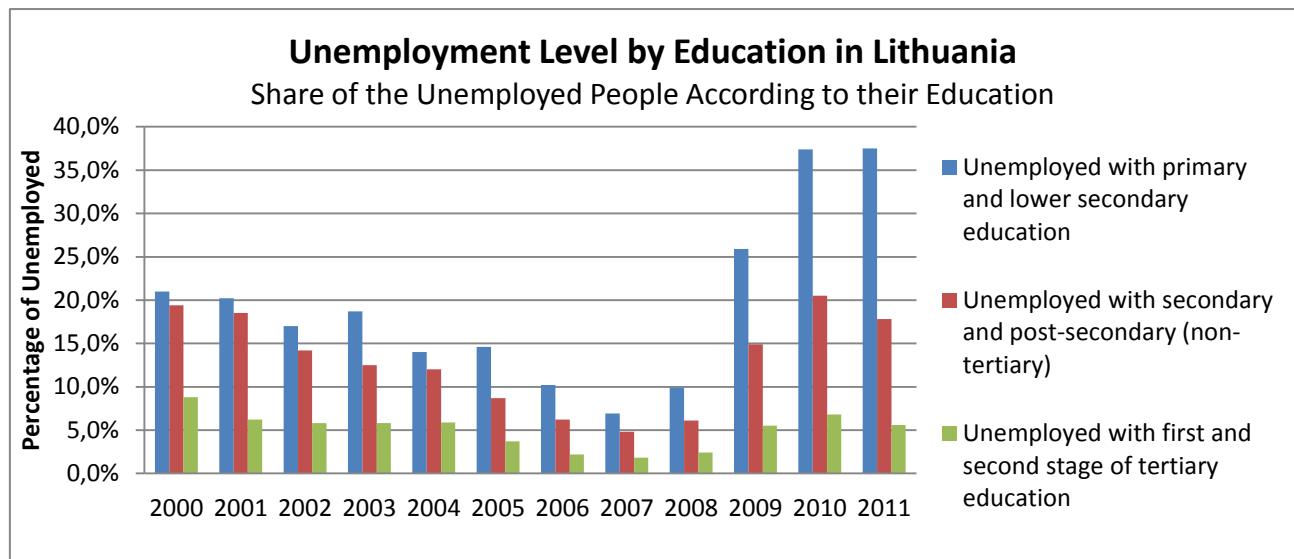
The net migration seems to correspond negatively with emigration since immigration had not been that significant in Lithuania during the discussed period. What concerns unemployment rates (see *Graph 2*), they were shifting in a different manner than emigration ones. From 1994 the unemployment in Lithuania was declining at a quite fast rate; from around 283,800 in 1994 the total number decreased to 182,640 in 1997. In the subsequent 4 years, until 2001 it rapidly rose and reached around 283,000.

Graph 2

Source: Lithuanian National Statistics (1998-2012) and GUS - statistical yearbooks (1994-1997)

The decline from 283,000 in 2001 to 58,000 in 2007 was followed by a very steep increment to 274,000 in 2010. From 2010 to the total number of the unemployed in Lithuania shrank by 28.83% to 195,000 in 2012, respectively by 17.72% in 2011 and 13.72% in 2012. From the beginning of a new millennium until 2011 the highest levels of unemployment were among the least educated people, followed by individuals who obtained secondary or non-tertiary education and the least incidence was recorded among highly educated share of population (see *Graph 3*). It seems unemployment trends within the three different categories by education were rather similar; with no exceptional fluctuations.

Graph 3

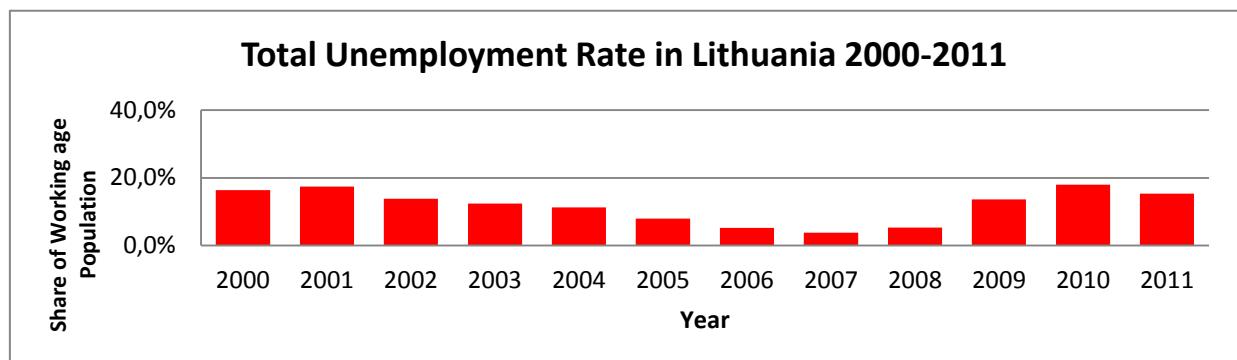


Source: Eurostat

The trends (formation according to the position) remained the same throughout the whole period; most unemployed were with least education and vice-versa. However, within the categories the ratio was changing. The most constant shift was among population with secondary and post-secondary education. The unemployment rate was declining steadily from 2000 (19.4%) to 2007 (4.8), then continuously grew to 2010 (20.5%) and finally, dropped to 17.8% in 2011. On the other end, the rates of unemployment among individuals with primary or lower-secondary education and among the mostly educated segment of the population were quite unstable, yet, one can distinguish minor patterns. While mutably changing from year to year, the unemployment rates of these two groups tend to reach their lowest points in 2007 (respectively 6.9% and 1.8%), peaked in 2010 (37.4% and 6.8%, yet, in 2000 it was 8.8% within people seeking tertiary education) and then insignificantly dropped again in 2011. If to compare it to *Graph 4* below, the pattern is quite the same; the total unemployment rate was

falling until 2007, then going up to the year 2010, and slightly dropped in the subsequent year (with exception of the increase from 16.4% in 2000 to 17.4% in 2001).

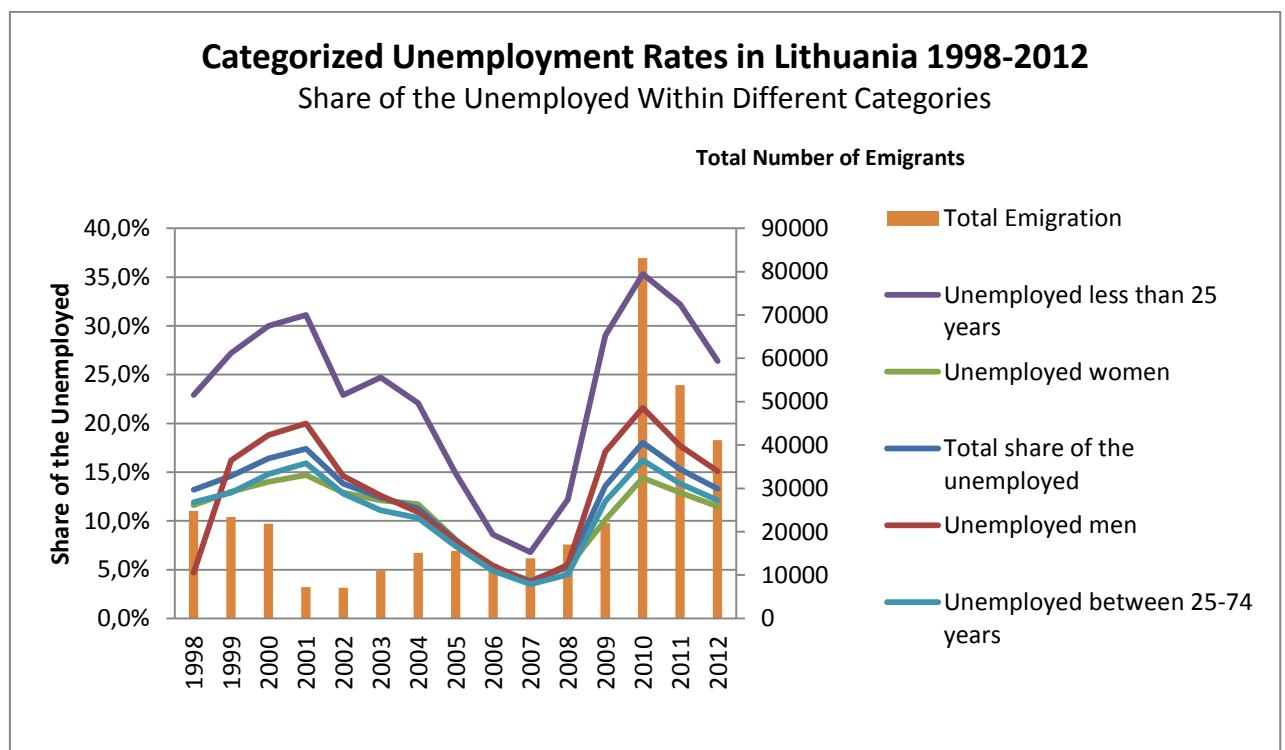
Graph 4



Source: Eurostat

Continuing, in *Graph 5* I present the categorized unemployment rates in Lithuania for the earliest time period, counting from 1990 independence, possible. For comparative purposes I have incorporated total emigration numbers as well. Such a graph serves as a good tool to see the highlight categorized unemployment and emigration trends (for separate unemployment statistics via the gender perspective see *Graph 6 in appendix*).

Graph 5

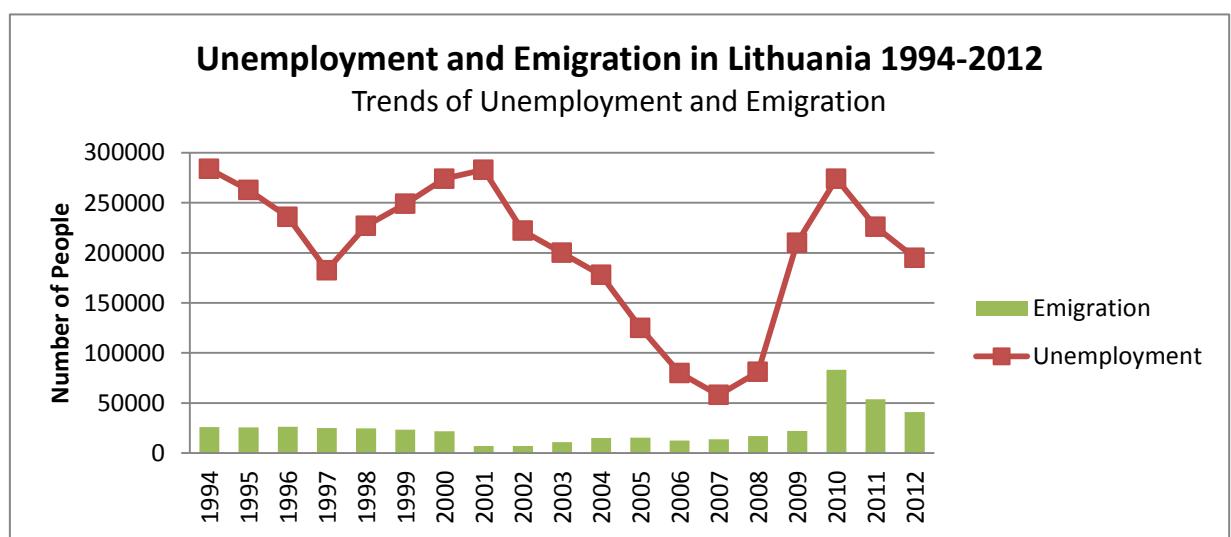


Source: Eurostat and Lithuanian National Statistic

As depicted in *Graph 5*, the categorized unemployment and emigration trends shows different volatile patterns. In order not avoid repetitiveness I will highlight just the most important points. As the graph shows, unemployment patterns within the categories are rather similar. Throughout the time gap (1998-2012) unemployment via age and sex perspectives tend to follow the same patterns; when total unemployment goes down, unemployment between men, women, youngsters (under 25 years old) and older people (25-74 years old) shrink as well, and vice-versa. However, the share of unemployed among people under 25 years old seems to slightly fall out of the pattern. During 2002 and 2003, when other categories of unemployment were decreasing (together with increasing emigration), the share of unemployed people who were less than 25 years was increasing. From a broader perspective concerning emigration and unemployment, I could claim that from 2001 until 2010 (when emigration reached its peak), with the exception of years 2006 and 2007, emigration was gradually increasing, independently from unemployment (more on that see *SPSS Correlation Analysis*).

Furthermore, the *Graph 7* is depicting unemployment and emigration trends shows different volatile patterns. From 1994 to 1997 when total unemployment was steadily decreasing and during 1997-2001 when it sharply rose, emigration was of rather same levels and varied around 4000 between 1994-2000.

Graph 7

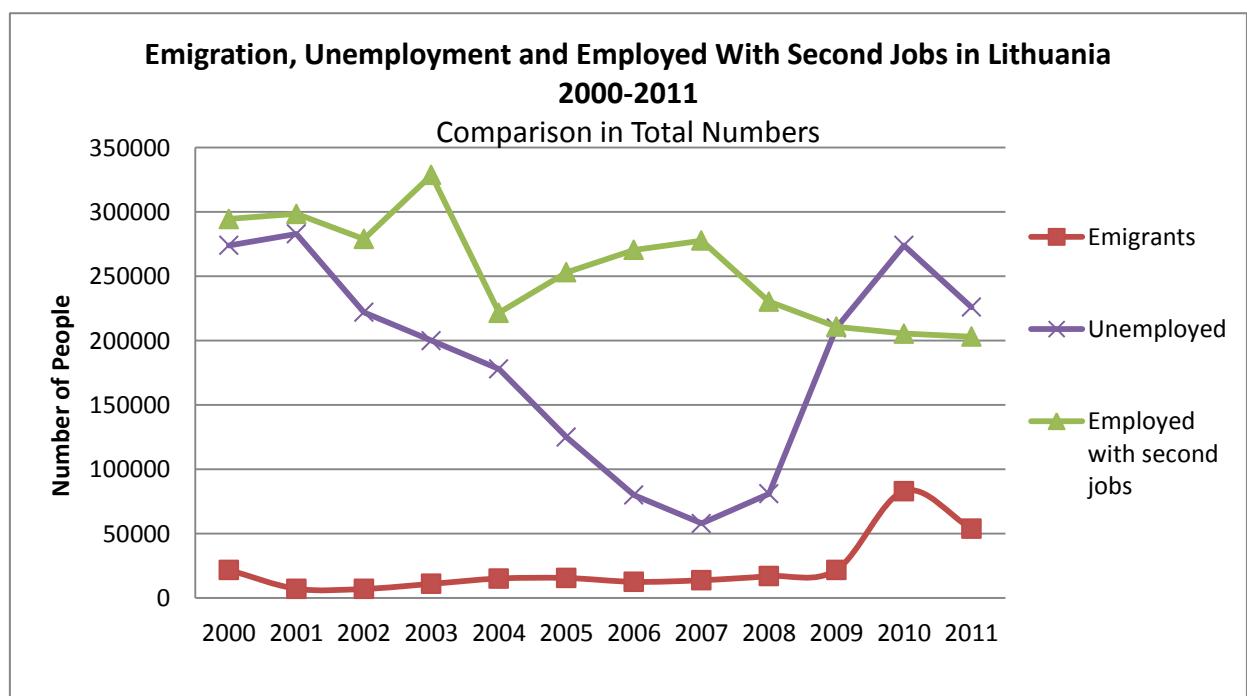


Source: Eurostat

However from the year 2001 unemployment began significantly diminish and reached its lowest point at around 58,000 in 2007. At the same period emigration was either lessening or growing, yet, with no constant trend. Nonetheless, the next period from 2007 to 2012 seems to correlate positively. The sharpest boost in unemployment together with emigration was recorded during 2007-2010. Unemployment grew by almost 5 times from 58,000 in 2007 to 274,000 in 2010 whereas emigration went up 6 times from 13,853 to 83157 (more on this exceptional period below). From then both of the measure steadily declined until 2012. Thus, there are no unique patterns in these two variables expressed in total numbers. However, certain periods correlate negatively, positively and some of them are on different pathways.

Finally, before continuing with SPSS correlation analysis I will overview the statistics of people employed with 2 jobs in accordance to emigration and unemployment (*Graph 8*). Since I am interested in what kind of the population is more likely to emigrate, such a variable might be quite of help. Since most of the people having 2 or more jobs are low-skilled workers, the shift in numbers might unveil interesting facts in accordance to emigration and unemployment. However, it can be the case that in the face of an economic crises people who had more than 1 job would lose the “extra’s”. Once again, the time period is of 10 years distance from my initial idea, yet, such statistics as people employed with second jobs were not gathered in the previous years.

Graph 8



Source: Lithuanian National Statistics and Eurostat

The pattern is clear, in 2000 and 2001 with increasing unemployment and falling emigration, number people who had more than 1 job increased. The year 2002 were followed by a surge in the latter category and later followed by a sharp decline in 2004 (at the same time emigration was steadily growing with unemployment gradually decreasing). A rather sharp, yet, gradual contraction of the unemployed seems correspond with a rising number in employed people with second jobs between 2004-2007. From 277,800 in 2007 employed people with second jobs slowly constricted to 203,100 whereas unemployment from its lowest point (around 58,000) and emigration from 13,853 surged in the last 3 years and peaked at 2010. To semi-conclude, the number of people with second jobs most of the time was related negatively to unemployment shifts, however, there were no such steep changes as in emigration and unemployment.

- SPSS Correlation Analysis

Even though I have introduced the trends and descriptive analysis of emigration and unemployment together with its categories, it is rather difficult to trace significant correlations with naked eye. Thus, I took into assistance the IBM – SPSS software.

To learn the scale of correlation between migration and unemployment in Lithuania I have run a number of correlations. The most important part was to distinguish if there was a significant relationship between the flow of emigrants and the unemployment totals in Lithuania. As I have noted, Pryymachenko (2011) found out that there was a significant negative correlation between emigration and unemployment rates, however she integrated a number of countries. The first attempt to find such a relationship had failed, and even though there was a correlation between the total emigration and unemployment (together with categorized unemployment groups, men/women, total/rate) it was not significant enough to discuss it. Nonetheless, I have found a strong negative -0,630 correlation between total emigration and employed people with second jobs. The significance was at 0,028 level. This, in turn, depicts that with rising emigration the number of people having second jobs was decreasing. To add, although there was no significant correlation between total emigration and unemployment levels, when categorized, the share of unemployed ranging between 20-64 years people with primary and secondary education has a strong positive 0.818 correlation at 0.001 level of significance (1998-2012 period). Such relationship shows that while one

variable is rising another one is receiving higher value as well. Also, employment of the individuals with primary or lower-secondary (0-2 stages) education seems to negatively correlate with total emigration at the -0.780 rate and 0.001 significance, meaning that with rising emigration employment is reducing or in other words unemployment of people having education of 0-2 stages goes up.

The division between time periods unveiled rather different relationships between the same categories. Even though it seems that during 1994-2003 total emigration does not correlate with unemployment and its categories, the 2004-2012 period brought up completely different results. I am not sure whether the decisive factors were the influences of the European Union, yet, from the year 2004 one can envisage quite strong and significant relationship between emigration and unemployment. However, the results were rather opposite to Pryymachenko's conclusions (more details in the *results* paragraph). At first, using SPSS software, I found that there is a strong positive 0.811 correlation between total emigration and total unemployment with significance at 0.006 level. Unsurprisingly, categorized unemployment (men/women) and relative unemployment levels backed up the correlation. The strong and positive relationships orient us that during the 2004-2012 period increases in one of the mentioned variables would go toe-to-toe with a rise in another variable and vice-versa.

RQ 2. What are the main factors influencing the decision to emigrate?

- *Analysis of the Primary Data – the Questionnaire*

The main aim of the questionnaire's data analysis was to find out the most frequent reasons behind the respondents' choices to emigrate and check how certain variables such as sex, destination and emigration period influence them. It was also relevant to find out the trends of emigration according to the level of education and how perception of people who have different levels of education varies in factors influencing their decision making abilities.

A short description of the data follows next. The population was of 114 respondents in total, including 61 men and 53 women. Almost half of the sample, 53 people chose the option of post-secondary education) dominated by 29 to 24, men-to-women ratio. There were only 18 people who had already obtained atleast bachelor's degree, 7 males and 11 females, most of whom resided in Scandinavia. Only 3 respondents in total, 2 men and 1 had completed just primary schools. The most popular destination was the UK with the frequency of 29, following Ireland with 21 and Scandinavia – 20. On the other hand, the least popular among

emigrants' destinations was Germany totalling 7 from 114 choices. The incidence among the respondents living in emigration between 1 to 3 years was 33%, followed by 28.9% of emigration period less than 3 months and 25.4% - up to 1 year. Only 12.3% of the respondents had emigrated for a longer period than 3 years.

To begin analysis, what concerns the "choice" dimension, I have overviewed how the reasons and factors behind the decision to emigrate, come back home or stay in emigration shift and correlate with each other in different categories (see more in *Methodology* paragraph).

According to the categorized data the incidence of pulling influences behind the decision to emigrate is almost as 3 times high as the pushing ones, 80 versus 29. It seems that most of the respondents in the sample, more than 70%, chose to emigrate because of some attractive characteristics of the host country. Only 25.4% admitted that imperfections in Lithuania were the driving force to leave the country. Furthermore, 35 individuals left their home country because of certain social conditions and 74 people emigrated on the basis of economic incentives.

What concerns gender perspective, only 7.5% of the female respondents fell into the neutral category, influenced neither by push/pull nor by economic/social factors. One can clearly see that pulling factors were dominant among women's choice to emigrate and were around 3 times more frequent than those of the pushing origin. The division between economic and social reasons was quite similar as among men and the total population in general. Economic conditions were more than twice important than social factors, respectively 62.2% (economic) and 30.2% (social). In comparison to the total population of the sample where economic influences with 64.9% dominated 30.7% of social factors.

The total number of individuals who had come back from emigration to Lithuania is precisely 100, including 53 males and 47 females. The division between push and pull factors is rather clear. Similarly as in "reasons to emigrate" push factors are trailing 24% to 66% from the pull reasons. Separation between economic and social conditions is 61% to 29% of the total population that had come back to Lithuania. This, in turn, shows that only 10% of respondents chose neutral answers (in this case either neutral or could be both, economic and social or pushing and pulling). In comparison to 6 out of 53 men, only 4 from 47 women gave neutral answers. If to look at the ratio between push/pull factors and economic/social reasons via sex perspective, 21.27% of women chose push factors to be the main influence behind their decision to come back to Lithuania and 70.21% advocated for the pull factors. Comparably, 63.82% of women came back to Lithuania driven by economic incentives and just 27.65%

were steered by social influences.

Cross-check comparison of incidence in push to social and pull to economic factors can provide us with pictures of certain trends. In order to see whether these people's choice of push/pull and economic/social influences have common traits, I compared the ratios of the total population and later on analysed just women's case. Thus, ratio of push to social factors among all respondents was 24 to 29 (0.827 coefficient) and 66 to 61 ratio of pull to economic causes (1.082 coefficient). Among women these ratios were almost the same, 10 to 13 push to social reasons (0.769 coefficient) and 33 to 30 pull to economic factors (1.1 coefficient). This gives space for a semi-conclusion that there is a trend among people who had come back from emigration driven by economic incentives to define them as pulling factors. Thus, pulling influences are rather parallel to economic ones and vice-versa, social influences correlate with pushing factors.

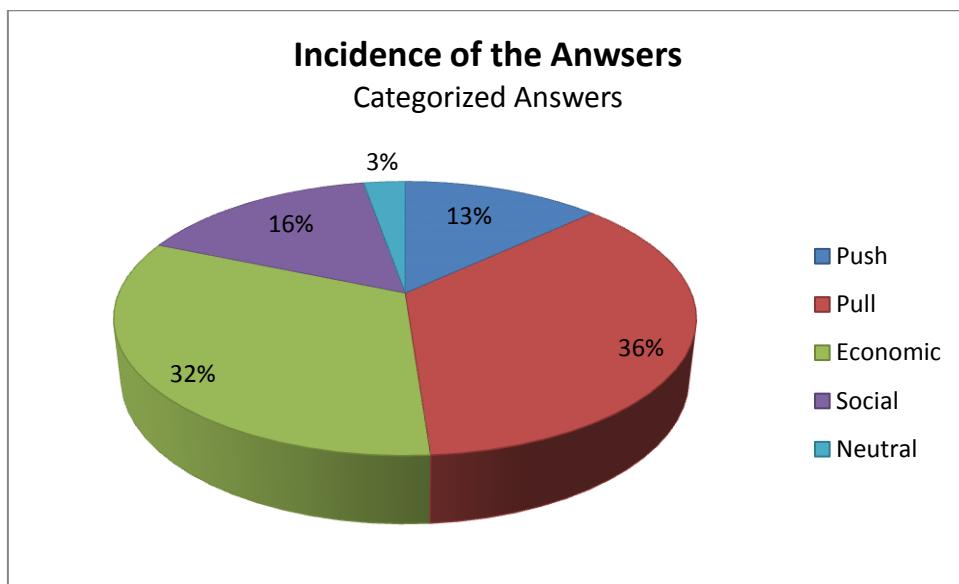
Although at the first glance it might seem that respondents who did not choose to come back to Lithuania were influenced by the same factors as while emigrating, yet, since the outlooks and individual perception shifts throughout time it is quite relevant to check how the influences had changed.

Therefore, I have categorized reasons for staying in emigration according to the same manner as previously mentioned (see *Methodology* for more). However, in this case push factors influencing the decision to stay describe rather negative perception towards Lithuania, whereas pull factors are attributed the host country in a way that it is pulling one to stay. While analysing what had influenced them to stay in emigration respondents had more equal choices than "leaving" and "coming back" segments, 2 push and 2 pull together with 2 economic and 2 social reasons. This indicates that a respondent is less likely to misjudge the questions and the answers would be more credible, less influenced by a mathematical ratio.

Just 14 respondents from the total sample population of 114 had not come back to Lithuania and stayed in emigration. Only 1 respondent fell into the neutral category of push/pull factors and 3 people chose economic/social influences of a neutral origin. The push factors constituted 28.57% of the answers and the pull ones amounted for 64.28%. Among women both factors were of the same incidence, 50% to 50%. Furthermore, the division between economic and social factors among females was equal as well, 33.34% to 33.34%. However, economic to social influences division in the analysis of the total population was slightly different, 42.86% for economic factors and 35.71% for the social ones (note that the neutral answers account for the other 21.5%).

The division of 6 females of whom only 1 selected neutral answers, was completely homogenous. The ratio between push to social and pull to economic factors is equal: 3 to 2 and combines for 1.5 coefficient. However, since the sample is rather small, it is rather tricky to conclude that the answers respondents who stayed in emigration correlate in the same manner as the two previous categories (see the previous page). Yet, if to look just at the incidence numbers 3 and 2 in the both categories, one can see that there is no immense differentiation and if analysing a larger sample the incidence would not develop in the same ratio and finally would stabilize with a lower coefficient than the current. The chart below (*Graph 9*) presents the incidence of the afore analysed answers visually.

Graph 9



Based on the questionnaire

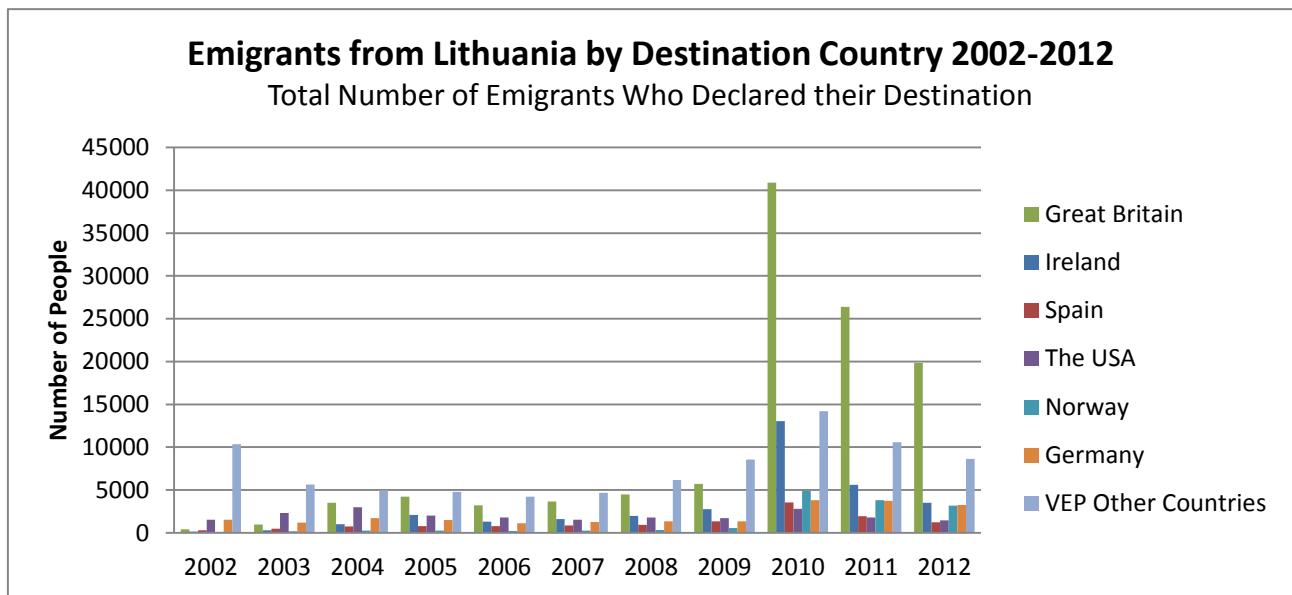
RQ 3. What are the trends while choosing the destination country?

- *Descriptive Analysis*

According to the data in *Graph 11* and *Graph 12*, trends of the selected destination countries followed the general emigration pattern. With gradually increasing emigration levels from 2002 there was an immense surge in 2010 and slight fall in the 2 subsequent years. Most responsibility should be attributed to Great Britain, Ireland and Norway; these destinations received the highest amounts of immigrants in total numbers. The peak involved increases by more than 8 times, from 5,719 to 40,901 in Great Britain, 1,355 to 13,048 in Ireland and 536

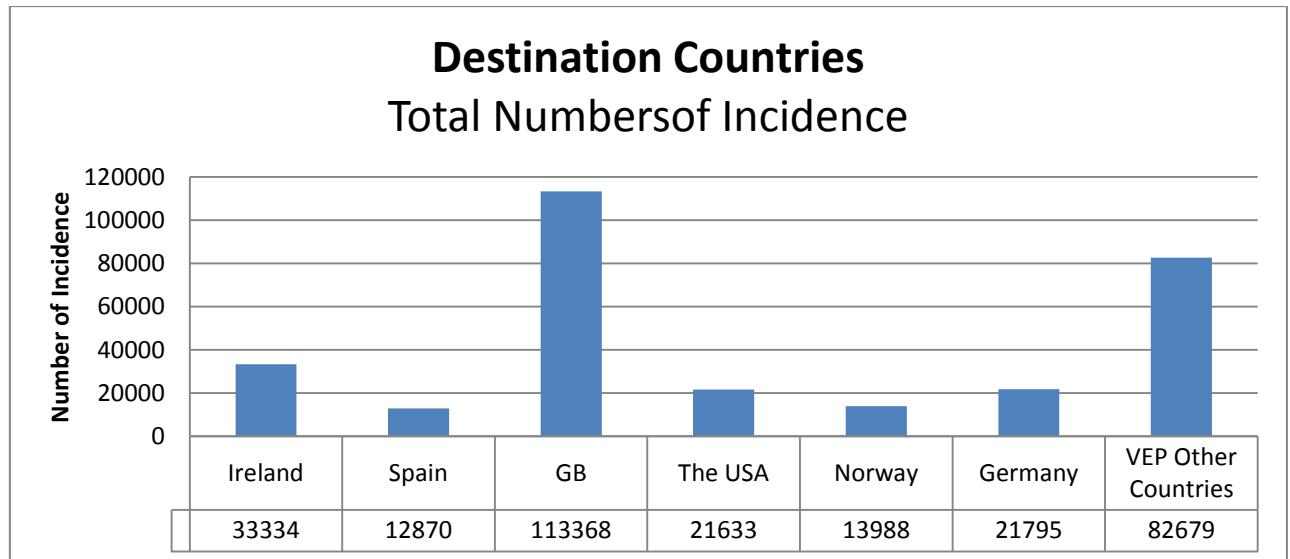
to 4,901 in Norway (between 2009-2010). The most selected destination among the emigrants between 2002 and 2012 was Great Britain with the total of 113,368 incidence. Other countries were chosen by 82,679 emigrants, followed by Ireland with 33,334 selections. Least popular destinations included Spain (12,870), Norway (13,988), the USA (21,633) and Germany with 21,795 emigrants choosing it as their destination country. Most responsibility should be attributed to Great Britain, Ireland and Norway; these destinations received the highest amounts of immigrants in total numbers. The peak involved increases by more than 8 times, from 5,719 to 40,901 in Great Britain, 1,355 to 13,048 in Ireland and 536 to 4,901 in Norway (between 2009-2010). The most selected destination among the emigrants between 2002 and 2012 was Great Britain with the total of 113,368 incidence. Other countries were chosen by 82,679 emigrants, followed by Ireland with 33,334 selections. Least popular destinations included Spain (12,870), Norway (13,988), the USA (21,633) and Germany with 21,795 emigrants choosing it as their destination country.

Graph 11



Source: Eurostat

Graph 12



Source: Eurostat

The following *Table 3* shows data obtained from the ONS (2013) which present completely different data for the immigrants to the UK (geographically includes both, Great Britain and Ireland)

Table 3 - Long Term International Migration, estimates from the International Passenger Survey: Annual data Migration Inflow of Lithuanian Citizens to the UK for individual years 2004 to 2011

Year of Interview	Estimate (thousands of people)	+/- CI
Total	53	14
2004	10	7
2005	2	2
2006	1	1
2007	2	2
2008	3	2
2009	6	3
2010	13	7
2011	17	8

Source: Migration Statistics Unit of the Office for National Statistics

Such differences in the total estimates between two data sources (Eurostat and ONS) brings back the idea of misleading data and that it can be quite tricky to interpret any of data on emigration from or immigration in a certain area. The ONS estimates of 8 years starting 2004 combined do not cover even 1-year total emigration to Great Britain and Ireland figures.

- *SPSS Analysis*

What concerns the primary data on the destination countries, the data shows that with rising emigration, people tend to choose European countries over the USA with the latter insignificant 0.302 positive correlation (compare to Ireland, Spain, Norway, and Germany at .000 significance and close to 0.98 positive correlation).

To continue looking at the destination countries, there is not enough data to make a reliable correlation for the 1994-2003 period, yet, during 2004-2012 approximately the same trends prevailed. Only the USA was left out once more with insignificant and quite low 0.310 positive correlation. The other host countries showed extremely high and significant relationships with emigration.

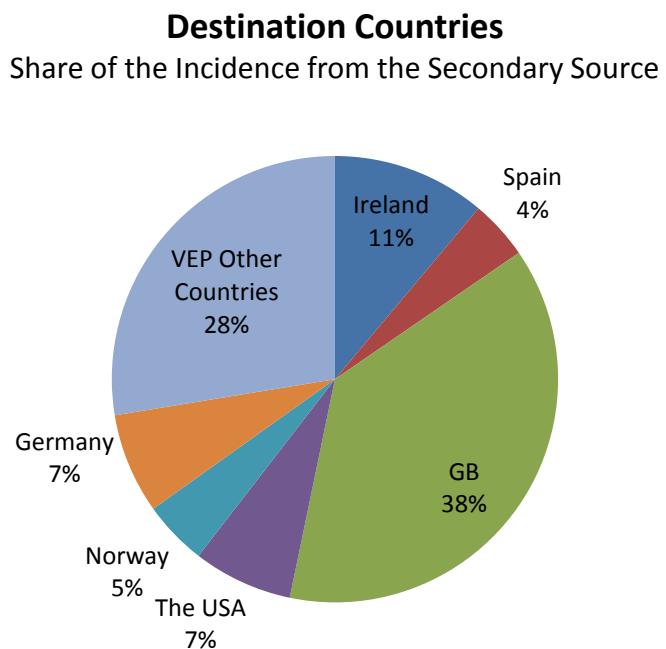
Rising unemployment, both relative and absolute categories, seem to correspond positively with increases in emigration to the host countries (included in the research). Even though while distinguishing the relationships between unemployment and emigration to the host countries during the whole 1994-2012 period the significance levels vary from 0.012 to 0.091 the division between periods presents us a different perspective on the matter. The most important statistics is that none of the host countries has a negative relationship with the unemployment and its categories. Contrary, one can find moderate or even strong positive correlations. For instance, relative unemployment corresponds positively 0.672 with emigration to Norway at 0.024 significance. Another example is of a rather strong 0.789 positive correlation between total unemployment and emigrants to Great Britain at 0.012 significance (0.865 positive relationship to VEP countries at 0.003 significance).

- *Comparison*

In order to compare my finding from primary and secondary data sources, with latter being Eurostat database, I have drawn up two charts which represent share of the chosen destinations' incidences (*Graph 13* and *Graph 14*). One should take into consideration that the sample are of completely different sizes; Eurostat database used statistics nation-wide and my

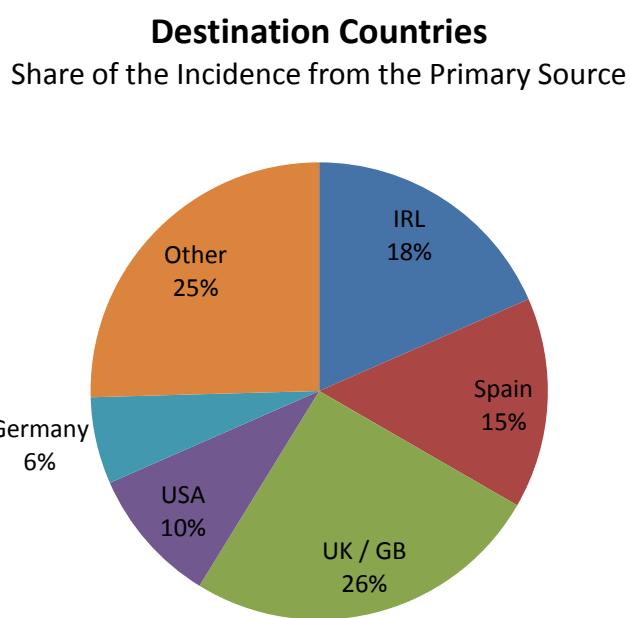
primary sample consists just of 114 respondents. Also, since there are no distinguished Scandinavian countries in the secondary source, I will make my sample compatible while treating them as *VEP Other Countries*

Graph 13



Source: Eurostat

Graph 14



Source: Primary Data Source – Questionnaire

Already knowing the limitations, it seems that statistics from the both data sources have some similarities. First of all, in both of the samples Great Britain leads the race. It seems that the most popular destination place is Great Britain. Nation-wise (Eurostat) it constituted 38% and showed the complete domination over the other countries. However, according to the questionnaire respondents' answers the share that Great Britain held was around 26%. Even though it was 12% less in Eurostat database, still, the trend seems to be clear: Great Britain was and is the most popular destination for Lithuanian Emigrants. Further, both of the samples took up rather similar shares of *Other* options, Eurostat option of *VEP Other Countries* accounts for 28% of the sample, whereas around a quarter of respondents chose *Scandinavia or Other* as their destinations in the questionnaire (see *Limitations* for more). Germany together with the USA totaled 14% and 16% respectively in the questionnaire and Eurostat. However, if to separate them and treat individually, in the questionnaire Germany amounted for 6% in comparison to 7% in nation-wide sample and the USA received 10% of respondent choices against 7% in Eurostat. The least similar tendencies were among Ireland and Spain selections. Spain which held 15% of the primary data responses had more than 3 times of a share than basing on Eurostat data. This could be influenced by the sampling method. Since I used the snowball sampling technique, the respondents who immigrated to Spain directed me, and therefore, the course of the research more to Spain-like area. Finally, 18% of the questionnaire respondents immigrated to Ireland in comparison to 11% according to Eurostat. The difference is quite notable. Yet, if to add up the shares of Ireland and Great Britain, it would constitute 44% of the questionnaire respondents' answers and almost half 49% of the nation-wide sample. All in all, even though the shares are not divided quite equally, yet, the trends stay rather similar.

6. Results and Conclusions

This paragraph is dedicated to systematically summarize the descriptive analysis and epitomize it in a set of comprehensive conclusions.

Using the IMB SPSS software I have found that after the accession to the European Union in 2004 until 2012 there had been a strong positive 0.811 correlation between total emigration and total unemployment at 0.006 significance. It means that emigration was rising in a similar pattern with unemployment. Such a conclusion is rather opposite to Pryymachenko's (2011) who found a negative correlation between emigration and unemployment. The period prior the EU seems to show similar trends, however, the significance is rather questionable, thus, it

is tricky to draw any conclusions. Further, the tendency among the unemployed share of population according to the education is obvious as well. The most vulnerable are individuals with lower levels of education attained and the least affected are highly-educated people. The share of population with secondary and post-secondary education is affected at almost the same rate as the low-educated people, however in the light of high unemployment and immense emigration (2009-2011) individuals with average education were affected less in comparison to the ones who had primary schooling. Looking via the gender perspective, men were affected more than women.

Furthermore, I have noted that in certain periods like, 2006-2010 with rising emigration the number of people having second jobs is decreasing. There was a strong negative -0.630 correlation between the total emigration and people having second jobs. If to hypothesize that workers who have more than 1 job are of mostly low-skilled, one could claim that unskilled labour force accounts for immense increases in emigration (especially in 2010). Also, to add up the 3 variables during certain periods: increase in emigration, decrease of employed people with second jobs and immense augment in the share of people immigrating to Great Britain and Ireland, logical inference might be that the most popular destinations are those which low-skilled workers tend to choose. However, it could also mean worsening economic situation in a certain area or deviation from a common worker because of the inclusion of entrepreneurs, who have registered more than 1 company or organization on their behalf, in the statistics.

Basing on the data from the conducted questionnaire, I have also summarized the incidence of factors influencing the decisions to emigrate, come back to Lithuania or stay in the host country. Most respondents from my sample were driven by economic incentives (32%) over the social ones (16%) and the pull factors dominated the push ones more than twice, 36% versus 13%. It seems to prove Todaro's and Ravenstein's arguments that a common emigrant is mostly, yet, not all of them, driven by economic incentives. To add, according to Brandi et al., (2003) and Lee (1966) and the theory that the pull factors are more likely to affect highly-skilled migration and that push factors are more common in unskilled mass migration, the picture would be that most of emigrants from Lithuania are highly-skilled. However, the results seem to be contradictory because of the previously discussed findings on worker having 2 or more jobs. What concerns destination areas, most of the Lithuanian emigrants immigrate to Great Britain and Ireland. These areas dominate over the others at almost 50% share (48% in Eurostat and the questionnaire – 44%). Other destination countries seem to

attain a little less of attention. One of the reasons can be the Schengen zone where movers are not obliged to declare their destination.

All in all, there is a degree of controversy within the findings and in order to make them clearer, more thorough studies, problematizing each of the research questions individually, should be conducted.

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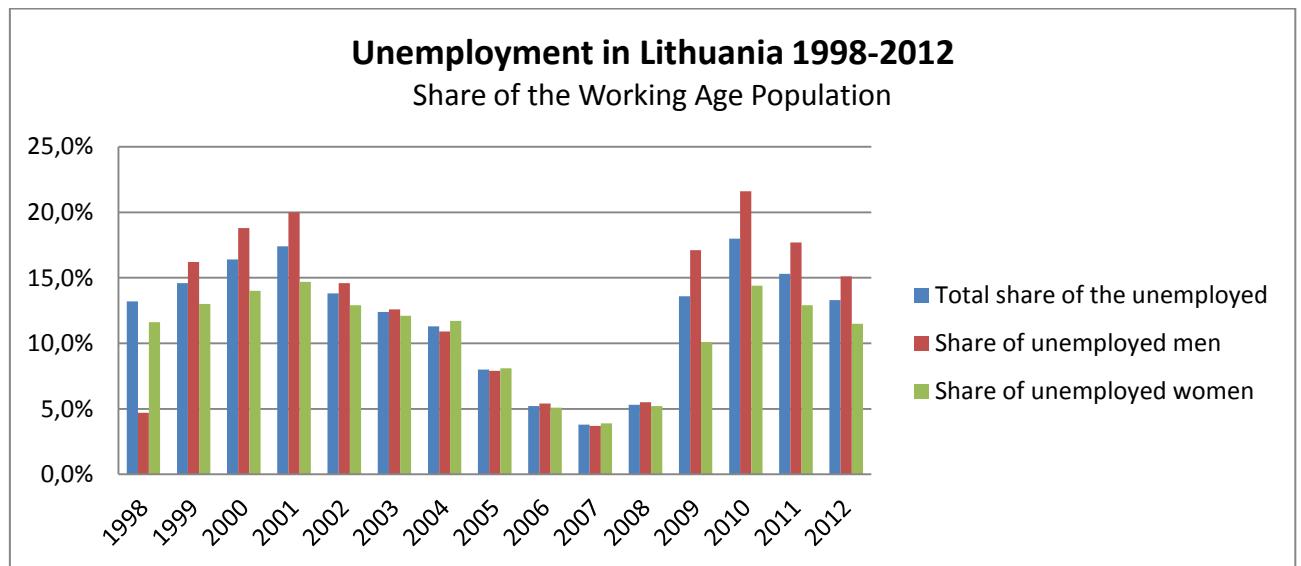
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8. Appendix

Graph 6 – Categorized Unemployment in Lithuania 1998-2012



Source: Eurostat

Example of the Primary Data Source – Questionnaire

I. Your sex

1. *Male* 2. *Female*

II. What is your education level?

1. *Primary*
2. *Secondary*
3. *Post-secondary (still in university / college)*
4. *Graduate*

III. How long have you been in emigration?

1. *Less than 3 months*
2. *Up to 1 year*
3. *From 1 to 3 years*
4. *More than 3 years*

IV. What was your destination area?

1. *United Kingdom*
2. *Ireland*
3. *Germany*
4. *Spain*
5. *USA*
6. *Scandinavia*
7. *Other (please share your answer)*

V. Why have you decided to emigrate?

1. *Because of better job opportunities in the host country*
2. *To gain international experience*
3. *Because of higher living standards in the host country*
4. *There were no satisfying jobs in Lithuania*
5. *Because I could not exploit my talents in Lithuania*
6. *Other (please, share your answer)*

VI. Have you come back to Lithuania?

1. *Yes*
2. *No*

VII. What was the main reason behind your decision to come back to your home country?

1. *Could not adapt in the foreign country/society*
2. *The economic situation had worsened in the host country*
3. *More opportunities emerged to get a job in Lithuania than previously*
4. *Missed the home country, felt homesick for Lithuania*
5. *Had already acquired enough skill, experience and/or knowledge to get a good job in Lithuania*
6. *Left the host country because of a certain misfortune*
7. *Other (please, share your answer)*

VIII. What influenced your decision NOT to come back to Lithuania and stay in the host country?

1. *Better job market than in Lithuania, easier to get a well-paid job*
2. *Satisfaction with current living conditions*
3. *Establishment of certain relationships that tied with the host country*
4. *Moved to another country*
5. *Fear of coming back to Lithuania. Uncertain how I should adapt or what opportunities lie there*
6. *Other (please, share your answer)*

