

**THE IMPACT OF EMPLOYMENT
SKILLS SUPPORT AND
INEQUALITIES AT WORK ON
INCENTIVES TO MIGRATE
A CASE STUDY OF KOSOVO**

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to explore how experiences of looking for jobs and working in Kosovo have influenced migration. This includes the experiences of job seekers and workers in Kosovo, of return migrants, and also of prospective migrants. Central to this study is the question of how the presence or absence of employment skills support programmes, and the ways in which employees are treated at work influence the decisions made by individuals to migrate.

An interpretivist approach has been adopted with a focus on qualitative data to achieve these objectives. The primary qualitative research involves thirty-one semi-structured interviews conducted with migrants, return migrants, workers, job seekers, employers, labour inspectors, trade union members, and analysts. Four court cases were obtained from the [REDACTED] to examine the nature of different appeals and how they are handled and resolved, and to complement and enrich the findings from the interviews.

This thesis contributes to the existing literature about migration by illuminating how a lack of human rights and human capital development can increase migration. It illustrates the importance of the state in supporting workers in accessing jobs and in implementing labour law. It finds that there are, in addition to purely economic incentives, interfering factors that favour migration from Kosovo, such as nepotism, favouritism, and corruption.

The application of an adapted and expanded push and pull theory to explore migration incentives from Kosovo offers a unique perspective on the ‘push-pull’ and ‘intervening’ factors of migration.

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List of Abbreviations

BIRN – Balkan Investigative Reporting Network

BTI – Bertelsmann Stiftung Index

CV – Curriculum Vitae

Et al. – et alia (and others)

ETF – European Training Foundation

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

ILO – International Labour Organisation

IMF – International Monetary Fund

IMISCOE – The International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion Network
of Excellence

IOM – International Organisation for Migration

KEC – Kosovo Energy Corporation

KEDS – Kosovo Electricity Distribution and Supply Company

RTK – Radio Television of Kosovo

UITUK – Union of Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNMIK – United Nations Mission in Kosovo

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Research aim and questions

The overarching aim of this research is to examine the labour market experiences and their role in the migration decision of workers and job seekers, including migrants and return migrants, of the employment support they are provided, their access to jobs, and of the way they are treated at work. Furthermore, the study aims to understand how these factors affect, or might have affected, the intentions of those who migrate and the levels of migration.

My purpose is also to analyse the labour legislation in terms of employment rights and their implementation and enforcement. Hence, this research looks at the role of the Labour Inspectorate and trade unions in safeguarding the rights of employees.

It also discusses the employers' side, and takes into consideration the opinions of analysts about the labour market conditions in Kosovo.

This PhD began after I had returned to Kosovo from the UK, hoping to find a job and settle back in my home country. However, the economic and political situation was not as I had hoped it would be – I struggled to find a job and did not receive the help I needed to enter the labour market. As a result, I decided to return to the UK and to analyse and understand what was happening in the labour market in Kosovo and how this affected migration from Kosovo. The employment situation in Kosovo can lead to the understanding that job seekers who are not supported in their job-hunt process, and employees who are not treated well at their workplace, look for better opportunities in other countries because they see migration from Kosovo as an opportunity, both to find work and improve their wellbeing. Employment skills support services are

common in some other countries, such as the UK, and are provided for free from different institutions and organisations such as Councils (UKCES, 2014).

This study does not intend to test the correlation between the factors above, but to understand the dynamics of how people arrive at the decision to migrate. I am in a unique position to explore these issues because of my insider perspective. Having grown up in Kosovo, I speak the language and have the requisite cultural knowledge to understand the experiences of those I interviewed and the social world they inhabit. My interest in exploring these dynamics led me to draft the following central research question:

What impact does the lack of employment skills support and unequal treatment at work have on incentives to migrate?

This study builds upon earlier work on the push and pull factors of migration to understand the sources of population movements from Kosovo. It also sheds light on the complexities of the conditions in the sending country against which migration decisions are made, namely, the nexus between inequalities at work and human capital, and how this affects migration from Kosovo. This thesis does not only look at one factor, nor does it focus only on individual choices as decisions to migrate can be the outcome of various conditions in the home and the destination countries. These range from political instability and the lack of adequate social and economic development and the challenges that result: lack of employment opportunities; cultural differences that impede labour market integration; and the need to escape difficult situations and move to a safer location. Some population movements are triggered by climate change; they can be seasonal or temporary, or can be more permanent with the aim of settlement or family reunion. Understanding the sources of migration from Kosovo is

the main objective of this thesis. This makes it possible to establish a more robust understanding of how human capital and inequality at work develop, and how they can impact population movements at different time periods. The thesis aims to achieve the following research objectives:

1. To study the factors impacting emigration from Kosovo in the post-war period of 1999 to 2014;
2. To examine the lives and work experiences of migrants prior to migration, with the aim of understanding what had ‘pushed’ them to leave the country;
3. To analyse the role of employment legislation and state employment skills programmes in individuals’ decision to stay or leave;
4. To ascertain how employment rights and equality affect experiences of working in Kosovo.

In choosing to research the influence of these two factors on migration, my aim has been partly to encourage academic research on migration from developing countries (Zohry, 2002). Furthermore, the idea to explore these questions came from the need for such research, considering that research worldwide focuses primarily on economic factors that influence migration, such as bad pay and unemployment, and less on those factors that have an indirect economic effect, such as inadequate human capital development and inequality at work. For example, lack of employment rights can lead people to take on additional unpaid work; lack of employment skills support can prevent people from finding jobs; and nepotism can lead job seekers to try to influence employment processes by trying to ingratiate themselves with those who hold power and thus to spend time and effort they would not have spent if the selection process was fair. However, this does not mean that these two factors will be studied in isolation – this thesis also considers the effects of low-income and insecurity in Kosovo. As will

be explored later in the empirical chapters, the low-income factor has already proved significant in causing migration incentives from Kosovo, e.g. in the case of migration in 2014. As a result, this research will fill the gap in research to produce more comprehensive insights in the latest migration processes and factors. This means that the human factor needs to be understood in the context of economics, politics, culture, work insecurity and insecurity in general, in order to decipher the reasons for migration and to identify and understand migration patterns.

Kosovo is a developing state with acute migration problems, and while there are studies on intentions to migrate, migration from Kosovo remains under-researched. With a high rate of migration, Kosovo is an interesting case to study in order to deepen research on migration and labour markets, as one third of its population is unemployed, and even those who are employed are not treated well in the workplace, and the assumption is that this is also linked to low levels of remuneration. Furthermore, I chose Kosovo as a case study because I wanted to research questions that have played a great role in my life. I wanted to research my home country, the place where I was born and grew up, and I aimed to shed light on its problems so that factors that motivate migration are better understood and managed through potential improvements proposed in the labour market.

An Employment Law was passed in Kosovo in 2010. It regulates all aspects of employment, but the implementation has been uneven in the aspects of the age allowed for employment, employee rights, contract regulations, working hours, and overtime (European Commission Staff, 2014). There are existing inspectorates in Kosovo that

are obliged to monitor the implementation of Employment Law, but they cannot function properly due to lack of financial and human resources.

To understand the experiences of migration and the impact of the above factors in migration, I have used a qualitative methodological approach, which entailed analysing the available documents, conducting an analysis of migration trends and factors, and interviewing migrants, employees, job seekers, employers, trade unions members, and government representatives. I have interviewed both private and public sector employees and have also interviewed migrants who live in different destination countries in order to bring together many different experiences of Kosovan migrants. My goal was to understand the complex range of factors that pushed and/or pulled people to migrate and how these factors shape migration experiences. These approaches will be explained in detail in Chapter 3, where I provide information about the methodology; the sampling methods I used; the accessibility to interviewees; the ethics of research and the analysis of data, risks, and benefits.

1.2 Core concepts

Throughout the thesis some core concepts will be used, such as '*migration*'. There are different ways in which migration has been defined. The concept that this thesis uses is that defined by the United Nations (UN), which states that migration is the crossing of the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a specific minimum time, and includes movement of refugees, uprooted people, displaced persons, and economic migrants (UNESCO, 2015). The UN defines a migrant worker as a person 'who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national' (UNESCO, 2017, para. 2). Migration in this thesis

relates to those who move to another country as a result of specific push or pull factors for a limited or unlimited time. There are a number of different types of migrants. Temporary labour migrants are those who migrate ‘for a limited period of time in order to take up employment and send money home’ (ibid, para. 12). However, there are those who migrate permanently with no plans to return. There are other categorisations of international migrants that I refer to in this thesis, and this includes return migrants, the experiences of whom I consider in this thesis in order to understand their employment and migration experience:

Return migrants – ‘[r]eturning migrants are persons returning to their country of citizenship after having been international migrants (whether short-term or long-term) in another country and who are intending to stay in their own country for at least a year’ (OECD, 2001, para.1).

There are also irregular migrants, circular migrants and internally displaced persons:

Irregular migrants – ‘a person who, owing to irregular entry, breach of a condition of entry or the expiry of their legal basis for entering and residing, lacks legal status in a transit or host country’ (European Commission, 2019, para.1).

Circular migrants – those who move ‘between countries, including temporary or long-term movement which may be beneficial to all involved, if occurring voluntarily and linked to the labour needs of countries of origin and destination’ (IOM, 2020, para.1).

Internally displaced persons – ‘Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized

violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border' (IOM, 2020, para.31).

The term '*employment*' will be used several times in the thesis. Phillips and Scott (2014) argue that '*employment*' means employment under a contract of employment, personally to do work, or apprenticeship.

The term '*human capital*' is defined 'as knowledge, skills, abilities, and other characteristics that are relevant for economic activity' (Kucharcikova, 2011, p.61). Becker (1994) defines human capital as 'activities that influence future monetary and psychic income by increasing resources in people' (p.11), and its main forms were schooling and on-the-job training, although he also considers medical care, migration, and searching for information about prices and incomes. He suggests that these are an investment in human capital because skills and knowledge are inseparable part of a person, unlike finances or physical assets that can be removed from one's possession. From OECD (2001) human capital has been defined as productive wealth that is embodied in labour, skills, and knowledge.

'*Mistreatment at work*', is used to explain the violation of rights, absence of equal opportunities and inequality in a workplace.

The term '*democracy at work*', is usually used to refer to decision making processes and the ability of employees to express and promote their views at work about their working conditions and the firm's life and economic strategy (Lerais et al., 2013).

The term '*lack of employment skills support*' refers to the lack of services such as training opportunities that would prepare potential employees for employment, and lack of information about which institutions and organisations offer support for writing CV's and training services.

Also, the term '*trade union*' is used to refer to organisations that represent people at work and offer advice and information about work-related problems.

Some of these concepts and many more that have been used in this research, such as employability, among others, are further developed in the literature review in Chapter 2, as they are explained within the contextualisation of literature.

In the section that follows, I will explain the originality of the research and the contribution to knowledge.

1.3 Originality of the research

This research is the first of its kind to conduct an in-depth study on the influence of the lack of employment skills support and inequalities at work in the incentives to migrate, with a focus on Kosovo.

Previous research has focused on migration that happens as a result of wage differentials and opportunities for higher income in the host country (Ravenstein, 1885; Massey et al., 1993, and Borjas, 1999, among others). Chau and Stark (1998) looked at education, and how that influences migration, for example educated individuals would seek to migrate to countries that offer better employment opportunities. Zell and Skop (2011), Dekker and Engbersen (2012) suggest that

migrant networks can also play an important part in influencing migration due to friends and family helping with accommodation, jobs, and information, thus significantly reducing migration costs. A study by Pirciog et al. (2007) about migration from Romania focused on the available knowledge about employment opportunities that influenced the internal and external migration of Romanians. Villarreal and Blanchard (2013) examined the conditions at work in Mexico and how they influenced migration propensities, especially in the informal sector. However, in the latter two cases, the studies of migration from Romania and Mexico respectively, the focus was only on one of the factors, either employment opportunities or conditions at work. My research therefore aims to address a gap in the literature by studying the role of both aspects – the employment opportunities and support provided to find a job – and of work conditions in the migration decision.

There is little or no empirical evidence about the role of human rights during migration processes. There are studies worldwide on how migration can enhance human capital such as education, but there are no studies of how lack of human capital development, such as lack of skills, can enhance migration. What is needed is not only to focus on income poverty, but also on human capital poverty. Considering this gap, this research will focus on these two important factors, lack of opportunities in employment skills support and unequal treatment at work. These can have an important role on human development and in the choices enabling people to become economically productive. Weber (2013[1904-1905]) argues that the attainment of degrees and diplomas is a certification of skills that are demanded by the market and that can be exchanged for higher incomes. Human capital investment generates greater wealth and higher social positions.

According to Ehrenberg and Smith (1997), human capital from an organisational point of view embodies skills that can be ‘rented out’ to employers. However, Armstrong and Baron (2007) argue that human capital belongs to the individual, not the organisation, whereas Becker (1964, 1975, 1994) and Schultz (1975) claim that investment in human capital contributes to aggregate social and national growth.

There are many studies and theories of migration, some of which will be explained in the literature review. These studies provide information about diaspora remittances, illuminate the importance of migration on poverty reduction, and analyse the effects of migration in the labour market. While many analyses exist about migration and its influence in the origin and destination country, the empirical evidence on the determinants of migration has almost entirely neglected analysis of the potential human development factors influencing migration.

In developing countries, there are documented complaints about unemployment and unsatisfactory economic development, but there are no studies of how job seekers can be supported in advancing their skills to increase their employment chances, and how this would result in a more skilful labour force, which would enhance economic development. As Becker (1994) states, education and training are the most important investments in human capital, and for those who are already working, the bond between worker and employer increases through on-the-job learning and training. Furthermore, through analysing the case study of Kosovo, lessons learnt can be taken from migrants in developed countries about how these countries treat their migration problems and the factors that influence it.

This study gives power to the voices of citizens who face many different challenges, and as a result of not being able to solve these challenges, decide to migrate. The life and migration trajectories produced from the interviews are unique and demonstrate the real, in-depth stories behind migration, and casts light on the problems faced by citizens with regards to employment and migration. The interviews show what needs consideration in terms of economic, political, and legislative development in Kosovo.

This study can be used in the future by governments and international organisations, such as the World Bank, UNDP, and EU Institutions in considering in which areas they can better allocate their investments in developing countries in order to boost employment and, as a result, reduce chances of migration. Furthermore, it will help to show how they can adapt and adopt the strategies of developed countries in tackling these issues.

Considering all the above, this research will be the first to add analysis of the social factors influencing migration from Kosovo, to current knowledge about the factors that influence migration. Finally, it will contribute to an understanding of the nexus between inequality at work and human capital development and how these can also be factors that can lead to migration.

To contextualise the study, it is important to understand some background information on reasons for migration from Kosovo, and to provide insight into the demographic characteristics of the employed and unemployed in Kosovo.

1.4 Background to research project

Between 1969 and 2011, Kosovo has lost almost a quarter of its population through emigration. Based on a survey in 2011 conducted by the Kosovo Statistical Agency, the main reason why Kosovans migrate abroad is family reunification, such as reunification with parents, children or marriage to a person living in the country of destination (Kosovo Agency of Statistics “Kosovan Migration”, 2014). Along with this reason, after 1999, migration waves mainly consisted of ‘irregular migration of unskilled and undereducated youth and legal (temporary) migration of highly skilled and highly educated individuals through study or work arrangements’ (UNDP, 2014, p.24).

Other ideas about the reasons for migration emerged with the latest wave of migration from Kosovo towards western European countries that began in August 2014. Some studies have suggested that this may have occurred as a result of poverty and difficult living conditions, loss of hope, unemployment, or low-paid labour (Bytyci and Dunai, 2015). However, it can be argued that these reasons may not only be the main stimulus for the latest exodus from Kosovo, but could have also been the main influence of migration from 1969 up to April 2011. As a result, in this thesis I examine the impact of some of these factors in migration that have been found in literature, such as economic and human development factors.

When looking at the historical data of migration from Kosovo, one can get the impression that migration has been part of livelihood strategies for Kosovans. Even though statistics are not very clear yet of how many people have migrated since August 2014, the assumption is that the number of emigrants is around 100,000. Whereas for

earlier migrations, the population Census data in Kosovo shows that from 1969 up to April 2011, the number of persons who emigrated from Kosovo is 380,826 persons, and that is 21.4% in proportion to Kosovo's resident population in 2011. Of these, 56.67% were male and 43.33% were female emigrants.

As per the age of migrants, the age group 25-44 years comprised 47.2% of the migrant population; 30-34 years, 12.7%; and people over working age (retired), around 1.3%; although those who are retired, usually return to live in Kosovo. Massive migration happened during the war in 1998-99 where 51, 728 (13.6% of all Kosovan migrants) residents migrated from Kosovo (Kosovo Agency of Statistics "Kosovan Migration", 2014). Migration was mostly towards countries such as Germany, Switzerland, Italy, UK, Canada and Australia.

The period before 1998 was very challenging for Kosovans as Kosovo was part of Serbia¹ and the population was subject to human rights violations. This period was characterised by political tensions and insecurity between Kosovo and Serbia that resulted in the war that began in 1998, where many Kosovans had to flee from genocide. They lost their houses, family members and jobs (Hayden, 1998).

Looking at the ethnic diversity of Kosovo and population movements, the ethnic structure of the population in 2006 was: Albanian 2,150,076, Serb 170,778, Roma 63,174, Turk 7,343, and others 122,460. This results in 'a total of 2,513,830 inhabitants' (Kosovo Agency of Statistics, 2015, p. 33).

¹ By this time, consisting of the Republic of Montenegro and Serbia.

In the latest census of 2011, it was impossible to conduct research with Serbs in North Mitrovica and northern municipalities as they boycotted the census, hence the results of the census exclude the population in those areas, mainly being Serbs. Consequently, we rely on the data of 2006 for this information (ibid).

There were different ethnic population movements, as mentioned above, of Albanians leaving in the 1980s, in the 1990s during the war, and in 2014. There were also ethnic movements, especially of Serbs and Roma, following the war in 1998-1999 for security reasons, due to the ethnic tensions between Kosovan Albanians and Serbs. 'The size of the Serbian population has dropped dramatically since the end of the war in 1999 and notably in the wake of Kosovo's declaration of independence in February 2008' (Minority Rights Group International, 2018, para.4). The Serbs were mainly concentrated in the North of Mitrovica. Their numbers dropped after the war because Serbs were afraid to be open about their ethnicity due to the lack of security and due to fear of discrimination and marginalisation. According to BTi 2018, the number of Serbs leaving Kosovo is growing, as they do not see a future for themselves and their families in the country (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2018).

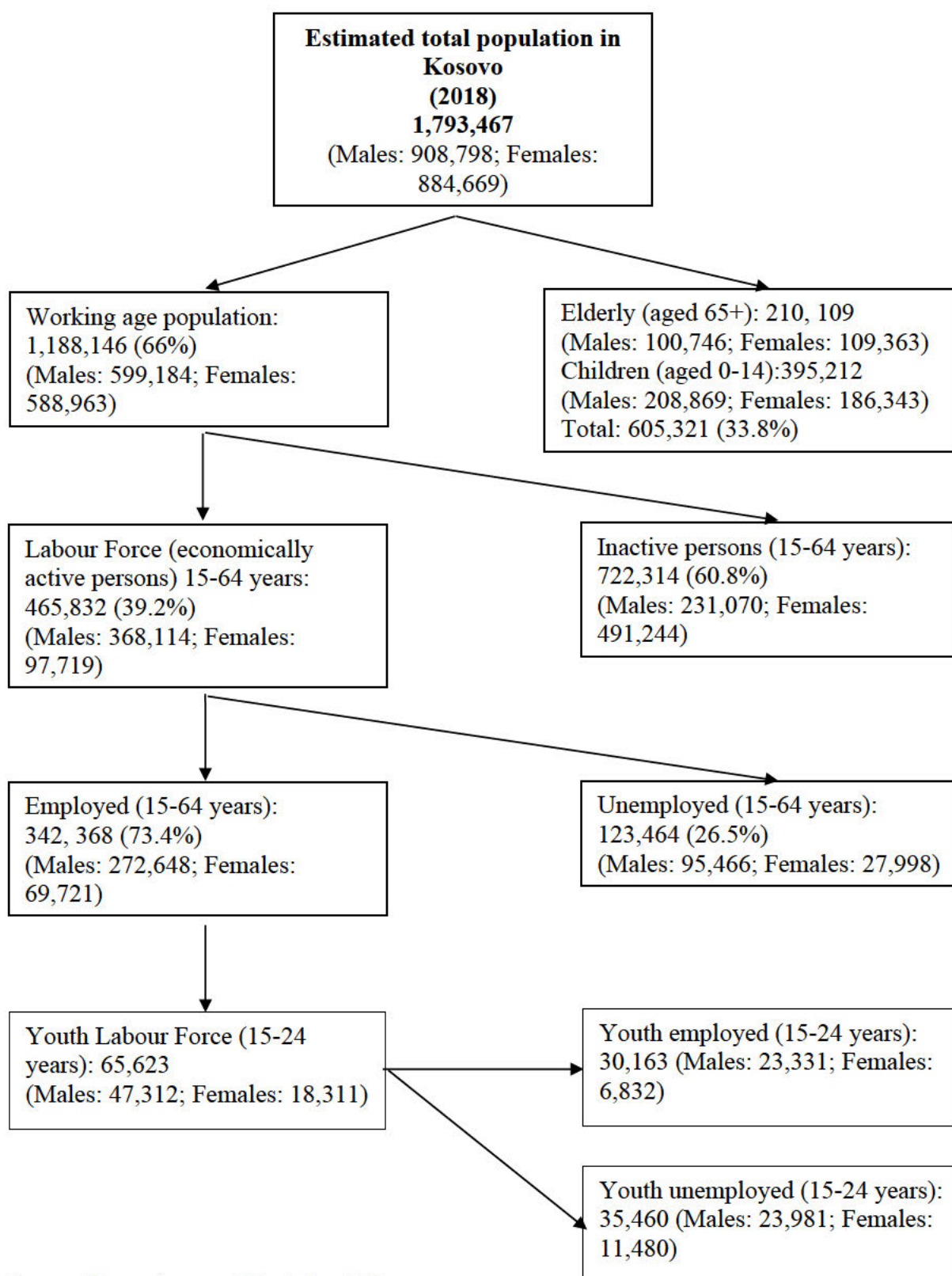
Considering that Kosovan Albanians constitute 93% of Kosovo's population, this research focuses on the migration movements of Kosovans, and the motivations behind these movements.

The period after the war was very difficult because Kosovans had to secure their basic needs to survive, such as food and shelter. Kosovo had to gradually develop and create its own institutions and functions as a state. This was a period that encountered a lot

of corruption and as a result, many people who migrated during the war did not return to Kosovo because their hope for a good life was diminished. Even many of those living in Kosovo wanted to migrate to secure a better future. This drive to migrate may have been due to economic underdevelopment that continued after the war and political instability during this period. However, as stated earlier, independent research organisations and official statistics in Kosovo claim that there have been different core reasons for migration in post-1999 period (Vathi and Black, 2007).

One can envisage the effects that economic factors may have on the population in Kosovo and on migration decisions when looking at the statistics of unemployment rates in Kosovo and related specifics, such as age. I will now present statistics on the labour market engagement in Kosovo and on the ethnicity of the population in some detail, as they show the relevance of this research, and the likelihood of employment influences on migration (Fig. 1 below).

Figure 1 Labour Market Classification of Kosovo's Population, Q1 2018



Source: Kosovo Agency of Statistics, 2018

The statistics in the figure above have been obtained from the Kosovo Agency of Statistics report of 2018, that is, the main statistical agency in Kosovo. This data is described more extensively and summarised in the paragraphs below.

The unemployment rate in Kosovo in Q1 2018 was 26.5% and the employment rate was 73.4% of economically active people. Of the unemployed, 54% are young people aged 15-24 years.

Out of the total economically active population in the country, 342,368 persons were employed, or 73.4% that yields an employment-to-population ratio, meaning the employment rate of 19%.

Active persons are people aged 15-64 who are either employed or actively seeking employment, whereas inactive persons are people aged 15-64 who were not employed or actively seeking employment during the period referred (Kosovo Agency of Statistics, 2014).

In 2017, of men who were of working age, 45.5% were employed compared to 11.8% of women of working age. In terms of the age range, the employment to population ratio for 15-24 years was 9%, 25-34 was 32.1%, 35-44 was 41.0%, 45-54 was 40.4%, and 55-64 was 31%.

There is no data available on the ethnic diversity of the labour force in Kosovo. Ethnic minorities, such as Serbs, Ashkali, Egyptians, Romani, Turks, Bosniaks, Montenegrins and Croatians, faced various discriminations at institutional and

societal levels, such as in employment, education, language use, freedom of movement, social services among others (Kosovo 2017 Human Rights Report). Even though the law states that 10% of employees in the national and local levels of government need to be from minorities, their representation in these institutions is either lower than 10% or they occupy lower-level positions. Minorities such as Roma, Ashkali, Gorani, and Egyptians which constitute smaller minority communities in the country, have been especially under-represented and have suffered the greatest institutional discrimination (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2018). According to the UNDP's Remittance Survey in 2011, the highest unemployment rates from the minority groups were of Egyptians 80%, Ashkali 60.46%, Roma 60.22%, Goran 50%, Serbs 38.35%, Turks 37.98%, and Bosnians 37.68%. These employment outcomes suggest that certain minority groups either do not participate in the labour market (potential perception of feeling unwanted or self-exclusion) or are excluded from the labour force. As the data suggests, the most excluded in the labour market among the Kosovo youth in 2011 were Egyptians, Ashkali, and Roma. Finally, these groups find it more difficult to find a job than any other ethnic group (Kosovo Human Development Report 2012, 2012).

Summarising the labour force statistics above and the different specifics, one can understand that almost one-third of the total population in Kosovo which is active is unemployed, mostly young people. This indicator can show that there may be a relation between employment and the factors related to it, and migration from Kosovo. However, this thesis argues that migration is a complex phenomenon triggered not solely by high unemployment rates, but also by the dissatisfaction of residents with the lack of opportunities, skills support and inequalities in the workplace, and during

the job hunt process. Hence, for this research, my focus has been on understanding the situation of the employed and unemployed that is embedded in the economic, political and legal conditions/regulations in the country. Furthermore, my goal has been to explore the way employees are treated at their workplace in terms of rights and opportunities offered, and the way job seekers are treated in relation to equal opportunities and the skills support they need to improve their employment chances. Exploring these factors will undoubtedly involve remuneration issues, such as income differentials between the host and home country as one of the major factors influencing migration decisions. Low income has been a major push factor for migration in Kosovo. The data reveals that the net monthly wage in Kosovo in 2012 was €384 and in 2018 it increased to €498, marking a 30% growth rate (Kosovo Agency of Statistics, 2019). However, this has not proved sufficient to accommodate for the high living costs, poverty, high unemployment and inadequate social welfare system (BTI Country Report 2018).

People in Kosovo seem to be irritated by the corruption, bribe, political preferences, politicised recruitment and favours based on family relationships when it comes to employment support and treatment at work (CDA, 2007). The private sector in Kosovo is still developing, whereas the public sector has been very biased (Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2010).

There is an autocratic management system in Kosovo, where in many public institutions, managers have a lot of power over the staff. Those who hold positions of power are often selected through family relations, bribes, or political party favours. Autocratic leadership is a system where the staff and team members have little

opportunity to make suggestions (Bass and Bass, 2008). In some cases, only those employees preferred by the manager will have the right of expression. This can create unequal preferences for the employees and can cause inequalities at work and violation of employees' rights (Briscoe and Price, 2011). As a consequence, equal opportunities may not be given to employees and this reveals a lack of democracy at work.

Many private businesses in Kosovo hire employees without contracts and treat them effectively as slaves by imposing long work hours and by not paying them on time. They can be dismissed from work anytime without notice or reason (RTK Live, 2014). According to the Annual Report in 2013 of the Ombudsperson of the Republic of Kosovo (2014), there were many complaints related to unfair dismissals, violation of employee's rights and elements of corruption. Despite the action to fight these phenomena, there seems to have been no significant improvement.

These cases of violation of employees' rights have lacked support globally from the trade unions since the global power of employers has increased dramatically from 1989 (Thornley et al., 2010). Considering this, trade unions in the transitional states of the Central and Eastern Europe have experienced a lot of challenges (Waddington and Hoffmann, 2000). In Kosovo, the recklessness with the trade unions is that they cannot be very effective and supportive to protect employees' rights because they have a lot of internal disagreements between the members in the union, or with other unions. All this can influence the reduction in the number of members, fragmentation of the unions and consequently, they are weak (Shaipi, 2013).

1.5 Structure of the study

Following this introductory chapter that provides background information on migration and unemployment in Kosovo, my research aims and objectives, research questions, and information about the originality of research, Chapter 2 reviews the literature on how research on migration started and developed generally. It also provides analysis of the studies of different migration incentives and how these analyses developed into theories. It then focuses on the two main theoretical approaches to migration, the neoclassical and market theories approaches. The chapter provides comprehensive analysis of these different theories and discusses the overlaps and contradictions between them. In the neoclassical theory, an overview of the push and pull models has been made. Further to focusing on Ravenstein's laws of migration, an analysis of market theories is provided, such as the dual labour market theory, cumulative causation theory, world systems theory, and new economics of migration. Finally, in this chapter I provide a section on how the different migration theories apply in explaining migration from Kosovo. It particularly focuses on the push and pull model and examines it in detail, how and why it explains best the migration incentives from Kosovo. However, this does not exclude how other theories find applicability in explaining migration from Kosovo.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology adopted to conduct the qualitative research and analyse the semi-structured interviews with employees, employers, job seekers, analysts, trade union members, migrants, return migrants, government officials, analysts, and labour inspector. It provides specifics of the interview process and general background information about the interviewees. Furthermore, in this chapter, other forms of data collection have been elucidated, such as the court cases and the

secondary research sources. Accessibility and sampling methods have been explained together with what the advantages and disadvantages of using the convenience and snowball samplings for this research are. Finally, this chapter provides information on how I went about analysing the data, what method has been used, the validity and reliability of the research including information on the secondary research sources. Information has been provided on how the data has been stored and kept confidential, and how informed consent was given by the interviewees, such as consent in terms of the research, rights, obligations, and dissemination of data. Potential risks have also been explored, the ways to mitigate them, and the potential benefits from the study.

The fieldwork data analysis is divided in four chapters, each chapter consisting of relevant sections and subsections.

Chapter 4 offers analysis of migration trends in Kosovo and the reasons of migration in different time periods. Furthermore, various debates in media and institutions have been explored that provide the context for how Kosovans come to the idea to migrate. These debates have centred on family reunification, economic, social, political and education factors. However, practical aspects of migration incentives have been offered through the interviews with migrants and return migrants conducted for the purposes of this study. The interviews reveal that many more factors have influenced Kosovans' migration decisions, such as those related to job opportunities, access to jobs, and support to increase employment experience, such as internships and trainings to increase skills in different sectors.

Chapter 5 analyses the difficulties experienced by job seekers on the Kosovan labour market. Lived experiences are analysed in the light of the employment situation and employment policies in Kosovo. Different quotes from the interviews are provided within the relevant context presented by official reports and are triangulated to understand what are the similarities and the new realities that the fieldwork data brings. The lived experiences reveal frustrations with the employment sector in Kosovo and different migration tendencies.

Chapter 6 analyses the experiences of workers in Kosovo in the private and public sector. The analysis of their experiences provide understanding of how far labour rights are respected in Kosovo. This understanding is enriched through the thoughts provided by the labour inspector interviewed on the subject of the situation of employment rights in Kosovo. The applicable regulations, such as the EU directives, national law on labour and collective agreements give insight into the applicable regulations in employment rights and how far are they implemented effectively.

Chapter 7 provides analyses of the experiences of job seekers, employers and trade union members with the protection of labour rights and the respect of collective rights. Their experiences are analysed in the light of legal provisions such as the freedom to unionise, collective bargaining, strikes, and freedom of expression. Through the legal provisions and lived experiences at work, the analysis provides understanding of the legality of labour rights protection in Kosovo and the practicality of this legislation and its implementation.

The concluding chapter refers back to the research questions and how these questions have been addressed through the empirical findings. It also provides information about the originality of the research and how the findings of this study contribute to knowledge. There is a summary of the methodology that has been used to conduct the research, how the methods employed have enhanced capturing rich data, their advantages and disadvantages. It also provides insights on the push and pull model as part of neoclassical theory to situate this research without excluding other theories, such as market theories. It suggests that migration from Kosovo should be studied using an interdisciplinary approach. An outlook on the limitations of research has been made and recommendations have been provided on what further research and policy interventions can be conducted, drawing on this research to increase the knowledge in this area or provide interventions that would improve the lives of people living in Kosovo.

Chapter 2 Literature Review – what are the drivers of migration?

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this research is to understand the impact that human capacity development has in migration. By this I mean the increase of skills and capabilities to get ready for the labour market while also looking for jobs. It also aims to examine how the way employees are treated at work can affect their decisions to migrate. This can include the implementation of rights and entitlements by law at the workplace and democracy at work. These two factors have been reviewed from the push and pull perspective. Hence, the existing literature has been reviewed to uncover the relevant theories and discussions on these factors and those that address employment support, democracy at work, education, national immigration policies, aspiration-capability framework, remittances, the healthcare system, transnationalism, conflict, networking, the culture of migration, and the distribution of income, among others. Certain aspects of these theories that have been developed and reviewed by authors, such as Ravenstein (1885), Weber (1864-1920), Marx (1870), Sjaastad (1962), Lee (1966), Bourdieu (1970-1980), Sirkeci (2009), and Cohen and Sirkeci (2011) have been explored to assess their relevance to my research. Furthermore, empirical aspects have also been examined to understand similar research that has been carried out in the field and how it can inform this research and fill the gaps in academic knowledge in certain migration areas.

When reviewing the literature, these factors have been classified in four sections, the home country context, the host country context, those that facilitate or create barriers to migration, and globalisation.

In section one, the home country context is explored and the drivers of migration, such as the demand and supply of workers and the determinants of wage; political factors such as institutional corruption; democracy at work; and the education system.

Section two explores the pull factors of migration from the host country perspective. These factors are related to the demand of developed countries for migrant labour, the welfare support provided in the host country in case of unemployment, the issue of taxes in income and how that can play a role in migration decision and choices of destination, how the national immigration policies try to manage migration, and how the quality of education and a good healthcare system in the host country can pull individuals to migrate.

Section three looks at the facilitators of migration. It provides an introduction to Lee's theory that discusses the intervening obstacles to migration; the costs of moving and how these costs can influence one to migrate; the role of transnationalism and the issue of distance; how conflict affects transnational mobility; and the networking factor as very popular in pushing many people to migrate due to existing ties in the host countries, as well as the benefits of having these ties for migration, and the importance of networks as an element of social capital.

The last section, section four, looks at the distribution of income and the disparities between rich and poor, the global demand for cheap labour, how the culture and social labelling can influence migration, how security influences migration, and how the development in global trends and the economic and political relations between countries can influence migration, too.

Along with exploring the existing literature relating to the above factors, this chapter also investigates whether there are gaps in the literature, and provides a context for the examination of the research aims of the thesis. The chapter also reviews the meaning of the key terms used in the context of this thesis as defined in the social sciences and law, such as democracy at work, institutional corruption, mismatch of skills, employment support, and unequal treatment at work.

Before moving to the sections outlined above, I provide background information on migration, the types of migrants, the early research on migration, and on the push and pull model of migration, in order to provide additional context for the sections that follow.

2.1.1 Background on migration

In their review of international migration studies, Brettell and Hollifield (2000) suggest that migration can be studied by taking an interdisciplinary approach. As I am adopting an inductive approach, the existing theories inform my analytical framework for analysing the push and pull factors that can influence migration movements from Kosovo. This is also considering what Portes and Borocz (1989) argue – that it is very difficult to study and grasp the complexities of migration experiences through only one theory. The lived experiences of migrants are much more complex and need to be looked at from different angles to understand their realities. They argue that understanding the movements of people, capital, technology, ‘institutional forms and cultural innovations and other complexities remains the main challenge for the field of migration’ (p.626). Furthermore, they claim that it is difficult to explain lived

migration experiences through migration theories, because these experiences are part of a changing environment.

The movement was instinctively natural, and a necessity driven by food availability and climate changes (Padilla and Phan, 2013). As time passed, with the cultures becoming less nomadic, wars and colonialism began to influence migrations, too. For example, the Greeks expanded their dynasty to a list of colonies, Ancient Rome sent its citizens to Britain, Imperial China expanded its borders through its military, Jews fled their land after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., and at the end of the Vietnam war 125, 000 Vietnamese migrated to United States (Blakemore, 2019).

Migration has continued in the 21st century, caused by natural disasters, famine, wars, and human rights abuse. For example, in 2013, migrants from North Africa and the Middle East came to Europe to escape political instability and poverty in their home countries (ibid).

Nowadays migration is also regarded as an element of globalisation and complements free trade of goods and connectedness across borders, for example, the open borders of the Schengen area (Audebert and Kamel Dorai, 2014). The nation states and regulation of movement through visas is a relatively new phenomenon.

According to Kulu-Glasgow et al. (2019), migration takes place in the context of, and as an outcome of, wars, cultural differences, forced conscription, ethnic violence, and the availability of social and economic opportunities. There are also specific reasons

that affect child migration, such as lack of educational opportunities, family reunification, and forced marriages.

De Haas (2021) looks at migration from the aspiration-capability framework perspective and questions the neoclassical push and pull theory. He suggests that peoples' ability to move or stay is shaped by their access to economic (material), social (other people), cultural (ideas, skills, and knowledge), and bodily (good physical health) resources. This ability to move or stay is also shaped by preferences, aspirations to go or stay, choices of the country of destination, and the ability of migrants to find a job, obtain housing, education, and legal status. Access to these resources is limited and unequally distributed due to social hierarchies and structural inequality in communities and societies. He adds that people may have different perceptions of the 'good life', and as a result their life aspirations are different and can change over time and across social and cultural contexts. Therefore, depending on peoples' aspirations and perceptions of opportunities, they may or may not develop a desire to migrate. One cannot assume that different social groups will develop similar aspirations to migrate even when they are exposed to a similar set of push and pull factors. Also, people do not migrate only to increase their income or living standards, but moving can be also as a result of curiosity, to gain independence, and to discover new horizons.

Finally, De Haas argues that migration theories fail to include studying mobility and immobility in the same conceptual framework. As much as movement is a norm, the sedentary life and non-migratory mobility is a norm, too, and people may experience both over their lifetime.

Similarly, Schewel (2020) looks at the immobility and the aspiration-capability framework. She claims that immobility is not always a result of unequal access to resources and modernisation is not always associated with the aspiration to be mobile. Immobility can be a decision of the privileged who have the capability to stay and resist, or flourish in the face of social change, or immobility can be a prison for those who do not have the capability to leave.

2.1.2 Migrants categorised and the focus of research in the past and present

Depending on the various reasons for migration, migrants have been categorised in different ways: economic migrants, refugees from war, environmental refugees, and political asylum seekers. Migrants can also be categorised depending on the countries/geographical areas of origin: within an area of freedom of movement (examples: countryside to city; EU) or if a visa is required (example: migrants into countries with an immigration policy (points-based system selection of migrants based on language proficiency, education and work experience; the ‘green card’ in the US)) or if immigration is illegal/hazardous. One could also categorise migration according to agency, such as if migration is voluntary or involuntary. The latter applies for instance in the case of refugees, asylum seekers, migrants escaping drought or having been expelled individually or as a group (ethnic cleansing) (IOM, 2020). There are also unaccompanied children who migrate. A study (face-to-face interviews) in 2015 by the Dutch Research and Documentation Centre with 45 unaccompanied minor asylum seekers from Syria, Eritrea, and Afghanistan, who were 14 years or older at the time of the arrival in the Netherlands, showed that insecurity was one of the main reasons for leaving the origin country. Some of the sources of insecurity included the war in Syria, the military service, family feuds, ethnic violence, death of a family

member, and the lack of physical and intellectual freedom. There were also those who claimed that culture played a role, such as when they saw others migrating, they also wanted to migrate. In 2015, there was a peak number of asylum seekers arriving in the European Union, with over 1.2 million first time asylum seekers. Of these, 96,000 were minors who migrated without parents or adult relatives. The main recipient countries of unaccompanied minors were Sweden, Germany, Hungary, and Austria (Kulu-Glasgow et al., 2019).

Between the 1960s and the 1990s, countries that absorbed all the increases in international migration were the so-called first world countries, United States, Australia, Canada and most European countries. In Europe, countries that were sending migrants to other countries suddenly started to receive immigrants. This happened in 1980s when Italy, Spain and Portugal started to 'import workers from Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Japan also imported labour from Asia and South America' (Massey et al., 1993, p.431). During this period there were also lots of movements between third world countries, such as Tibetan refugees mainly in India, Rohingya in Bangladesh, Syrians in Turkey, Lebanon or Jordan, Chinese in East Asia, and migration inside Africa, among others (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2019).

In the 1960s and 1970s, research focused mainly on urbanisation processes and cultural changes. In the 1970s studies started to be conducted in the migrant's original and receiving locations (Sandoz, 2019). As such, researchers were looking at 'the effects of development on migration and [reciprocally] the [effects] of migration on development' (Audebert and Kamel Doraï, 2014, p.80). However, the

conceptualisation of migration continued to be thought of as a linear process from home country towards the host country.

In this study I provide analysis of a complex range of factors, including employment and anti-discrimination policies in Kosovo. I want to give voice to the people who migrated or want to migrate, by understanding their stories and reflecting on the incentives that developed their migration. The literature which draws on neoclassical theory focuses on the causes of migration. This is an opportunity to identify gaps in the existing literature, hence my study is slightly different as it looks at the human factor, and at how social exclusion in a developing country, such as Kosovo, prevents opportunities and hope for the wellbeing of the population, and results in migration. There are different definitions of social exclusion, the one provided by Levitas et al. in 2007 is as follows:

‘Social exclusion is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole’ (p.9).

A social exclusion framework is explained by many experts as a characteristic of lower-income countries. In developing countries such as Kosovo, there is a highly informal economy, skills shortage and poverty, and the protection of employees through social security measures is non-existent. Hence, as explained in the UN’s chapter of identifying social exclusion and inclusion, the ‘symptoms of exclusion are: unequal access to resources, unequal participation and denial of opportunities’ (United

Nations Publications, 2016, p. 27). In Kosovo's case, these symptoms of exclusion are intrinsically related to migration patterns.

In terms of the range of factors and disciplines that explain the reasons for migration, IMISCOE in Europe was created in 2004 in the context of the EU's 6th Framework Programme to overcome the fragmented nature of research on migration and to provide a more comprehensive view of international migration, diversity studies and integration. It has provided a more multidisciplinary and comparative approach to analysing migration trends by various scholars from economic, social sciences, humanities, and law branches. IMISCOE has focused its work not only on initiating diverse research, but also in adequate dissemination of the results, as it recognises that a lot of research is not disseminated appropriately (IMISCOE, 2019).

The incentives to migrate have been studied by different disciplines – sociology, economy, history that have developed different perspectives on migration. Different factors that influence migration have been explored and classified as financial, economic, cultural, climatic, war, and political. These factors have been categorised as push and pull factors and will be explained below.

2.1.3 Push and pull factors

The first attempt at a scholarly review of migration was written by Ravenstein in 1885, who is known to have created 'the laws of migration.' These seven laws look at rural-urban migration, distance and volume of migration, migration, and development, return migration and migration and gender (Ravenstein, 1885). In Kosovo internal migration from rural to urban places has had a boom after the war in 1999. However,

the focus of this study is on international migration from Kosovo because a huge number of people have been leaving Kosovo. The increase in migration combined with economic development worldwide can explain the movements from Kosovo as many Kosovans left to centres of commerce and industry to increase their income and quality of life. This means, Kosovan migration may not have happened only because they were obliged to move, but also due to socio-economic factors (Polemique, 2012). One of Ravenstein's laws states that migration happens as a result of economic factors and this best explains migration from Kosovo. This will be further elaborated below when explaining the push and pull factors.

Ravenstein's laws, particularly the rural to urban migration and inequalities in development, are found in the push and pull framework. This framework explains migration through 'push' and 'pull' processes, for example a combination of disadvantages experienced in the country of origin and advantages present in the host country. The push and pull framework as explained by King (2012) conceives migration as driven by a set of push factors from the home country, such as unemployment, poverty, political repression, rapid population growth, among others, and a set of pull factors operating from the host country, such as better income and job opportunities, better welfare system and education, better living conditions, among others.

The push and pull model was popular in the mid-twentieth century and developed numerous analyses around pay, provision of welfare benefits, wage differences and migration costs between different countries. More specifically, it explains that migration happens 'as a result of geographical [difference] in the supply and demand

of labour [over short distances, such as] from rural agricultural places to the urban modern [manufacturing places]' (Haas, 2008, p.4). This was migration merely to neighbouring parishes or counties, from low income to higher income areas, and from less populated to more populated areas. For example, rural workers have been attracted by higher wages in the urban areas, and hence were willing to migrate internally. However, this did not necessarily mean that they had a secure job when they moved. This theory was critiqued by Arango (2004) for the fact that it didn't explain the whys of the small number of people who migrate, and the difference between the rates of migration in different countries, and why in some countries the out migration is high, and in some low, considering the same economic structural conditions.

Other causes of migration according to Ravenstein were overpopulation in one side of the country, and the need for resources and promises for higher pay elsewhere. He also claimed that there are other reasons for migration, such as high taxes, unattractive climate, bad laws, and even slave trade. But he suggested that these cannot be compared with the desire to earn more and improve material aspects (Ravenstein, 1889). This has been important for many of the men in Kosovo who have been the bread winners wanting to maximise their earnings compared to other men in the neighbourhood or family.

However, the neoclassical theory has been criticised by many migration theorists and commentators who initially argued that Ravenstein's laws were not laws, but rather more empirical generalisations focusing on the internal migration rather than external. The theory also focused more on the individual choices in maximising income rather than other potential influential factors, such as family, and socio-cultural factors. It did

not focus on the histories of colonialism and the linkage between some countries and not others, did not acknowledge the ‘political reality of multiple barriers to international movement’ (King, 2012, p.14), and did not take on board the dependency and underdevelopment of different countries. Similarly, Cohen and Sirkeci (2016) argue that the neoclassical ideologies, by focusing on the individual as a decision maker, limit the strength of the ‘anthropological investigations that focus on individuals as members of social groups’ (p.96). They add that these ideologies saw the community as limiting the individual who was driven more by the desire to increase his/her personal gains rather than the shared values and practices that could pose a burden to reaching these individual goals. They argue that migration was not only an individual decision, but rather one made by the individuals as part of a family, household, or certain religious or ethnic groups. They look beyond neoliberalism to consider how insecurity could hinder migration decision-making. Insecurity could stem from minor tensions and conflicts to violent conflicts and physical threats. Other forces that could frame the decision to migrate include traditional cultural practices, community history, national and international developments, capitalist expansions and neoliberal reforms. The latter meant the expansion of capitalist markets that had marginalised the rural population. In rural areas there was a lack of growth, while in urban areas there was political power and development leaving the local agriculture and economic activity in decline and resulting in the exploitation of rural communities (Cohen and Sirkeci, 2016).

Despite explaining many of the migration patterns from Kosovo, the push and pull factors of the neoclassical theory ‘in the age of primitive capitalism and the capitalism of the pre-Globalization era’ (Polemique, 2012, para.51), do not explain all the

migration patterns from Kosovo as Kosovans did not migrate only because of forced displacement as explained by these neoclassical theories. With the development of communication technologies and globalisation, the worker is not expected to migrate only when obliged. While push and pull factors explain migration decisions based on rational choices, utility maximisation and labour mobility, they do not explain some factors that influenced migration from Kosovo, such as the human development, motivational and opportunities aspects, and more specifically the lack of hope, and lack of employment rights. This means the push and pull models ignore the aspirations of people, by assuming that they are constant. For example, as it can be the case everywhere, there is a cultural factor in Kosovo that when someone else's wealth increases, it increases the deprivation feelings of others and indirectly boosts someone else's aspiration to migrate in order to increase their own income.

The push and pull models do not look at the social constraints, meaning that people do not have equal access to resources. They assume that people have 'full and equal access to information, [jobs and other resources], and are portrayed as more or less atomistic individuals that operate in an institutional, social and cultural void' (Haas, 2008, p.11). Moreover, Sirkeci (2009) argues that the push and pull models were dull and simple and tended to see 'migration as a linear process, a move from A to B determined by the relative attractiveness of both ends' (p.3).

These critiques of the neoclassical models led to the development of periodical theorisations in 1960s, 1970s and 1980s known as Marxist theories, historical developmentalism, new economics of migration, and systems theory (King, 2012).

According to Polemique (2012) Marxist theorists argued that individuals' decisions to migrate are dependent on socio-economic factors. They are a result of capitalist developments.

Karl Marx focused in his writing on Irish immigration to England. He explained that the cause of this immigration was the 'oversupply of manual laborers [and he also indicated that] for him the culprits were the colonial system that drove Irish workers to England, and the exploitation of the workers once they arrived' (Wilson, 2017, para. 29).

Marx is known for being materialist, and argued that capitalism is a specific mode of production where the workers work long hours to make as much profit as possible for the employer. In his capitalist theory, the value of something is the labour that has gone into it. He did not account sufficiently for 'the role of technology and productivity in making things cheaper to buy for the average worker, or that through contributions to a pension fund, which invests in industrial stocks and real estate, the average worker becomes a capitalist himself; capitalism works because it ensures that labour retains a piece of the pie' (Butler-Browdon, 2017, para.14).

There are nuances of Marxist theories that can explain migration incentives from Kosovo, maybe not as they were applied in the capitalist economies where 'people become objects to be bought and sold' (ibid., para.9). As historical-structuralists argued, influenced by Marx's theories, 'individuals do not have a free choice, because they are fundamentally constrained by structural forces. [E]conomic and political power is unequally distributed among developed and underdeveloped countries,

people have unequal access to resources, and [the] capitalist expansion has the tendency to reinforce these inequalities' (Hass, 2008, p.7). This reflects also in Kosovo's economic and political marginalisation manifested by migration, especially with the latest exodus in 2014.

The role of structural forces in shaping human action have also been studied by Max Weber (1920) who postulates that it was not only the individuals who shaped the society, but it was also the societies that could encourage certain motives and actions. He argues that the modern societies were concerned with efficiency without encountering ethical considerations, affection, and tradition (Thompson, 2017). He believes that there is a connection between religion and capitalism, because, for example, Calvinism encouraged people to save money, and, in this way, established capitalism (ibid). He studied capitalism through the writings of Franklin, explaining that individuals should increase their capital and not waste it because 'time is money' (Karlsson and Månson, 2017, p.48).

Weber's study of the economy and society was considered the first 'empirical comparison of social structure and normative order in world-historical depth' (Weber, 1978 [1956], p.xxxiii).

Weber explained economy and society through the types of social action, such as traditional, affectual, value-rational, and instrumentally rational. This means social action is driven by ideal interests, material interests, habit (tradition), and emotions. An important principle in Weber's study of the economy and society is also rationality. A rational action is an action that is performed consciously to undertake what the actor

thinks is of interest. Weber considered the influence of geographical factors on the society and the economy and studied rural workers in the East of Elbe. He realised that Polish workers who, regardless of whether they lived in areas with poor or rich soil, still had the lowest standard of living. He argued that it was better for the German rural workers who wanted to leave the countryside and move to the city because they looked for higher living standards and more freedom. This reveals Weber's attempts at associating geographical and socio-economic factors (Swedberg,1998).

Within his studies of capitalism and rationalisation, Weber also analysed the nature of work, outlining three concepts that have been criticised by other scholars as limited and contradictory. His term, 'Beruf', that in this context meant 'calling', is part of the work ethic of Protestants that argues one must work with discipline because this is God's will. The second was also termed 'Beruf' and meant an occupation in the division of labour, and the third defined work as a human service for economic benefits (Karlsson and Månson, 2017). This term was translated by some translators as 'profession', 'occupation', and sometimes as 'calling' depending on the context. Looking at the case of Kosovo, it would be interesting to examine how social action is driven and whether material interests have an impact on shaping the outcomes in the labour market. This is especially important considering that Kosovo is a developing country where the rule of law is not effectively implemented.

2.2 The drivers of migration – the home country context

This section looks at the factors that can push individuals to migrate from the home country perspective. It explores the influence of the differences in wages between the home and host country in migration, the role of education levels, the unemployment

rate and support to increase the skills, how the lack of employment rights incentivises people to seek better opportunities abroad, the role of institutional corruption in the functioning of the labour market and economic development, and the way one can diversify the risks through migration.

2.2.1 Income differentials between home and host country

There is wide agreement in the literature that income differences between home and host country has been an important driver for people to migrate. Neoclassical theory suggests that ‘workers who earn lower wages in their country of origin or who may expect to earn higher wages in another country for the same set of skills will be more likely to migrate’ (Borjas, 1999; Villarreal and Blanchard, 2013, para.2).

Authors such as Massey et al. (1993) agreed that international migration is the geographical difference between the supply and demand for labour and the wage differences between the countries. Countries that have high supply of labour have low market wages, and countries that have low supply of labour have high market wages. As a result, labour from countries with low wages move to countries with higher wages given for the skills they possess. Therefore, in the country of origin supply of labour declines and the wages rise, and in the host country the opposite occurs, the supply of labour increases and the wages decrease. This equilibrates the differences in the international wage that reflects the costs of international movement. However, this does not mean that international movement stops when the differences in wages do not exist anymore across the national boundaries. The incentives to migrate can continue if there is a disequilibrium in the labour market in the sending countries. Before migrating, workers need to assess the cost of travelling, the cost of living while looking

for jobs, and the psychological costs of adapting to a new environment, learning a new language, and adapting to a new culture.

Gold and Nawyn (2013) examined international migration from a multidisciplinary, conceptual, and international perspective. They argued that people migrate where their wages are higher elsewhere. They also suggest that if migration is related with travel expenses, the greater the probability of employment and the lower the travelling costs, the incentives to migrate are higher and vice versa. Dustmann and Glitz (2011) also suggest that those who obtain a high-quality education abroad expect to have higher salaries in the country of origin, or at the country of destination. This is also related to the neoclassical theory where income is an important factor in migration, such as higher income in the origin country reduces the chances to migrate, or the decision to migrate and the choice of country of destination is made if that country offers higher wages for the skills possessed. My study explores the working conditions in Kosovo and through indirect questions, such as about the difficulties that employees face at their workplace, seeks to understand the impact of various factors, including salary subvention on their migration decisions, and their future plans in terms of work.

However, considering the information that the literature has provided on the importance of income in migration decisions, it is of significant interest to explore what happens in case of unemployment when there is no direct income. These circumstances and the impact this phenomenon has on migration are outlined below.

2.2.2 Unemployment and access to skills support

This section explores how employment status can influence one to migrate. It also looks at the importance of support that is provided to individuals to enter the labour market. Access to training that enhances education has been highlighted as a factor

that can influence migration propensities. As stated in the previous section, employed workers usually have a higher level of education than those who are unemployed. Migration can be higher of those who are unemployed and are return migrants in Kosovo who are migrating back again to the host country, and less of those unemployed citizens who migrate for the first time.

When individuals migrate for education reasons, they would ask for public assistance in the host country, such as retraining. However, individuals who are unemployed but are from areas with relatively high educational quality and have access to manpower, vocational training and programmes, have less incentives to migrate (Schlottmann and Herzog, 1981). High levels of educational quality, training accessibility and employment support in the country of origin reduce the migration tendency of the unemployed.

Young people are usually the ones who if unemployed, tend to migrate abroad. International migration offers an opportunity for them to improve their lives, achieve their educational aspirations, and improve professional skills. The unemployment rate of young people in almost all the countries is at a minimum twice that of the general unemployment rate (ILO, 2020).

Employment support, as one of the factors that I explore in this study, is usually conceptualised through the terms ‘employability’ and ‘job seeking’. Employability has been used in the context of those who are employed, but also those seeking work. According to McQuaid and Lindsay (2005), the term employability is much more complex than just one’s quality of being employable. Generally, the term has been

specified in different contexts as the development of skills and knowledge to enter and remain in the labour market. Evans et al. (1999) suggest that one of the components of employability is also the job search, and access to information and employment support networks. Job search support constitutes an important component of national employment policies. It is vital to have effective employment support programmes as this directly impacts employability. Employment support programmes can be related to providing knowledge of how to use informal social networks, ability to complete a CV and application form, awareness of the opportunities in the labour market, awareness of own strengths and weaknesses, and interview skills.

Pirciog et al. (2007) undertook a study to understand better how the information on the employment opportunities in Romania shaped Romanian's behaviour towards migration. They undertook a survey in 2007 with 1,100 households and added 800 more households to the initial sample. The sample was chosen randomly and was stratified by type and size of locality and area of residence. The survey results suggested that 30% of respondents did not know what the demand for their occupation was either at the local level, in other regions in Romania, or abroad. They found out that the lack of knowledge of employment opportunities was one of the main factors that motivated Romanians to migrate internally and externally. My study offers a more comprehensive approach because despite seeking to understand the sources of information that job seekers and employees use to find the available job opportunities and if they have used employment support programmes to prepare for the job, it also explores viewpoints of employers in this respect, such as the training they offer to increase labour skills, part of human capital.

Another study was conducted by Sandu and De Jong (1996) examining the determinants of Romanian emigration in the context of the emerging capitalist market and the democratic transition in the country. The authors analyse internal migration surveys as well as census and population register data. They looked at micro and macro factors to examine migration decision making in a transition economy. The results show that in the early 1990s, Romanians migrated in search of places with greater market opportunities and democracy returns. Migration was interrelated with societal changes, such as the transition from a planned to a market economy, and from a socialist to a democratic political system. There were significant differences in intentions to migrate between rural and urban residents. The main determinants of rural migration were family values and age constraints, whereas the determinants of urban migration were life satisfaction, place utility, and human capital grounding (the latter measured by education and income levels and life satisfaction). Therefore, migration from Romania was mainly influenced by the level of living standards, availability of employment opportunities, and political values (Sandu and De Jong, 1996).

While Sandu and De Jong's study looked at micro and macro factors to explore migration from Romania in the early years of transition to market economy, this research was conducted during October-November 2015 and April-July 2016. It considers different types of Kosovan migrants-returnees and emigrants-to understand the intricacies of the migration motives. It delves into the role of human capital and inequality at work for labour market integration at home as well as access to networks, existing legal frameworks, migration costs and technology, among others, to capture the multifaceted nature of migration.

Finally, many studies have looked at persistent unemployment rates as a result of a structural component of unemployment, the mismatch of skills. The following section will look at how this component has been explained in the literature, and its influence on labour market outcomes.

2.2.3 Mismatch of skills and undereducation

Considering that labour markets have been in constant flux due to global developments, this required a skilled workforce able to adapt to these changes and fulfil the market needs. However, this has not been always the case, because as several studies suggest, the mismatch of skills has been evident with the rise of unemployment and undereducation.

The issue of mismatch of skills was discussed in the 1990s in a Venice Conference on the 'Mismatch and Labour Mobility'. The rising unemployment in Europe was deemed to be due to the mismatch between the supply and demand for different skill types. There was a need for more diversified labour costs (Schioppa et al., 1991). Handel (2003) explored the general trends and the mismatch of skills in the United States over the past twenty years and he expressed scepticism as to whether the trend of an increase in mismatch of skills is a result of the decline in the growth of human capital development. The evidence suggests that there is a decline in educational attainments, but an increase in the job skills requirements, and the main concerns for the employers remained the effort levels and the work attitudes of the young people.

Furthermore, McKenna (1996), suggests that education increases the chances of employment opportunities as the educated candidates are productive in the jobs.

According to Furia et al. (2010), it is very important to have good formal education and good professional skills during training processes as these are the main determinants of good labour market outcomes for individuals. Furthermore, they suggested that the skills mismatch is the rise in the differences between the household's demand for education and the demand of firms. This is also considered undereducation, that is the shortage of skills of labour as a consequence of inadequate education (ibid).

Furia et al. undertook a study of 27 European countries to test the relationship between education and the labour market in Europe and how the education system of these countries responds to the labour market needs. They used a multidimensional scaling approach to test this hypothesis. The results were clustered in five groups and they showed that the best performing cluster was Hungary, Slovenia, Netherlands, and Czech Republic because their education outcomes were responsive to labour market needs. My research assesses the effectiveness of the employment support programmes in helping the job seekers/employees to increase their skills and in increasing chances of employment. Furthermore, it seeks to understand how far government, trade unions and employers try to improve the employment support to job seekers and employment rights to employees, and how far their actions seem to be effective.

Chau and Stark (1998) suggest that mismatch of skills is related to migration because the highly educated individuals migrate to countries that offer better employment opportunities. However, Albrecht and Vroman (2002) argue that shifting the demand in favour of highly skilled individuals may increase the unemployment of the

remaining low skilled individuals. Hence, other contributions were made at looking at the influence of labour market training on the labour market outcomes.

Nonetheless, highly educated individuals may migrate to countries that offer better employment opportunities, but this does not necessarily guarantee them jobs they are qualified for, at least at the early stages of migration. Factors such as inadequate linguistic skills, slow transferability of skills and recognition of qualifications as well as potential discrimination may influence them to take up jobs for which they are overqualified.

A study by Sirkeci et al. (2014) shows that some A8 EU (countries that joined the EU in either 2004 or 2007, such as Poland, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Slovenia) high skilled workers in the UK were overqualified for the jobs they were doing. This overqualification may be a result of ethnic or nationality-based discrimination. The scholars analysed the Annual Population Survey for the years 2005 to 2012, excluding Northern Ireland (due to the very small number of A8 nationals living there) to examine the impact of ethnicity and religion on the risk of being overqualified on the UK labour market. This survey included responses from 155,000 households and 360,000 individuals living in private accommodation. The analysis was restricted to the working age population of men aged 16 to 64 and women aged 16 to 59, and those who were employed, excluding those who were self-employed, enrolled in full time education, and inactive, or unemployed. The findings revealed evidence of overqualification among the workers from the A8 countries, but also among other ethnic and religious minorities, such as Black African and Other

Black ethnic groups. The results did not show religious discrimination, but they did show ethnic discrimination in relation to overqualification (Sirkeci et al., 2014).

In Europe, there is also a long duration of unemployment in the labour market. Being unemployed for a long time can lead to the depreciation of skills, cause a loss of human capital, and can demotivate workers. OECD strongly advocated for active labour market programmes and as a result, the EU has adopted many of these policies in recent years. These programmes included training, schooling, counselling and mentoring (van der Klaauw, 2007).

Along with these factors, the lack of good jobs in the home country is thought to push individuals to migrate. This factor is explored in the next section, together with various discrimination issues that can happen at the workplace and how that can influence one to migrate.

2.2.4 Democracy at work

While many studies have looked at employment opportunities as one of the main factors for migration, there is insufficient literature that looks at the kinds of jobs that make workers stay in their home country or migrate. This relates to jobs that yield higher wages, those that provide better career opportunities or promotion, and those that offer stability and autonomy. Villarreal and Blanchard (2013) explore this phenomenon and use information from a panel survey that was nationally representative of adults in Mexico to explore how different job conditions encourage individuals to migrate. They also looked at how the informal employment influenced people to migrate. The results suggest that jobs in the informal sector consisted of

lower wages, more instability, inadequate working conditions, and lack of benefits. The conclusion of these studies was that these characteristics may push workers to migrate and that migration should not be posited solely on the employment status and income of workers as the neoclassical theory suggests, but also on the job characteristics. This element is of particular significance in my study because it shows how treatment in the workplace can influence workers decisions to migrate. Specifically, it discusses the things that are beneficial to employees in the workplace, the things they find challenging, the employment agreement they have in place, any professional training they have at work, if they can express their views freely at work, and to what extent their views are taken into account.

A person may not be able to get a job or move to another one as a result of personal factors, such as lack of suitable skills, lack of support with childcare or transport, lack of support to find employment, or due to discrimination from the employer. The latter means less favourable treatment, or unequal treatment in the workplace based on age, gender, ethnicity, political views, disability, unemployment duration, use of informal employment networks, selection preferences, etc. Therefore, the attitude of the employer towards the unemployed or employed individuals has also an effect on a person's employability (Adams et al., 2000, 2002).

Discrimination in EU directives appears as the right to not be treated less favourably than the other co-workers, the right to not be discriminated against in case of bringing a discrimination complaint, the right of not being subject to harassment, and the obligation of the employer to make reasonable adjustments (Wright and Conley, 2011).

Early studies on democracy at work date back to Ronald Dahl (1956) who looked at economic democracy and the right to workplace democracy. He postulated that the place of democracy is in the capitalist economy. He explained that the market-oriented capitalist system allows for structures and practices that can help to keep political institutions democratic. Private associations that are created within a free-market economy lead, along with the desire for autonomy, to political freedom, rule of law and a government that is representative. Dahl (1956) argues that an unregulated economy in a democracy can lead to unregulated markets where corporations can hold power over their employees. Hence, he called for a corporate world that was responsive to market forces and that places the rights of employees at the centre of decision making. This suggests that employees would take decision-making, and where possible, ownership, in their own hands (Bailey and Braybrooke, 2003). He claimed that most employees have managers that they did not elect and were expected to follow rules in which they had little or no say. As there is a need for collective decisions to be made within a firm, Dahl argues that there should be an equal share of power and that having a voice in the firm was a moral right of all the individuals. The firm could be viewed as a political system where there is power-sharing between the government and the governed. Hence, the relationship between the government and the governed should be part of a democratic process (Mayer, 2001).

Democracy at work has been viewed and explored also by Hyman (2015) in the context of contrasting understandings of this notion in different time periods, where he questions if democracy at work is possible. He explains democracy at work as industrial democracy where the employee should have a voice within decision making in the enterprise to shape the organisation. Democracy at work also entails freedom of

representation, such as freedom to unionise. However, he was sceptical about whether labour movements are as successful as they used to be and argues that they have been compromised under neoliberalism. Similarly, Turner (1991) suggests that in the contemporary era, trade unions do not engage in management decision making that is consolidated in appropriate legal and political frameworks.

De Spiegelaere et al. (2019) examine democracy at work across a range of different approaches, such as performance, reduction of inequalities, job quality, employee participation in economic decision making, and gender-inclusive democracy, among others. They argue that employees should have a moral right to democratic participation in decision making in the workplace, and in this way they can develop privileged knowledge about the organisation, and be invested in its processes and successes. The more the employees exercise 'voice' in the organisation, the more engaged and motivated they feel. They also emphasise that part of democracy at work is also collective bargaining coverage, worker representation, trade union membership, higher wages, and better-quality jobs. The more voice employees have in an organisation, the more they will push for higher wages and better-quality jobs, that are feasible and safe, and where they feel involved. Furthermore, they will push against income inequality and voice their opinion on health and safety issues at work.

Colton et al. (2019) suggest that inequality can still occur even in the organisations with the most democratic values, and they see this as an ideal opportunity to locate the need to cultivate equality as an ongoing practice.

This thesis looks at inequality at work as an important, constituent part of democracy at work. It focuses on the quality of jobs, on-the-job training, opportunities for promotion, freedom of expression at the workplace, salary inequalities, trade union membership, gender discrimination, and labour law implementation.

The literature does not provide a joint analysis of employment support and unequal treatment at work. Both factors are connected as they concern fair access to opportunities. They are both addressed in this thesis, thereby complementing existing analyses. This research also explores the role of trade unions in protecting employee's rights and the implementation of labour law.

Consequently, it is important to conceptualise employment support and unequal treatment at work as employability is not dependent merely on the supply of jobs in the labour market, but also on factors such as the two above.

Together with the democracy at work factor, some studies have suggested that institutional quality is very important as well, and can affect migration decisions. The following section explores the arguments these studies offer in relation to migration predispositions.

2.2.5 Political factors: Institutional corruption and nepotism

Much of the theoretical and empirical studies suggest that institutions that are not functioning well can push people to migrate, especially in the case of highly educated migrants (Kuhnt, 2019). This dysfunctionality of institutions may be a result of corruption prevalence.

Institutional corruption was studied by Dennis Thompson in the 1990s and as he focuses exclusively on the US Congress, he argues that institutional corruption is when the legislator receives a gain that is considered political rather than personal and this is procedurally improper and damages the democratic process, and is not a result of the corrupt motive in the mind of legislator (Thompson, 2018). Klitgaard et al. (2000) explain corruption as personal gain by misusing the position in the office.

Bribery, nepotism, and favouritism have been identified as forms of institutional corruption by Miller (2017). He describes bribery as an action when a person gives a gift or a benefit to another person for the purpose that the latter does a favour. Whereas, nepotism was defined as favouritism based on kinship. An example of this is promoting a relative, friend or a somebody else considered as a 'group member' over others.

Dimant et al. (2013) writes that corruption can negatively influence the level of economic development in a country because the economy grows more slowly as resources are allocated inefficiently. It can impact on the spread of poverty, income inequality and can worsen the working conditions of an individual. They undertook an empirical study to see the effect of corruption on migration. They compiled data on migration for skilled and average workers, corruption and other controls including institutional corruption for 111 countries between 1985 and 2000. They drew the migration rates of the skilled and average workers from the six main receiving countries, Australia, Canada, France, Germany, UK and US from the total number of skilled native workers aged 25 years or older. They took the main corruption index from the International Country Risk Guide and rescaled the index so that higher values

correspond to higher corruption levels. Corruption index refers to financial corruption related to conducting business, such as bribes, and political corruption related to nepotism and ties between politics and business. In their study, they control for the effect of other variables, such as per capita income, political instability, and institutional quality, among others. The results of this study show that there is a statistically significant effect of corruption on both skilled and average migration. They also conclude that corruption can specifically influence migration decisions of the highly skilled workers.

Wheatland (2015) writes that corruption can also undermine the legitimacy of an institution. He added that the desire to migrate is often influenced by a lack of faith in local opportunities, and if corruption and nepotism undermine meritocracy, then it is expected that job seekers will look for opportunities elsewhere.

My study, through open questions, makes it possible to explore different areas that can influence migration. It also raises questions that explore opinions about the current situation of employment in Kosovo, opinions about employment support and treatment at work, and about ways to improve the situation. By exploring these questions, this research allows the interviewee to express their concerns and attain an in-depth understanding of the areas that worry them about the labour market. This is particularly important in the case of Kosovo, as it is a developing country, and corruption is perceived to play a significant role in many of the institutions in Kosovo (UNDP Kosovo Public Pulse Project Team, 2015).

Considering that many job seekers can remain without a job or cannot gain sufficient income, the sub-section below explores areas of how people can diversify risks.

2.2.6 Diversification of risks through migration

Migration research worldwide has looked at the forms of how people can diversify their risks through migration. A theory that has been able to explain the diversification of risks is the new economics of migration. This theory was initially explored by Stark (1991), who explains migration as a process that happens not only as a result of individual preferences, but also due to the social entities and interaction within them. He claims that much of the recent migration is associated with ‘migration within or outside the developing countries due to the impact of wage differentials on migration being offset by the unemployment compensation programmes or the fiscal policies in the developed countries’ (Stark, 1991, p. 22). He adds that migratory behaviour is also a result of independent will and feelings, personal income comparisons with the reference group, remittances as agreement between the individual and the family, that in fact transfer the focus from individual independence to mutual interdependence. Other factors can be the help offered by those who migrated earlier to those who wish to migrate, higher income in the developed country, and migration because of innovation processes.

In case of encountering issues with gaining sufficient income in the home country, the household can rely on remittances (individual money transfers to family members at home). Therefore, Stark places the family’s role as very important when it comes to migration decisions and diversification of risks rather than that of an individual. Stark and Levhari (1982) and Lucas and Stark (1985) share the same opinions and argue

‘that migration is not individual’s income maximisation, [but is the family’s]’ (Polemique, 2012, para. 17). De Haan (1999) supported the idea that migration is a contractual agreement between the individual and the family because they share the costs of migration and its benefits, as in cases where, initially, the family financially supports the household to migrate and then the household sends remittances back to the family as a way of compensation. However, the volume of remittances and the frequency of remitting is largely determined by migrants’ age, their legal status in the host country, the number of family members remaining at home and those abroad as well as the type of migration and the stage of the migration trajectory i.e., early movers or long-term and settled (Markova and Reilly, 2007). The early movers, those who are younger and with young children consider remittances as an immediate expense. Whereas older migrants who are settled and earn more consistent income, with family members at home, are more likely to send small amounts regularly (ibid). Empirical evidence suggests that remittances are usually spent on purchasing consumer goods, medicines, covering the costs of the move, or for potential investment. The more successful the migrants are in the country of destination and the more remittances they send to the country of origin, the more people are attracted to migrate, thus, the migration process becomes self-reinforcing (Massey,1990). Remittances play an equally important role in the social and economic life of those who migrate and those who remain behind. In developing countries remittances have increased and the volume remained resilient during the financial crisis in 2008.

Sirkeci et al. (2012) explain that remittances effectively serve as insurance for the households in the event of natural disasters or conflicts. The authors provide a case study focusing on Kurdish migrants from Turkey and their remittance patterns. The

nature of remittances depends on the ties that the immigrants maintained with the households in the country of origin and the level of the economic conditions of the latter. Turkish-Kurdish households relied more on remittances compared to Turkish households. This may be partly explained by the fact that Turkish-Kurdish households populated less developed areas compared to the rest of the country. A significant difference was found between the sources of remittances to Turkish and Kurdish households. Unlike the Turks, the Turkish-Kurd households received remittances not only from family members but also from friends. Based on interviews with Turkish-Kurdish migrants in Cologne, the authors reported that their interviewees owned properties and businesses in Turkey, an indication of their future repatriation plans. Their study demonstrates that different ethnic groups from the same origin country may send remittances for different purposes dependant on their cultural norms, the ties they have forged with the households in the origin, and the economic status of those left behind.

Private insurance markets are playing an important role in the influence to migrate. While in 'developed countries, risks to households are minimised through private insurance markets' (Massey et al., 1993, p. 436), in developing countries these services do not exist or are not available to poor families. Therefore, some people manage risks by migrating to the countries that offer these programmes and services. For example, in developed countries when people remain without a job, unemployment insurance helps them to live, whereas in developing countries, unemployment insurance does not exist at all, and this incentivises family members to migrate. Or, for the households in the country of origin, remittances will play the role of insurance in case of any risk, such as with the new production activities or technologies (Taylor, 1999). In Kosovo

social security measures are limited or almost non-existent, especially for poor families. Therefore, it has been interesting to explore through this research how migrants, and for the interviewees in general, relate their migration aspirations or decisions with risk diversification and if they see this as an exit strategy from the financial insecurities and unemployment issues that are relevant in the labour market in Kosovo.

In countries that are well developed, credit markets can relatively enable families to finance new projects (Stark, 1991). Whereas, in developing countries, credit is not available, or, if available, it is provided at a very high interest. And where borrowing is available, it has many limitations, such as the applicant needs to have particular forms of collateral or sufficient monthly income in order to qualify. As a result, in many cases in developing countries, many members of the population would not qualify due to insufficient earnings and collateral. Therefore, migration seems to attract people to go abroad and earn money, accumulate it 'and transfer it back in the form of remittances' (King, 2012, p.23).

However, the new economics approach has been criticised by different theorists. Haas argued that the household approach has the danger of potential reification of the household as a decision-making unit when the household is seen as someone who has aims, makes plans, and has strategies (Haas, 2008). It has also 'been criticised for being over optimistic about the role of migration in [developing countries]' (Polemique, 2012, para. 30). Further criticisms arose due to the fact that this approach neglected the bonds between the migrant and friends and the community as it only focused on the family.

Another critique of this theory came from Chen et al. (2003) who argue that risk diversification has not been fully explored and the pattern of migration of a typical family in response of risk diversification has not been fully investigated. The existing theories do not explain the observation that in some families the breadwinners migrate to support the dependants, but in other families only the dependants migrate, and the breadwinner stays at home. They use a model to provide an explanation of two patterns of migration: the breadwinner-oriented migration and the dependant-oriented migration. Their study uses heterogenous members and stochastically interdependent markets to conclude that migration can occur among members with higher earning potential abroad; surprisingly migration can occur also if the migrants earn less abroad and the income risk is higher in the foreign country because the higher income one earns abroad, the higher the income risk can be; incentives to migrate depend on the wage differential between the two countries, the risk in each country, and costs of migration. In families that have dependants, migration of only the dependants can be a good option.

Similarly, Dustmann et al. (2017) analyse risk diversification and its relationship with individual migrations and the risk attitudes of other household members when migration is a household decision. They draw on earlier literature on household migration decisions and risk. Then they added heterogenous risk preferences among family members in which they do not only choose to send a migrant, but also choose who that person will be.

They test these model predictions on migrant selection by using survey data on internal migration in China considering that the latter has experienced massive migration in

recent years, from rural to urban areas. Their model shows that household migration increases when the income is shared between the migrant and the non-migrant household members, because the migrant insures against risk, and the other household members diversify the risk.

In summary, as was demonstrated in this section, a great deal of research has been conducted on the drivers of migration. Massey et al. (1993) and Borjas (1999) examine the wage differential as a factor that can influence people to migrate, such as workers who have a lower wage in their home country, but for the same set of skills, can earn more abroad, and find that they are more likely to migrate.

Schlottmann and Herzog (1981) argue that the better the education and more training opportunities in the home country, the fewer are the incentives to migrate. McKenna (1996) suggests that education enhances chances of employment. However, Furia et al. (2010) claim that if there is shortage of skills as a result of undereducation, and there is a difference between the skills that are produced by the education system and the skills demanded by the economy, there is mismatch of skills in the labour market, and this can influence people to migrate.

The research literature provides evidence for the presence of institutional corruption that can push people to migrate because malfunctioning institutions can lose the trust of people. Together with bribery and nepotism, this can worsen the working conditions and can cause income inequality and poverty. Furthermore, in cases of unemployment or insufficient income gained in the home country, people try to diversify their risks through migration to countries that offer better social security measures, or through

remittances. However, despite the wide spectrum of studies available, my research offers a more comprehensive dimension of migration studies. As a result of the multidimensionality approach that it uses, it looks at the influence of human capital development and democracy at work in parallel, in order to understand their effects on migration. Furthermore, the literature that looks at the influence of the democracy at work factor on migration is limited, and this research contributes to filling in this gap in migration studies. The following section looks at a range of pull factors that attract individuals to migrate from the host country perspective.

2.3 The pull factors of migration - the host country context

This section provides an analysis of the literature that is available on the pull factors that attract people to migrate to the host countries. It discusses the provision of welfare support and the taxation system in the host country, and their rules and limitations, the national immigration policies and the way border management influences migration, the better educational opportunities and healthcare system and the demand for labour in the host country. The first sub-section below looks at the prospects for earning higher salaries in the host country, the more generous welfare system and the low taxation regime as the pull factors to migrate.

2.3.1 Welfare benefits and taxation regime

Studies suggest that provision of welfare benefits is one of the financial incentives for people to migrate to the host country. Schlottmann and Herzog (1981) partially explain this factor in their paper examining the demographic and socio-economic determinants of migration. From the analysis, they found that this factor is highly influential in migration. They state that the poor would primarily choose to migrate to a country that

has good welfare policies. Welfare gains are considered a source of income for these people, especially in long-term unemployment cases. This explanation has been supported by Borjas (1999) who also put forward the prediction that a generous welfare state pulls people to migrate.

The same findings are arrived at by Ochel (2007) who argues that incentives to migrate originate from better earnings prospects and generous welfare benefits. He provides a case study of Poland as the country of origin and Germany as a host country, and calculates the financial incentives to migrate in a number of model cases. From the findings, he concludes that since welfare benefits are more generous in Germany, migration of Polish people into the German welfare system is to be expected. However, this depends on the welfare policies of the host country. In the case of Germany, the regulations in force are effective, and impose a five-year waiting period for welfare benefits. This means that for inactive Polish individuals to have access to the German welfare system, they need to have a considerable amount of financial assets to sustain themselves in the beginning. They also need to liquidate these assets during the waiting period with the view to having access later to the welfare benefits in Germany. As a result, this may reduce the incentives to migrate because this may be risky for the migrant considering that the migrant may die during the waiting period, or the rules may change in the meantime in his or her disfavour. But, if the person has no financial assets and is capable of working, migration to Germany may be attractive, assuming that they work in the informal sector and after five years they expect also to receive financial assistance. The author defines the informal sector as illegal work that can pose risks.

The provision of welfare benefits in the host country as a pull factor has also been explained by Flanagan (2006). He suggests that the countries that raise the level of benefits attract more migrants, and to a higher degree, unskilled rather than skilled workers. This is because the skilled workers will have to pay taxes for the welfare benefits that the unskilled workers get.

Razin and Wahba (2011) suggested that migration is expected in free migration regimes where migrants can freely self-select, and that welfare states that have generous systems attract mainly unskilled migrants. Whereas, in the managed migration regime, the demand for migrants would favour highly skilled individuals because they would contribute to the net welfare system.

De Jong et al. (2020) undertook an empirical study of the role of welfare generosity in locational choices of the European countries in different life stages. They used a conditional logit model (allows for stratification and matching and is used mainly in observational studies) to investigate the impact of social expenditure on locational choices in 25 European countries. The data was chosen for five categories of people of different age groups in different stages of life: under 15 years old who most likely migrated with their parents, adolescents and young adults aged 15-25 who were either studying or in early career, migrants aged 25-40 who most likely had a young family, and those aged 40-60 who had a stabilised work and family life, and over 60 years old close to retirement. They suggested that young adults move together with children in those countries where government spends more on family benefits; migrants in the oldest age move to the countries where social expenditure is higher on old-age benefits. However, they did not expect that the unemployment benefits had a negative impact

on locational choices in the migrants of working age. This might have been because the working young adults may be less likely to be entitled to unemployment benefits because they have limited experience in the labour market (De Jong et al., 2020).

My study looks at where Kosovans migrate and the factors that can attract them, including the two above, welfare benefits and taxation. It tries to explore migration decisions beyond family ties through open questions that allow room to discuss various factors that can influence one to migrate, as well as where to migrate. Furthermore, this research uncovers the extent to which migrants have improved their working experience and personal life after emigration. This automatically can show the factors that could have helped in improving these experiences in the host country.

Similar to the welfare benefits viewpoint, is the taxation regime as another pull factor to migrate as explained by Ester et al. (2008). They examine innovative theoretical perspectives and market policy responses to Europe's changing work demand and employment career. They found that highly skilled people tend to move to the regions with lower taxation in order to maximise their earnings. This is the same as with the low skilled workers who seek to migrate to those countries with higher welfare benefits. However, in Europe, even though citizens enjoy the rights of moving freely and being treated equally, there is a distinction when it comes to access to social security systems. This distinction is made depending if one is a worker, self-employed, a job seeker, or economically inactive citizen. Workers, including those who are self-employed, enjoy equal treatment in the country they are employed, including access to social benefits; as per the social benefits access from the job seekers, the Court of Justice needs to decide if there are restrictions to be imposed by member states in the

general legislation, or in individual cases; the economically inactive citizens, pensioners, tourists, students, long-term unemployed do not have access to the social benefits and need to have sufficient resources during their stay (Blauberger and Schmidt, 2014).

There is very limited literature about the effect of taxation in the international migration of workers, especially of those highly skilled. A study that looked into the influence of taxation in international mobility focused on the migration of the top football players conducted by Kleven, Landais, and Saez (2013). They studied the careers and mobility of professional football players in 14 European countries for over 30 years. There was an introduction of preferential tax schemes in several countries for high income immigrants, and especially athletes. They use this as their main source to identify the variation and found that high taxation has a high influence on the immigration of footballers (Kleven et al., 2013; Kleven et al., 2011; Schultz et al., 2010).

Finally, while taxation and welfare benefits can pull individuals to migrate, the national immigration policies explained below can also have an impact in managing the borders and determine the migration flows.

2.3.2 National immigration policies

The impact of national policies in migration have hardly been investigated because of the lack of data (Helbling and Leblang, 2019). However, several existing studies suggest that the national immigration policies try to determine the size and composition of legal migration flows. There may be challenges to determine this

though, because of the international and voluntary organisations that arose to protect the rights of migrants, endorsing a lot of resistance in the implementation of migration policies. For example, the UK government wanted below 100,000 immigrants per year, but according to the Office for National Statistics, in June 2018, the net migration was estimated to be 273,000 people who aimed to stay in UK for more than 12 months, whereas '[o]ver the year, 625,000 people moved to the UK (immigration)' (ONS, 2018, para.1).

Freeman (1994) writes that democratic countries have better and more necessities to control their borders than in the past. However, the capacity to control migration is more and more difficult and limited because there are so many people who want to migrate to another country. Some even argue that this migration is beyond control (Bhagwati, 2003).

A study from Helbling and Leblang (2018) suggests that the immigration policies have an important impact on migration and the states that can control their borders. They took two datasets to measure immigration policies and bilateral migration flows systematically for over 170 countries over the period 1982-2010. The findings suggest that the immigration policies are more restrictive when the unemployment rates are high. In these cases, states start to increase their focus on protecting their national economy. They also conclude that despite the pressure from the national courts and institutions, and national NGOs to protect the rights of immigrants and suppress the control and restriction of immigration by European states, the European institutions have managed to counteract these pressures through intergovernmental cooperation.

The latter means cooperation to control immigration, such as visa, asylum, and border control.

Czaika and Haas (2013) explain that states' effort to regulate and minimize international migration has, in many instances, failed. This is because international migration is mainly driven by structural factors, such as labour market demand, political conflicts in the home country, and inequalities in wealth. Migration policies have little or no effect in these factors. As also previously stated in other studies, states have limited control on migration because they are legally bound to protect human rights, such as protection of children, vulnerable people, asylum seekers, and the right of family life. Other migration researchers have argued that migration policies have become more sophisticated and can detect irregular migrants (Bonjour, 2011). Furthermore, for poor people it has become more difficult to migrate because of visa requirements and more rigid border controls. Their study supports the idea that immigration policies do significantly impact migration flows.

Considering that Kosovo is still not part of the European Union, Kosovans do not enjoy the right to move freely to different countries without a visa. Therefore, understanding how this impacted their decisions to migrate forms part of this research. This study explores this through the migration experiences of interviewees, and can inform the migration literature on the importance that visa liberalisation can have on the decision to migrate.

The subsection below looks at the impact that educational opportunities and a good healthcare system in the host country can have in migration choices of potential migrants.

2.3.3 Access to services: Education and good healthcare system

Quality of education is another important pull factor that incentivises migration in the specific regions to which people wish to migrate. Related to this is the accessibility of manpower training programmes (Schlottmann and Herzog, 1981). This means that countries that offer better educational programmes and opportunities would be targeted regions for migrants. In places such as the UK, migrants who are job seekers are encouraged to attend English for Speakers of Other Languages classes. Furthermore, universities in the UK recognise foreign qualifications and the power to accept students without formal qualifications. The EU has done a lot to force countries to mutually recognise qualifications, for example, many German doctors are working in the UK. However, there can be prohibitive practices in some countries, such as Germany, where a large part of public employment is highly regulated and particular state examinations are required that, naturally, foreigners have not passed. Hence, this makes it difficult or even impossible for foreign employees to take up public employment, despite the EU having forced Germany to be less protective (Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection, 2020).

The quality of education has been valued as the most important factor in influencing migration by Dustmann and Glitz. In their discussion paper on Migration and Education, they re-examine the original Roy model to analyse the influence of education on migration. The Roy model explains that choices of migration depend on

the distribution of skills (Roy, 1951). That is, more highly educated individuals choose to migrate to the country with higher returns to education. Therefore, based on this model, Dustmann and Glitz (2011) argue that the main driver of migration are the ‘differential returns to skills in origin and destination country [and the] economic success of [an] immigrant in the destination country’ (p.1) depends on their educational background. This is also related to the salaries they earn, as those who are educated earn higher salaries and those who are less educated earn lower salaries. This in turn relates to the idea that people also seek to obtain high quality education abroad in order to receive higher salaries in the country of origin, or even at the country of destination.

Countries like UK, USA, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada offer educational programmes for international students, for example summer schools, or pre-sessional academic English courses to help prepare students for enrolment in the relevant schools or Universities. So, education may be the sole reason for migration (Department for Education and Department for International Trade, 2019).

Receiving good education and having access to a good healthcare system in the host country may increase the benefits of migration and be a strong pull factor. Families with young children may especially want to migrate, because they want to offer their children better educational opportunities and good healthcare.

However, several studies suggest that seeking healthcare is not one of the major motivations to migrate in Europe (Médecins du Monde, 2019). Literature on health and migration mainly focuses on the migration of health professionals and the health of migrants before, during and after their migration.

Sarría-Santamera et al. (2016) argues that migrants use healthcare facilities much less than the local population. This can be due to the economic background, limited access to labour market, exploitation, lack of integration policies, etc. The European Commission has raised the issue of health inequalities among vulnerable migrants, and has asked European countries to ensure equal comprehensive access to healthcare for migrants (European Commission, 2016a). Permanent resident migrants usually get full access to healthcare services, whereas undocumented migrants are usually restricted from such services. For example, in the UK, even the children of undocumented migrants and pregnant woman have to pay for the healthcare services they use. According to Justfair (2015) ‘this constitutes a clear breach of minimum obligations under human rights law’ (p.118, 119).

Another example is that of Syrian refugees in Turkey. They face problems in accessing the healthcare system in Turkey because they have temporary identity cards that cover only emergency medical cases. Children are not vaccinated, and infants and pregnant woman are not offered preventive health care services.

Undocumented migrants are entitled to emergency healthcare services, however, they may risk deportation by the authorities because when they go for the appointment, the institutions are obliged to declare them. Even though there are many NGOs, individuals, and anti-racist initiatives to help improve the healthcare and medical appointments, healthcare still remains inadequate (People's Health Movement, 2017).

My research on the education system in Kosovo shows that although many private universities in Kosovo have opened, the quality of education has dropped because

‘[t]he value of diplomas is in constant decline, as there were reports of students who passed without attending exams’ (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2018, para. 57). Nevertheless, this created opportunities for Kosovans to get a degree, and resulted in a surplus of academics in the labour market in Kosovo. Through questions about employment support services and their usefulness, this study unveils whether the education factor has been important for the interviewees. Even more, through their experiences and how much they improved their life through migration also tends to show the significance of a good education and health system in the host country.

The next sub-section looks at the need of the industrial countries for labour and the division of jobs and roles between the native and migrant labour seen as a segmentation of the labour market.

2.3.4 The host labour market: Labour market segmentation and demand for migrant labour

The labour demands of modern industrial countries and the labour market segmentation is explained by the dual labour market theory that is positioned aside from the neoclassical theory and the theory of ‘new economics’ of migration, as it does not focus on individual choices but in the labour demands of modern industrial countries. The theory was developed initially by US economists in 1960s, and then later the cost-benefit micromodel was incorporated by Michael Todaro (1969), and the theory was further developed by Piore (1979) and others. According to this theory, the market consists of two separate segments, the primary segment and the secondary segment. The primary segment comprises of highly paid and stable jobs, and the secondary segment consists of low salary and high turnover jobs.

The results from the initial studies of the labour market behaviour of the urban poor in Boston, Detroit and Chicago, show that the poor were limited to the secondary labour market and had unstable and low paid jobs. This market was separated from the primary market (Lowell, 1978).

Migration was incorporated into the dualistic model by Michael Todaro in 1969 to explain the rural-urban migration in developing countries. This represented a wage differential approach between the rural and urban activities. Todaro argues that the unemployment and underemployment of urban workers affects the probability of potential migrants to find a job in the modern sector (Todaro, 1969). This theory incorporates the cost-benefit micro model of individual choice and the expectations for a higher monetary return. For example, the migration from rural to urban areas increases if the urban wages increase in the urban sector.

The labour market segmentation has been explored by Piore as well. He argues that migration is influenced mainly by pull, rather than push factors, as the dominant force is the demand for cheap and flexible labour. The primary sector is mainly reserved for the natives, whereas the secondary sector for migrants (Piore, 1979). This segmentation divides the jobs and the role of migrants and of natives, and as a result the role and function of the secondary sector. Piore explains that migration was used to fill in the needs of the secondary sector and in this way, to motivate and increase opportunities in the primary sector of natives. This is because, in the secondary sector, there are unsecured jobs and they lie at the bottom of the hierarchy as these are low status jobs performed by migrants. There were cases when even skilled migrants were utilised in the positions that belonged to the primary labour market as there was a need

for such skills. Piore took the example of United States employing foreign doctors in the medical profession and undocumented Canadian craftsmen in construction. If the cost of production is lower in the secondary sector compared to that in the primary sector, then the secondary sector will not function to absorb the demand, but to sustain the demand, that in turn undermines job security in the primary sector. That is why the demand for migrants is large and why it may be limited. Finally, he argues that migration is a way to take off the pressure that comes from the labour market by dividing the labour force into classes and sectors.

A study by Grubanov-Boskovic and Natale (2017) was carried out to analyse the labour market conditions of both native and immigrant population in the EU context in-depth. The study relies on cross-sectional micro data from the 2015 EU Labour Force Survey. The final weighted sample consisted of dependant employees aged between 15 and 64, representatives of a population of 171 million units. The study tested segmentation in three aspects: returns to human capital, occupational skills, and job stability and flexibility. The results showed division of labour in three segments, primary, intermediate, and secondary. The primary segment consisted of highly skilled employees and better working conditions, whereas the secondary segment consisted of low skilled employees with poor working conditions and less salary. The intermediate segmentation has been similarly categorised with secondary segmentation, but with relatively higher stability of jobs and prestige. As the study looked at the difference between EU Members States (MS) and EU Third Country Nationals (TCN), it found that TCNs registered higher probability in being employed in the secondary jobs. However, there was a gap between TCN and MS, for example ‘in Southern European countries, the TCN – native gap appears to be the largest, while

in countries such as UK, IE and DE, this gap is the smallest' (ibid, p.18). Hence, the conclusion of the study was that there should be policy interventions to reduce the gaps of TCNs to access the primary segment.

As also previously stated, my study seeks to explore the reasons why people make specific choices for their migration, how they decide about which country they will migrate to, and how this can also reveal if their choice is a response to a specific country opening the border because it needs labour, or for other reasons. Furthermore, it assesses how the migrants feel about their experience in the host country and if they want to return to Kosovo. This can uncover the way they are treated as a migrant in the host country and if there is any market segmentation or categorisation based on migrant or native status.

My study explores through the usefulness of the employment support programmes if the education factor has been important for the interviewees and how much they improved their life after migration can also show the quality of education and health care they received in the host country.

Finally, the demand for labour of industrial countries as a pull factor to migrate is supported in my research considering that through understanding of the reasons why migrants chose a specific country to migrate, this research seeks to understand if the interviewees have responded to the needs of the labour market abroad.

The section below focuses on the different factors that can facilitate migration, such as ties in the host country, the costs of migration, and different activities and settings that connect people over space. The section begins by exploring the Lee's theory of

migration, because he claims that there are different intervening obstacles that can influence migration decisions.

2.4 The facilitators of migration

After having read Ravenstein's migration laws, Lee believed that these laws were distinguished more for their lawlessness than for having a definite law. He believed that previous studies did not look at the longer distances, but only the short moves, such as those within countries (Lee, 1966). Hence, he wanted to look at the variety of special movements, development of streams and counter streams, and the characteristics of migrants. He argues that there are different intervening obstacles when it comes to the decision to migrate, such as the distance of the move being the one always present, 'the cost of making the journey, physical distance, cultural barriers, different ways of life, political burdens such as international borders and immigration restrictions' (p.53), physical barriers, age, and gender. However, he also notes that there are personal factors that play a role in migration decisions, such as adaptability to change, intelligence, personal sensitivities, economic status, life stage, capability to understand the conditions in the origin country and knowledge of the situation in the destination country. In this way, Lee's version takes into consideration the socio-economic factors as well.

The economic burden has been a huge incentive to migrate and has influenced people in different ways. For example, unemployed young adults would be more concerned to respond to jobs and income factors when it comes to the decision to migrate, rather than the education system of the destination country. The latter would be more relevant to a family that has children (King, 2012).

Some of the factors that Lee explores, such as the costs of migration, transnationalism and networking that have helped to facilitate migration or posed barriers to migrate, are explained below.

2.4.1 Materialisation of move/ costs of migration

Sometimes the migration of people depends on the cost of migration. Some cannot migrate because they are too poor to afford the costs of moving. In addition, there may be policy barriers and liquidity constraints. This in fact shows how poverty can influence people to migrate and where to migrate. Bertoli et al. (2013) gives the example of the migration of Ecuadorian males without a college degree to the US, where the cost of migration was 8.5 times higher than their income. Another reason why migration falls beyond a certain level of income or wealth is that the opportunity cost of migration grows with income earning at home. An example of this is shown by Bazzi (2017) in the case of Indonesia, where those who belong to households who are richer are less likely to migrate if the income generating opportunities increase domestically.

According to Testaverde et al. (2017), migration costs include the costs of the fees charged by the recruitment agencies to find the job for the migrant, costs from the migration authorities for entry and exit visas and opportunity costs, such as the complexity of migration procedures and the time consumption if these procedures require the involvement of many agencies. However, they argue that the costs are much higher if these regulations and the institutions responsible for carrying them out, do not function effectively.

According to Ahsan et al. (2014) the costs associated with recruitment usually come from the information asymmetries between workers and employers, such as when the worker knows his/her own skills but not the available jobs, and the employer knows the jobs available but not the skills of the worker. Hence, intermediary agencies intervene to help with this information, and they charge a fee for this service.

Migrants can have additional costs when they migrate, and sometimes their qualifications are not recognised, and they work at jobs that do not deploy their skills.

██████████ Ahsan et al. (2014) suggest that drivers of migration costs vary across origins and destinations, age, gender, and income, among others. The costs of migration can be higher compared to someone's income in the destination country. These costs can be much higher in proportion to wages earned by low than by high skilled migrants.

Surveys with Vietnamese foreign workers in Malaysia and some rough estimates from nongovernmental organisations show an indication of the average total costs of migration from several countries to Malaysia (Testaverde et al., 2017). This survey was conducted by Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development and the International Labour Organisation with 3,149 migrants. All the surveys they conducted either used convenience or snowball sampling. The samples included primarily migrants employed in low-skilled positions, who departed to the destination country no more than 6 years prior to the interview year. The results of this show that visa costs, recruitment fees, international and local travel are the primary drivers of migration costs. 80% of Vietnamese migrants said that they borrowed money to

finance their migration. 70% said that their employers paid for their migration costs and that they would need to work between 25 to 36 months to repay their employers. High migration costs are especially associated with undocumented migrants. They have to pay smugglers, buy falsified documents, bribe the border officials at home and in the host country. According to Dustmann et al. (2017) the cost of irregular migration is higher than the usual migration. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2012) data show that price for being smuggled from Central America to US in 2009 was about \$3.5 thousand for Central Americans, \$7-7.5 thousand for Africans and Indians, and \$45 thousand for Chinese.

My study raises factual questions related to the costs of migration and how expensive it is for Kosovans to migrate. Furthermore, it looks at the support that migrants are provided during migration, either financial or other, such as transportation. It also explores whether the migrants encounter difficulties in entering the host country and if they have any support there as well, in terms of jobs, finances, among others.

The following sub-section examines the influence of the development of communication, transport, and technology on migration. It also discusses critiques of transnationalism.

2.4.2 Transnationalism

While for Ravenstein, distance was a barrier to migrate, today's transnational theorists of migration, such as Collins (2009), Horst (2006) and many others claim that migration is a result of the collapse of distance, through the development of transnational communication and cheaper travel. However, this does not necessarily

mean that migration was restricted then more than now due to distance. This is because, for example, ‘more than 30 million Europeans migrated to North and South America between the 1820s and 1920s, representing one of the world’s largest migrations to date and one where people crossed practically half the world to move from their old locations to their new destinations’ (McKay et al., 2011, p. 29). Therefore, this shows that distance in fact was not always a barrier to migration even then. Another example is ‘[b]etween 1970 and [2010], the number of international [immigrants] more than doubled, from 81.3 million (2.2% of the world’s population) in 1970 to 213.9 million (3.1% of the world’s population) in 2010 in the world’ (International Council on Human Rights Policy, 2010, p.11). Nevertheless because of population growth, between 1970 and 2010 migration only increased from 2.2 % to 3.1% of the world’s population (ibid). In 2013, the ‘total number of international migrants [was] 232 million [and of these] over a third moved from a developing country to a developed country’ (Arnot and Gelsthorpe, 2014, para. 2).

Transnationalism is seen as a form of connection between individuals and communities across borders and through these introducing changes in the economic, political, social, and cultural landscape of societies in the country of origin and that of destination. The development of technology, transport and information has connected migrants to two or more places.

Transnationalism is also about the families who remain in the country of destination, the backgrounds and experiences of migrants themselves, but also their families. The connections that migrants have across the countries can become a vehicle for social and cultural exchange between the countries. One way this occurs can be through

remittances, that also are economic because they increase the income of households in the country of destination (IOM, 2010).

Dunn (2005) describes transnationalism as different activities and interactions that connect people or institutions across borders. Portes et al. (1999) state that in order to create this linkage two conditions need to be met, such as transport and communication, and networks through which the communication and transnationalism could be developed.

Lacroix (2009) explains transnationalism as a concept that relates to the activities of non-state actors, human activity and social networks. However, he states that this does not mean that these activities prevent the actors from collaborating with public authorities and civil societies.

There are some critiques of transnationalism that argue that transnationalism is not something new. Lots of activities that have been a result of transnationalism, such as communication, settlement and contemporary migration have existed similarly decades ago (Foner, 1997). Another critique is that transnationalism is usually referred to as a movement between two countries, but it needs to be looked at above or beyond countries (Waldinger and Fitzgerald, 2004).

Other critics of transnationalism argue that homeland engagement gets lost or limited among the migrants and is only sustained in a limited way (Waldinger 1997, Jones-Correa 1998). However, other authors prove that homeland engagement continues in different forms in a few generations (Levitt 2009, Pries 2004). Bilgili (2014) claims

that transnationalism is not new, but it has expanded and intensified because of technological developments and global capitalism.

There is a gap in the literature about how conflict affects transnational mobility. For Sirkeci (2009), focusing on refugees and asylum seekers make it possible to develop a conflict-oriented model of transnational migration. The two groups are subject to threats and conflicts that create human insecurity perceptions. The transnational movements of these groups, and of undocumented migrants, challenges the ability of states to control their borders. Sirkeci argues that human insecurity can be based either in material or non-material environments. Non-material environments are those where minorities are oppressed, while material environments are created by political and ethno-political conflicts, lack of economic opportunities and environmental disasters. Hence, the main motive of international migration in such environments is deeply rooted in the quest for human security and the avoidance of the very causes of insecurity. Therefore, human insecurity is aligned with push factors, while human security is aligned with pull factors for migration. Sirkeci argues that non-violent conflict can be perceived as a lack of job opportunities, socio-economic deprivation, and the existence of wage differentials.

While refugees and asylum seekers can be a subject to threats and conflicts, Ahmed (2017) argues that migrants could be perceived negatively by members of the established population in the destination country and viewed as a threat to their economy, culture, identity, and social harmony. Migrants come from different cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. They differ in their willingness to adapt to the host environment, learn the language and adopt the social norms in the country of

destination. Host countries adopt different approaches to migrant integration. For example, Canada permits big provinces to have their own language, and educational and political preferences, whereas France has adopted the concept of a homogenous society, with liberal secular values, and hence more restricted and exclusive migration policies. However, Ahmed claims that a new approach in migration studies should consider migration as the threatened side, rather than the source of threat to the country of destination. In this respect, migration research should focus on the reasons for migration – are they associated with economic (in)security, direct violence such as armed conflict or other severe human rights violations. Considering this, providing stable economic security in the countries with potential emigration could reduce the numbers of economic migrants and asylum seekers to Europe. This line of enquiry is closely related to the ethnic conflict in Kosovo, the main reason for the emigration in 1999, when large numbers of civilians were fleeing the area and were threatened by the Serbian forces. This was a military conflict and it was not safe for civilians to stay in Kosovo, and many countries worldwide opened their borders to Kosovan refugees. The thesis also considers this phase of migration and how conditions of conflict and insecurity have influenced people's decisions to leave the country.

Finally, transnationalism can be counted also as informal migrant networks and diasporas because they facilitate transnational connections. Furthermore, those in the diaspora are considered to be agents of positive change and economic development, the unofficial ambassadors of the home country (Turner, 2013). There is rich evidence of diaspora engagement initiatives in different countries around the world, indicating an expansion of citizenship rights for diaspora members (Baser and Ozturk, 2020). Conversely, some authoritarian states use the diaspora governance to monitor and

control diaspora members who are perceived as ‘rebels’. This in turn has created a repressive transnational state that suppresses the voices of those members of the diaspora who are considered political or security threats. Some sending states create governance policies to engage with the diaspora abroad. However, transnational authoritarianism impacts individuals by creating feelings of insecurity and mistrust. Examples include the Yugoslav authorities using kidnapping and assassinations against anti-communist groups; the USSR monitoring diaspora organisations; Rwanda monitoring, with the help of loyal diaspora organisations, dissidents that are perceived as a political and security threat and requesting extradition through INTERPOL. In the case of Turkey, the AKP (Justice and Development Party) realised that it was possible to make use of diasporas as a soft power to improve the image of Turkey and support the government’s agenda. The AKP sought to enhance their relationship with Turkish businesses abroad to improve economic outreach and in this way, improve their political position in the international sphere and maintain cultural and religious ties with the diaspora. In terms of Kurdish activism outside Turkey, it still follows the tactics of pressure on the destination countries to ban the activism of Kurdish organisations (ibid).

Another example of the impact of a diaspora on the country of origin is a study by Kapur (2010), examining the domestic impact of international migration from India. The study was based on three large surveys, the first one being a household sample of Indian emigrants visiting home (a sample of 210,000 individuals that covered 1,100 towns and 2,800 villages in 22 of 28 India’s states), the second was a survey of Asian Indians in the United States (a random sample was drawn from a database of Indian Americans in the US and phone interviews were conducted from a call centre in India),

and the third survey was based on a sample from a database of international migration of Indian elites over the past half a century. The results of this study revealed several ways that diaspora affects the politics of the origin country, such as by influencing the voting preferences of family members in the country of origin, often through the promise of remittances. Diasporas could influence home politics through long-distance nationalism namely, through lobbying the government on foreign policy or sending funds to the country of origin (Kapur, 2010).

My study looks at migration as a form of movement that can be shaped by different factors and conditions, and explores how it occurs between countries. It examines how people in the home country connect with people or institutions in another country, what facilitates their migration, how and why they migrate and re-migrate, and the connections they forge and maintain with people they leave behind in the home country, including the remittances sent back home. It also looks at the role of networks in facilitating or impeding migration.

2.4.3 Networking

A rich body of literature suggests that networks can influence migration decisions and the destination of migration. The network theory supplements the new economics of migration theory. It looks at what can spread migration in time and space. As a result of networks, from the migration of one-person, additional movements were more likely encouraged. People tend to migrate through the help of their friends as they have lower costs to move because friends who migrated earlier will help them to settle in, such as by providing information, finding accommodation, finding a job, and helping financially (Dekker and Engbersen, 2012). Therefore, the probability of migration is

higher of those who have a connection to someone who migrated before as networks offer short-term adaptive assistance to the migrant (Gurak and Caces, 1992). Kulu-Glasgow et al. (2019) also found that social networks had an influence on the choices of destination countries. The authors conducted a qualitative study with seventeen Syrian unaccompanied minors in Germany in 2016, showing that social networks were a decisive factor in the choice of Germany as a destination country. Most minors sought information about Germany while preparing for their arrival through family members or friends in Germany.

Zell and Skop (2011) found that networks are especially important for undocumented migrants. This is especially useful in determining the employment outcomes of those who are undocumented, considering their vulnerable position in the labour market.

The more that individuals rely on these networks, the more these networks expand. Hence, migration flows become self-sustaining and independent of other factors, such as the economic or political factors that initially caused them (Filiz and Asad, 2015). However, '[g]overnments can expect to have great difficulty controlling flows once they have begun, because the process of network formation lies largely outside their control and occurs no matter what policy regime is pursued' (Massey et al., 1993, p. 450). With more organisations developing and supporting international movement, as also stated above, the international migration flows become more independent and institutionalised. These are private institutions and voluntary organisations that support people who want to migrate, even though the number of visas offered by the host countries is limited.

Networks have also been studied within the concept of social capital as developed by Bourdieu in the 1970s and the early 1980s. Bourdieu conceptualises social networks and group membership as components of social capital. He defines social capital as the resources that are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships that provide each of its members with capital that is collectively owned (Löfström et al., 2003). He considers social conflicts and power, and forms of violence, domination, and deprivation. In terms of power, he analyses the role of social relations in increasing the ability of an actor to advance own interests. For Bourdieu, social capital means kinship, friendship relations and networks that are durable and are part of one's cultural and economic capital. Social capital as a collective phenomenon increases the free flow of information whereby formal and informal networks are created (Siisiäinen, 2000). Bourdieu (1986) claims that a social position can be improved by group membership and involvement in social networks, and the social relations that arise from the membership. Memberships in trades unions, political parties, and voluntary associations are considered examples of the modern social capital.

Putnam (1995) divides social capital into three components: norms and moral obligations, trust as a social value, and social networks. He claims that these features of social organisation could facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. If a state has a well-functioning economy and political system, these are the outcome of social capital accumulation. Nevertheless, Putnam's theory excludes conflicts and conflicting associations that are important 'to understand the birth of a trusting society based on compromises of interest' (Siisiäinen, 2000, p.9).

An empirical study of how social networks influence the decision to migrate is that of a digital trace that comprehensively captured mobile phone activity in Rwanda over a five-year period. In their study, Blumenstock et al. (2019), captured a sample size of 1 million people in Rwanda and were able to observe every time these individuals made a phone call or received one from a person abroad, looked at the approximate location and identified the person to whom they were talking. From this data they were able to analyse a five-years migration trajectory that provides a picture of the social network of these individuals before and after migration. The results suggest that migrants are not attracted to migrate to places where social networks are expansive. This may be because migrants feel competition from their friends that are well connected. Hence, they respond strongly to the interlinkages of their friends and kinship networks, and look for networks that are interconnected. As a result, risk sharing and favour exchange play an important role in migration and is consistent with recent evidence (Munshi and Rosenzweig, 2016). This study also suggests that the role of social networking is the diffusion of rivalry in information and repeated cooperation, rather than the diffusion of information about economic opportunities as claimed by many studies (Ioannides and Datcher Loury, 2004).

Another example of the influence of existing networks on migration decisions is found in a study conducted by Dago and Barussaud (2021) on the drivers of migration of students from Côte d'Ivoire to France and Switzerland. The authors conducted 38 in-depth interviews and two focus groups with Ivorian students who were deciding whether or not to migrate and study in France or Switzerland, as well as migration officers, representatives of the Ivorian diaspora, and members of the education board. The study found that the migration of students from sub-Saharan Africa to northern

countries is a result of both push and pull factors, push factors such as the lack of doctoral programs, the mismatch between the trainings offered and labour market needs, the lack of qualifications of higher education teachers, and pull factors, such as the value of diplomas abroad, the low costing of schooling, and language. Migration networks had an influence on migration because of their role in providing information, financial support, and other assistance with integration in the host country. The family played a role as well by helping their members to migrate for studies abroad because in that way they would create social distinction and maintain their social reputation (Dago and Barussaud, 2021).

The network theory has been critiqued because it does not explain migration flows of asylum seekers (Collyer, 2005). The networks sometimes increase the introduction of new migrants significantly, but without the supply of jobs being increased. Economic saturation can lead to limited job opportunities for migrants, meaning there may be no work or housing vacancies on offer. This can be the case especially when the influx of migration is rapid (Light and Bhachu, 1993).

Recent research has found that there are actors beyond kinship that are important in migrants' networks, such as traffickers, government officials, migration brokers, and employers (Krissman, 2005). Scholars have also pointed to the visa and passport industry as other factors that can prompt migration.

Finally, my research assesses how the migration of respondents happened by understanding the events and experiences that lead people to take the decision to migrate. It also explores the choices that migrants make in migrating to specific

countries and if they had any support from the institutions or any persons before, during or after migration. Therefore, this in turn will inform if any network has influenced migration.

It also focuses on factual questions that provide an understanding of how expensive it is for Kosovans to migrate.

The following section looks at the effects of globalisation and how economic and political relations between countries influence migration. It also considers the demand of countries for labour and the disparities of income between the poor and rich, and finally, focuses on the influence of culture and social labelling on migration decisions.

2.5 The global system – Incentives for and impediments to migration

This section looks at the incentives and barriers for migration related to global developments and how these developments can create differences between rich and poor, how they can increase dependence between the countries in terms of need for cheap labour as well as increase the economic and political relations among the countries. This section also considers the influence of culture and social labelling in migration.

2.5.1 Widening disparities between the rich and poor and the expanding global demand for cheap labour

The labour market and immigration studies suggest that the differences between income and the demand for labour can influence migration. The market theories mainly focus on explaining the demand of modern industries for cheap and flexible labour, and in some cases, the aim to exploit labour of other countries to reach a

surplus. These theories also look at the supply of labour and the movement of goods and capital as a process of development of market and economy worldwide.

Migration happens not only to increase income and diversify risks, but also to increase their income relative to other households in the groups to which they belong. This is because people observe how, as households send migrants and start to collect remittances, they become richer than the non-migrant households (Gold and Nawyn, 2013). As a result, when people see others improving their life due to migration, they tend to migrate as well. The distribution of income has been explained by the cumulative causation theory that was developed by Gunnar Myrdal in 1956. That idea is explored and tested further by Massey and his colleagues (Haas, 2008). They agree that this theory explains ‘that each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made, typically in ways that make additional [movements] more likely’ (Massey et al., 1993, p. 451).

Sjaastad (1962) argues that migration poses two broad questions, the first one being the response of migrants to income differences ‘over space, and the second one the relation between migration and those earnings’ (p.82). Thus, he predicts high rates of migration from the poorest countries. Similarly, Todaro (1969), ‘focused on the rural and urban migration’ (p.138), the wage differential and the redistribution of human resources that are in surplus in the areas that are short in labour, such as urban areas, assuming that the wage is higher. Hence, individuals decided to migrate based on their utility maximisation.

According to Kapur and McHale (2009), global inequality has increased over the last two centuries, even though they argue that there have been debates about whether or not it has increased or decreased. Some argue that between countries, inequality has decreased because of the growth in China and India, and more people live in a few poor countries with faster average income growth, than in many poor countries with lower average income growth. The literature suggests that a large part of the variation between the average income across countries is a result of differences in total productivity factor across countries (Caselli, 2005). Kapur and McHale suggest that one way to reduce poverty in the world is to allow people to migrate from poor countries to rich countries. However, they found that international migration is very much restricted from poor to rich countries for all but the highly skilled. This increases bias against the less skilled and those who only move temporarily. They use estimates of country specific emigration average income gains to estimate the influence of migration on world income per person and to measure inequality between countries. They look at five variables for 134 countries in the year 2000, of which 101 were developing countries. These five variables were income, emigrant and immigrant stocks, GDP per capita, total population, and remittances. The results show that migration had a large influence on the income gains of households, but the impact on the world income per person and between country was modest. The results also showed that migration could lead to a substantial improvement of world income distribution, but because of the bias on the high skilled labour mentioned above, it limits this contribution.

My research seeks to understand whether, if Kosovan migrants respond to the labour needs of the different countries to which they migrate, this results in a relaxation of

the entry restrictions. Furthermore, this can also provide insight into the situation of the labour market in Kosovo and if it is capable of accommodating the needs of its available workforce, or whether the failure to do this will push individuals to indirectly respond to the need for cheap labour in other countries. This study also seeks to understand if there is any incentive to migrate as a result of influences at home, such as from other family members or relatives. This is also related to the culture of migration that will be explored below, and to factors such as language and labelling of migrants.

2.5.2 The culture of migration and social labelling

There are many studies that look into the cultural beliefs and social trends that influence migration. For example, this may be the case with the people who migrated before. These people have the tendency to migrate again. If they do not migrate, they are perceived as lazy and unenterprising (McKenzie, 2006). This sometimes applies to youngsters, in particular men, who cannot sustain themselves.

According to Adserà (2015), if there are large cultural and language differences in the destination country, migrants choose to migrate to a country that has closer ties with their own culture. This is also because the larger the differences between a migrant's culture and destination country, the more expensive and difficult migration becomes because of the transferability of the skills and difficulties with understanding the local norms.

Lanati and Venturini (2018) propose that the exposure to foreign values and behaviour may attract people to migrate, but that sometimes the opposite is true. However, they

find that positive changes in cultural proximity can influence migration. Belot and Hatton (2012) state that physical distance and cultural similarities are more relevant drivers in terms of educational selectivity of migration rather than wages or migration policies, among others. Guiso et al. (2009) suggest that among the influence of cultural similarities, genetics, and religious measure, linguistic distance has had specific attention.

Hahn and Klute (2007) in their studies of mobility, society and resources in African societies concluded that on the African continent, mobility between countries has shaped societies and is culturally embedded in them. They suggest that living in a culture where people are always mobile is a big incentive to migrate. For some, being mobile is a means of survival.

Therefore, these studies show that social influence can be important in enhancing and shaping migration. Social labelling explains different cases of migration as a result of social influence. For example, in the case of unemployment and job crises, a government may have difficulties in finding ways to stop ‘migration and recruit [the] natives back into [the] jobs held formerly by immigrants’ (Massey et al., 1993, p. 454). This creates the need for more immigrants to maintain those working places. This is because, according to Piore (1979) and Böhning (1972), once migrants take up certain jobs in the host countries, those jobs become culturally labelled as ‘immigrant jobs’, and the native workers do not want to fill those roles.

A recent study published in 2018, analysing the use of labels in social media about the social influx of Middle Eastern individuals to Europe, showed that discussion of crises

was around a smaller subset of these labels (Lee and Nerghes, 2018). The main labels were incorporated into the discussions found in the comments area and depended on the sympathetic or antipathetic tone of discussion. For example, the negative comments and labels were around the racism, religion, terrorist activity, fear of crime, and positive comments and labels were around peace, the idea of an open world, and acceptance. The researchers analysed the comments in two You Tube videos that were the most popular on the topic of migrant/refugee crisis at the time they collected the data. They analysed 46, 313 comments in the first video and 13,871 comments in the second video. They discovered that the commentators had some degree of antipathy towards foreigners, but that this was mitigated because the terms ‘migrant’ and ‘immigrant’ have an inherent meaning and these individuals have more freedom of choice and have less pressure when leaving their country compared to asylum seekers and refugees. Syrian refugees were the most sympathetic group of the overall refugees, maybe because of their dire situation.

Other studies on the culture of migration, such as the one by Cohen and Sirkeci (2011) suggest that people migrate to other countries not only for economic reasons, but also for security reasons, and the latter is considered within the cultural and social factors of migration. People are likely to migrate because they want to practise their culture in a safer place, seeking social security. The authors also argue that migration happens as a result of cultural and social inequalities that create asymmetries. Gender-based discrimination can be a factor for migration, but discrimination that prevents women from travelling on their own also limits possibilities for migration. Religious differences and beliefs could clash, triggering migration. In some cultures, women are not allowed to migrate internationally as they are expected to take care of the children;

it may not be safe for them to travel, and if they migrate internationally, they are expected to be accompanied by male family members (Cohen et al., 2008). The authors add that decisions to migrate may also involve family members, relatives, and friends. Families may send their children initially from rural to urban areas, and later this may result in transnational mobility to enhance socio-economic status through remittances and reduce the pressure of the number of members that the household needs to support.

Another scholar who has studied the culture of migration is Brubaker (2000). He argues that internal migration is a cause and consequence of internal cultural homogeneity, whereas external barriers to migrate are likewise causes and consequences of cultural differences and heterogeneity between states. He added that there was free mobility within but not between the nation states and the latter was seen as anomalous.

This study explores the migration relationship and transmission, and how social labelling is related to a culture of migration. It assesses whether Kosovans choose to migrate to countries where they have a family member or any other ties, or whether for other reasons, such as similar culture, language, or other particular interests. This research also looks at who migrates more, for example job seekers, or those who are employed, and if this has any connection with those who are bread winners. Finally, it looks at whether migration is seen as a way of helping one another, and if migrants would recommend that their friends migrate.

Culture has been studied by Bourdieu (1986) in the context of cultural capital that encompasses language knowledge, professional qualifications, knowledge about the

customs and lifestyle, among others. When people migrate to the country of destination, they unpack their cultural capital and engage in bargaining with the institutions there, such as universities or professional bodies about the value of their skills. This may mean that migrants would want to apply for a job or a university degree but the professional qualifications or their diplomas may be undervalued or not recognised in the country of destination. One can have limited powers to do anything about this, but can only add new skills that may not be very relevant or of interest in the country of destination, but may be for the country of origin (Erel, 2010). Human capital and cultural capital share a common emphasis on the role of education in creating life changes. However, cultural capital goes beyond human capital as it looks at other spheres of social life, such as the classification of people in groups associated with the composition of their cultural capital and qualifications as social markers (Aziz, 2015).

Bourdieu uses the term 'habitus' as a system, collective entity or internalised structures that produce, and which reproduce, social and cultural conditions. These can be perceptions, conceptions, actions that are common to all members of the same group and structure their views and perceptions of the world that they live in. What is valued within the habitus is granted through the institutions that begin with the family setting, and later are consolidated with educational and employment institutions. These institutions reinforce and restructure the subject's original cultural and social aspects. Despite this, the subjects reinforce and reproduce the habitus through their own ideas and socio-cultural modes, that are individual histories, but within the same habitus (Gillespie, 2019). In this way, institutions such as schools and universities empower the subjects to represent themselves as a specific kind of subject.

However, this in turn, according to Bourdieu, creates unequal power relations, such as domination by institutions, because they distribute cultural capital differently among different individuals and through this, further create unequal social-cultural settings. This can be, for example, someone who has a university degree being perceived as more qualified and as someone deserving of a job, compared to an individual who has not earned a degree. This grants unfair social-cultural privilege among specific individuals.

Finally, the habitus is the set of actions, habits, tendencies, that are characteristic to the individual, but also to the social group to which they belong, such as community and family, among others. The habitus can reinvent and transform itself if the individual experiences something new or unfamiliar. In the cases when information is unknown about others, one can look at their habitus to understand the way they live and their behaviour (Oliver and Reilly, 2010). This study looks at democracy at work and explores inequalities and treatment at the workplace, power relationships between employers and employees and legal employment rights, and how these might have an impact on migration decisions. This research also looks at the resources in place that produce human capital to enable better outcomes in the labour market and enable easier access to employment opportunities. However, it also looks at the feasibility of these resources, whether they are sufficient and whether they can be accessed equally by the job seeker or the employee to enable the development of skills.

The final sub-section below looks at the economic and political relations between countries, and how interconnectedness and interdependency influence migration.

2.5.3 Globalisation - Economic and political relations of expanding global markets

Research suggests that among many factors, the economic and political relations of expanding global markets can influence migration. This issue has been explored initially by the world systems theory developed by Immanuel Wallerstein in 1974. Wallerstein argued that within the world system there is a division of labour and this system 'is a function of social organisation of work [where some groups] exploit the labour of others in order to receive a large share of surplus' (Wallerstein, 1974, p. 230). He also claims that regions are interconnected through markets rather than political centres and are divided into core and periphery states. The core states are the advantaged areas that exploit the weak and peripheral societies. The periphery states are weak and have a low degree of autonomy. Hence, the world economy process expands the economic and social gaps during its development. However, it has brought technological advantages that have helped to expand the boundaries of the world economy.

This theory 'emerged in the wake of [the] dependency theory and built up a more [comprehensive] and sophisticated historical analysis of the development and expansion of global capitalist system from the sixteenth century' (King, 2012, p.18). Wallerstein's work was inspired by Marx and Weber, and therefore, when he explored 'the world-systems theory, he drew heavily on the dependency theory that is a neo-Marxist explanation for development processes. Dependency theory focuses on understanding the 'periphery' by looking at core-periphery relations' (Martínez-Vela, 2011, p.3).

Other opinions of world systems theory emerged and provided similar explanations to those of Marx and Wallerstein. Sassen (1988) argues that migration happens because of the economic and political relations of an expanding global market and less because of employment differences between countries and wage rates. International migration simply follows the development of market and economy worldwide, and the movement of goods and capital. This usually happens between the past colonial powers and their colonies because they have much in common, such as language, culture, transportation connection and investment.

The government tries to control the international flow of capital and goods by regulating these activities through different policies, or in capitalist countries, they may intervene politically or military to protect investment abroad, or support the expansion of the foreign global market. However, this may raise disagreements in international trade, and as a result, international migration can be incentivised to core countries. In this regard, Ahmed (2017) claims that states demand skilled labour from different regions in the world while at the same time being concerned with the potential threats that could arise from uncontrolled migration flows. As a result, states attempt to control mobility in and out of its territory.

This theory focuses on how the ‘less developed regions were incorporated in the world economy that was controlled by capitalist nations’(Castles, 2008, p.4). And this was ‘the capitalist market formation in developing’ countries where the ‘integration of trade, production processes, and technological [processes facilitate] reduction of communication and [transportation] costs and development of global culture’ (Budnik, 2011, p.14). In this way, development interferes with the ‘traditional social norms,

technologies and [as a result] creates oversupply [of labour] in [the] developing countries' (ibid., p.14). Hence, the labour of developing countries enters the labour markets of the developed countries.

The core and periphery divisions explained by world systems theory, where the “core” societies dominate and exploit weak and poor peripheral societies, are translated in the current world-economy by resources being [redistributed] not by a centralised political system, but by the market' (Martínez-Vela, 2001, p.4). As stated above when explaining the capitalist market, nowadays capitalism and the world economy are modernised forms of exploiting labour, and they go together as systems. As Wallerstein writes, '[u]ntil modern times, the world economies that had been constructed either fell apart or were transformed *manu militari* [by the force of arms] into world-empires. Historically, the only world-economy to have survived for a long time has been the modern world-system, and that is because the capitalist system took root and became consolidated as its defining feature' (Wallerstein, 2006, p. 24).

In recent decades globalisation is defined more as an interconnectedness and interdependency between countries in terms of economy, politics, culture, and environment. Also, the development of technology massively influenced the growth of globalisation. According to Colic-Peisker (2017), remote parts of the world's periphery join the interconnectedness and interdependency not only through globalisation, but also through migration. She also adds that nowadays more people than ever are on the move and searching for better jobs, and life in general (Colic-Peisker, 2017).

According to Marfleet (2006) globalisation is overly criticised by world system theory. He claims that globalisation leads to inequalities worldwide because it drives uneven development, and global differences. Tacoli and Okali (2001), suggest that migration is an important aspect of globalisation and can contribute to sustainable development. An example can be the contribution through remittances that can improve security and can contribute to economic growth if there are adequate policies in place.

While this theory has little to do with wages and the differences between countries, and focuses more on the dynamics of market creation and the structure of the global economy, it is moderately applicable in explaining migration from Kosovo. My research places important emphasis on the wage differential between the home and host countries, because of the low wages in the labour market in Kosovo, and the insufficiencies it can create in bearing life obligations. Furthermore, it explores if through migration, people can achieve their aspirations and fulfil their life missions. It also seeks to understand if the migration of Kosovans to developed countries is to perform low skilled jobs and fill in their labour market gaps in order to earn more than they would in Kosovo for performing the same job.

In summary, this section explores factors relating to globalisation and how they influence migration. It looked at the difference between the income and how one migrates to increase the income relative to others. Myrdal (1956), Haas (2008) and many others argue that the act of migration influences subsequent migration decisions. Sjaastad (1962) states that migration is mainly from poorest countries whereas Todaro (1969) focuses on the rural to urban migration, from areas that are surplus in labour to areas that are short in labour. Kapu and Mchale (2009) suggest that one way to

decrease poverty is to allow people to migrate from poor to rich countries. Considering the studies discussed above, my research explores if there are cases when people respond to the labour needs of other countries and the flexibility to entry that they offer. Along with exploring various factors for migration, it also looks if migration is a result of family influence and culture.

2.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, relatively little has been written about the influence of employment support on migration, or the quality of jobs and treatment at work. There have not been any studies that explore these two factors jointly, and as an overarching approach. As was demonstrated in this chapter, the existing literature addresses issues around the drivers of migration from the home country perspective, such as the difference of income between the countries, unemployment and the access to develop employability skills, the kind of jobs that make workers stay in the home country, the corruption in institutions and nepotism, and risk diversification through migration. Existing research also addresses the pull factors of migration from the host country perspective, and the factors that can facilitate or create barriers to migration. These factors include the availability of welfare benefits in various countries and the limitations for migrants, the taxes that migrants need to pay abroad, the national immigration policies and the control of border and migration, the costs of migration, the influence of conflict and culture, the influence of globalisation and technological developments on migration, and the role of networking in helping migrants with information, shelter and finances.

There are migration scholars who question the push and pull factors model of neoclassical theory. For example, De Haas (2021) proposes that migration decisions

be examined within the aspirations-capabilities framework. Similarly, Schewel (2020) argues that migration could be explained through immobility, the reason one decides to stay in the home country and the ability to stay, or the wish to leave but the inability to do so.

Ravenstein (1889), Borjas (1999), Villareal and Blanchard (2013), Massey et al. (1993), looked at the wage difference and the fact that migrants go to countries where they earn higher income for the same set of skills. Chau and Stark (1998) argue that highly educated individuals go to countries that offer better employment opportunities and this can create a demand for highly skilled workers, but at the same time, cause unemployment of low skilled workers, and as a result, create a mismatch in the labour market. Also, the types of jobs and working conditions in the workplace are particularly important in influencing people to stay in the home country or to migrate. Hyman (2015) states that democracy at work is where employees have a voice in decision making, freedom of expression, and freedom to unionise.

Institutional corruption has been another factor that has been extensively studied. Malfunctioning institutions can influence people to migrate because they lose their trust in them and resources are allocated inefficiently. Bribery and nepotism as forms of institutional corruption enhance employment based on favour and kinship relations. Other factors, such as the economic and political interdependence of countries, have been studied and shown to enhance migration. Dunn (2005), Portes et al. (1999), Lacroix (2009) described transnationalism as interactions, activities and social networks that connect people or institutions across the border. However, this theory

has been criticised by Bilgili (2014) as not being new, but expanded with the development of technology and global capitalism.

Dekker and Engbersen (2012), Zell and Skop (2011), Filiz and Asad (2015) argue that networks can influence migration too, because friends or family who migrated earlier can help with information, accommodation, and finding a job. Networks are especially significant in the case of undocumented migrants as they are vulnerable in the labour market due to their illegal status. The more individuals migrate, the more self-sustaining migration becomes, and the more independent of the factors that caused it.

Pirciog et al. (2007) addresses the issue of how information about employment opportunities shaped the behaviour of Romanians toward migration. While the results suggest that the lack of knowledge about the employment opportunities was one of the main factors that influence internal and external migration of Romanians, my study is more comprehensive and includes employees' viewpoints on the quality of jobs and the way those who are employed are treated. This study does not only look at the opportunities for skills development that job seekers have in the labour market, but also of those who are employed.

While the studies reviewed above consider various factors that can influence migration they do not focus on the labour market conditions at home as a possible push factor for migration. This thesis addresses these gaps by analysing the nexus between human capital development and democracy at work, and how it can impact on decisions to migrate from Kosovo or to return. It contributes to existing knowledge by investigating education and professional qualifications in conjunction with access to work that

matches professional training, unlike previous studies that look only at either employment opportunities or democracy at work as migration factors. Moreover, this study also takes other push and pull factors into account, such as networks, lack of job opportunities at home, insecurity, and cultural, political and economic instability, to mention but a few. This study provides a comprehensive framework for analysing migration decision-making.

In order to address some of the gaps in the existing literature considered above, the following overarching research question was formulated:

What impact does the lack of employment skills support and unequal treatment at work have on incentives to migrate?

The following chapter provides an outline of the methodological framework used to generate and analyse the data required to answer the research questions and address the overarching research aim.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the strategies adopted to conduct the study and to answer the main research question about how the absence of employment skills support and unequal treatment at work can impact in migration incentives, the advantages and disadvantages of this approach, the socio-demographic profile of interviewees in the sample, and the methods for data analysis. It also describes how ethical research practices have been adhered to, such as information about the confidentiality of the data collected, how informed consent from interviewees has been obtained, and that the data is valid and reliable, and how the evidence has been organised and stored.

3.2 Research strategy and design

The research approach in this study is interpretivist because it is premised on philosophical assumptions. Philosophical assumptions are the first ideas in developing a study, and as Huff (2009) suggests these ideas help to formulate the problem that we need to study and the research questions that will be asked. The idea to undertake this study originated as a result of the limited existing literature that addresses the role of human development in migration, such as employability skills. It also arose from my own experience with seeking employment in Kosovo where I was witness to lots of events that occurred in the labour market in Kosovo. So, my ideas to undertake this study originated from the assumptions created while experiencing personal hardship in the labour market in Kosovo upon my return there in 2014, as also outlined later in the chapter in the reflective notes in section **3.10**. I use the interpretivist paradigm because I wanted to let people talk freely about their experiences during the time when they were moving between places. I asked them open questions, as Bryman (2012)

also suggests that researchers should 'leave open the possibility of coming up with unexpected findings' (p.642). Through this I anticipated that I would obtain rich data.

This approach allowed me to view the issue of migration through the prism of participants. According to Cao Thanh and Le Thanh (2015), to answer the research questions, the researcher uses participants' experiences to construct and interpret the understanding of the phenomenon from the data gathered. The same assertions have been made by Cohen and Manion (1994), and Cresswell (2003), that the researcher discovers reality through the views, background, and experiences of participants. The interviews that I collected have provided me with a profound understanding of migration experiences and of the circumstances under which people have decided to migrate. The stories display even more complexities and various factors that can be involved prior to migration, such as in the phase of deciding to migrate, or during and after migration. They provide more information than was originally expected, which enriches understanding of the reasons for migration.

The advantage of this paradigm is that it allows for the provision of detailed information to a study that is new and that has not been explored in the past, or that there is limited knowledge about. As suggested by Denscombe (1998), this paradigm allows the researcher to investigate beneath the superficial surface of society and to provide in depth understanding of the complexities of the social world. However, this approach also has limitations in terms of the small sample of data. This affects generalisability and is seen as subjectivist compared to the scientific emphasis on objectivity.

In order to embrace participants' views, the first step after conducting an extensive review of the existing literature on migration and the labour market was to frame and refine the research questions. Based on the latter, the next step was to think about which methods are most appropriate to answer them. The section below presents the sampling strategies that I used, and describes how I accessed the interviewees.

3.3 Sample and sampling

The purpose of this study was not to get information about the whole population or a large group of people, as this takes time, is an expensive process, and it would also be impossible for all those who were interviewed to answer my detailed research questions. Instead, I wanted to achieve an in-depth understanding of employment and migration experiences, hence I selected some interviewees, such as employees, employers, job seekers, migrants and return migrants to understand their experiences and opinions in the topic (Walliman, 2018). Before designing the sampling strategy, I conducted desk research to find out the statistics of employment in Kosovo and the number of people who have migrated from Kosovo.

While in quantitative studies one is concerned with probability sampling, a sample that represents subgroups of larger population, in qualitative studies one cannot 'select samples used in large-scale surveys and which conform to the restricted needs of a probability sample' (Lune and Berg, 2017, p.38), so the researcher relies on non-probability sampling. For this research, I adopted the two most common types of non-probability sampling, convenience and snowball sampling.

Convenience sampling is a sample that is selected from the population because it meets certain criteria, such as convenience, willingness to participate, availability at a given time, and geographical proximity. The advantages of using this sampling technique is that it is simple, affordable, and easy to access (Etikan et al., 2016). However, this method is limited in generalising the results because it has a very narrow focus, and is not necessarily representative (Best, 2013). Hence, the researcher has to carefully consider the sample to determine whether it fits the nature of the study. Nevertheless, the aim of this study has not been to generalise the results, but to get an understanding of individual experience and of the dynamics of migration.

In this research study, this technique was particularly helpful in selecting the job seekers and employees. Different family relatives and friends knew someone who was looking for a job or referred to a colleague at work. Prior to arranging the interview, my friends and relatives spoke to their colleagues and agreed on me interviewing them. After that, I spoke to the potential interviewee and arranged the interview.

The other sampling method that I used was snowball sampling. Some interviewees helped me to find other people that they thought would be appropriate to interview for the topic. The advantage of this technique has been that it has helped me to have a good selection of adequate people from appropriate institutions, and with relevant experience and knowledge of the topic.

The snowball sampling method 'is a method [that] yields a study sample through referrals made among people who share or know of others who possess some characteristics that are of research interest' (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981, p.141). The

advantages of using this technique are that it provides samples that have similar characteristics and provides insights into the experience. However, the limitation of this technique is that it does not allow for much sampling of groups with different social characteristics (Emmel, 2013).

However, for this study, this technique was particularly helpful in accessing the different officials because they had a lot of connections with employees or employers in other Ministries or institutions and were able to refer other appropriate potential interviewees. This technique has been efficient in terms of time and effectiveness because I was able to receive in-depth insights. However, this sampling method has some disadvantages and just as with the convenience sampling method, it does not allow for generalisations. This may happen because the results are dependent on the choices of the respondents first accessed. Hence, it can be biased as a technique. This technique engages interviewees in selecting the research respondents and the interviewee can be seen as an informal assistant in the research. Therefore, confidentiality is very important, and I achieved it gradually by making clear to each interviewee the purpose of the study and the use of results.

I had some considerations when it came to accessing the interviewees. I was prepared that some companies or organisations might deny access as they might not want to engage in voluntary activities, such as interviews, because of limited time and resources. Furthermore, they might fear the sensitivity of the topic, or doubt my credibility. In this case I was prepared that if access was to be denied, I would contact other companies or organisations for possible interviews (Saunders et al., 2009).

A strategy that I had in order to avoid the denial of access to interview was to identify possible benefits for the organisation/company or individual from my research, to use existing contacts when possible, to establish my credibility by giving clear background information on the research topic and its purpose, and obtaining informed consent. Despite these back-up plans, I was lucky not to have had any interviewees refusing my requests to be interviewed. However, I had two cases where the interviewees were hesitant about the audio-recording, I respected their decisions and instead of recording what was said, I took notes throughout the interviews.

Some of the migrants/return migrants were randomly selected, some through cold calls, and some through friend's referrals. They were accessed mainly during the summer, as a large number of migrants visit Kosovo for the summer holidays. I took careful consideration to select and balance the number of people of different ages, genders and backgrounds in order to obtain diverse and rich insights from the interviews. This depended also on the composition of gender, and age representation in the labour market in Kosovo, as also indicated from the data in Chapter 1 where the number of men employed in 2017 was much higher than that of women.

I selected those that had completed degrees and those without degrees or those that have had vocational training, those looking for jobs and those who have a job, migrants and non-migrants, but also return migrants, those that migrated before the war and those that migrated after the war, and employees and employers in both the public and private sectors. Another criterion was that at least half of interviewees should be migrants or return migrants, so that I could gain an understanding of their migration

incentives. The sub-section below, 'Profile of the sample', gives more details of the sample.

I chose the job seekers and employees in a similar way. It was particularly helpful with some of the employees who referred me to interview their colleagues and helped to establish the initial contact.

I chose some of the employers, the labour inspector and officials at different Ministries, by searching on the website of the relevant company/institution and finding their contacts and emailing them directly to ask permission for an interview or by calling the reception and asking to book an appointment. In cases where I could not find the contact via the website, I went to the institution myself and arranged with the receptionist to conduct the interview.

For every interview that I conducted, I received the contact details of the interviewee in case I needed any further correspondence.

The section below shows how I collected the data, the approach I have used, and the data sources to answer the research question and objectives.

3.4 Data collection

As Elliot and Timulak (2005) suggest, there are three core aspects when collecting the data and that have also guided me in the process of data collection for this study. The first is that data collection in qualitative research has a focus and is driven by specific research questions. In order to answer the main research question for this study **of how**

employment skills support and unequal treatment at work affect incentives to migrate, I asked employees about their work experiences, how they found the job they held, if they had any support, and, if yes, what support they had to find work, about freedom of expression at work, how long they work each day, and if they are a member of a trade union, among other questions. In order to understand the perspective of employers and states, I asked questions about how they try to improve the employment support to job seekers and how effective these attempts have been.

The knowledge and experience about trade unions varied depending on the engagement of the particular group with the trade unions. For example, the analyst and the adviser shared interesting views based on their analysis of the labour market and unionism. The interviews with those who are members of the trade unions, such as employees, yielded more internal and institutional information, such as how unionism is applied within the institution and its effectiveness.

In order to understand the reasons why they have migrated, I asked the interviewees questions about their life and migration experiences and how they came to the decision to migrate.

Secondly, qualitative interviews are designed to give power to the interviewee in the sense of having the freedom to also recommend solutions, in addition to talking about their own personal experiences. In order to get these recommendations from the interviewees I asked them specific questions, such as how they thought that the situation could be improved with the employment services in Kosovo.

Thirdly, in this kind of research, triangulation of data is often achieved by multiple methods. Triangulation enhances the validity of data, provides a richer view of the phenomenon and different aspects from various sources improving robustness of data. I will elaborate further below how I triangulated the data in this study to establish validity and reliability.

Considering that the primary research has been conducted with different groups of participants that were categorised based on their employment and migration status, the questions have been prepared differently for each group. Each set of questions for each group also has close ended questions on demographic characteristics. For example, the interview questions for employees have been divided into questions about employment, such as the role at the workplace, opinions of the situation regarding employment in Kosovo, questions about treatment at work, and suggestions for how the challenges they faced could be addressed. Factual questions for this group were related to the sources of information they used to find the job, how long it took them to find the job, if they used employment support, among others.

To answer these research questions, I deployed other methods as well that will be elaborated in the section below and that will explain the rationale behind these choices. The interpretivist paradigm aligns with the methods and methodologies to collect and analyse qualitative data (Kivunja and Kuyini, 2017). Qualitative methodology answers questions that stress how social experience is created, such as employment equalities/inequalities, and how people arrive at the decision to migrate (Silverman, 2006). This method explores how people arrange their settings and themselves in those settings. In the context of this study, this methodology helps to understand the life of

people in Kosovo, and the effects of economics, politics, education on how they find themselves in their current situation, jobs and education wise. Through these understandings, it is clear how their life experiences evolved and how their migration developed.

The qualitative approach also makes it possible to study the situation with employment laws, and to explore peoples' opinions and experiences, while looking for jobs or working, such as to examine what kinds of employment programmes are available.

I gained an understanding of these experiences by conducting semi-structured interviews. They allowed me to obtain detailed and unique data by entering into dialogue with the interviewee and thus getting answers beyond the questions intended (Bell, 2005). Compared to other approaches, such as quantitative methodology, the qualitative approach does not generalise about large numbers of people and this may be risky because the results may misrepresent the people, or the events studied. The quantitative approach looks at the general picture and a more 'widespread pattern of acts or ideas' (Lune and Berg, 2017, p. 16) rather than in-depth views of participants in the research.

While using mixed methods, meaning both quantitative and qualitative method, would be of benefit in that it would provide 'extra breadth and depth of understanding' (Walliman, 2018, p.168), the aim of this study is to understand particular experiences rather than to ascertain how many people have experienced a certain occurrence, and that is why I have used the qualitative and not the quantitative approach, or to have combined them. As mentioned above, the topic guide has quantifiable questions, such

as age, gender, and education. These questions have not been part of the core questions, but formed part of the introductory set of questions to make it possible to understand the sample specifications and diversifications. Yet, they are important variables that can explain the opinions on the main questions.

I used secondary research on the topic as well, such as insights about the employment law provisions in Kosovo, trade union activities, the point of view of the media and other institutions about the factors influencing migration from Kosovo, vocational trainings in Kosovo, EU directives on labour rights, and comparison of applicable regulations in Kosovo with EU standards.

I also used secondary descriptive quantitative data about the number of people employed, those seeking employment in Kosovo, the number of job seekers who have been offered employment skills support, and the number of people who have migrated. All this data was found from the Statistical Agency, departments of Ministry of Labour, UNDP, World Bank, recruitment agencies in Kosovo, and many others. In Table 1 below, I show the type of data that I have collated, the field they relate to, and the quantity from each category.

Table 1 Data sources

Type of document/data	Field	Quantity
Semi-structured Interviews	On employment and migration experiences	31
Court cases	On the violation of employment rights	4

I analyse the data from the primary and secondary research and provided policy recommendations related to employment and migration. I have used this approach to provide perspectives on the phenomena from different points of view in order to cross-validate the data (Elliott and Timulak, 2005). This has helped me to strengthen the data analysis and provide more robust results.

The sub-section below provides further detailed information about interviews, such as the profiling of interviewees, considering that they are the main method of collecting the primary data for this study.

3.4.1 Interviews

As previously stated, I have conducted semi-structured interviews as they produce much greater depth of information, and although they require more time to conduct and analyse, they make it possible to seek clarity in areas where there are ambiguities (Costley et al., 2010). I used a ‘combination of open and closed questions’ (Werner et al., p.62, 2012) in the interviews to get specific answers and some answers that are longer. Therefore, I prepared some questions and some I allowed to develop during the interview (Collis and Hussey, 2014). An example of an open question is: ‘How did you develop the idea to migrate?’. An example of a closed question is: ‘Were you a member of a trade union?’ (Different sets of questions for different groups of interviewees in Appendix 2).

The research tool was piloted adopting a convenience sampling strategy. I have conducted pilot interviews that informed my final questionnaire, and these were not part of the analysis. The aim of the pilot was to test the interview questions, such as

how they would function before conducting the rest in Kosovo. I introduced some modifications in the guide, such as questions that would allow the interviewee to speak more about their own employment and migration and the interviewer to get more insights.

I conducted twenty-eight face-to-face interviews in Kosovo in the period October-November 2015, April-July 2016, two in London, and one in Turkey while on holiday. I conducted most of the interviews in the spring and summer of 2016. This is the time when Kosovan migrants would visit Kosovo. However, the visits of migrants to Kosovo occur throughout the year, and there are those who do not visit Kosovo only once, but twice or three times a year, or more. I conducted an interview in Turkey and two interviews in London, with the aim of increasing the diversity of the sample in terms of interviewees' socio-economic background and destination countries. The interview in Turkey was with a Kosovan couple who were migrants and lived in Denmark and went to Turkey on holiday, and the other two interviews were with two Kosovan migrants who live in London.

All these interviews were with different respondents who had either experienced migration or were planning to migrate soon. Some others were employees of different private and public institutions who talked about their treatment in their places of work and migration tendencies, and some were job seekers who explained what they thought about the employment support given and their incentives to migrate.

I also interviewed employers of different private and public institutions who provided their perspective on how employees are treated in the workplace and what they are

offering to support employment programmes; representatives of trade union/s to understand the support that trade unions in Kosovo provide to employees; one labour inspector to understand their role in ensuring effective implementation of the labour law.

There were also interviewees who helped with employment rights/support and were aware of the employment laws and their implementation effectiveness. Some other interviewees were officials engaged with asylum-seeking claims, citizenship, and migration from Kosovo, and some were analysts and political advisers who provided their personal views on the situation and on the causes for migration.

All the above people who I interviewed have been relevant because they are the ones directly affecting the employment support and employees' rights or have been affected by the situation.

While different life experiences enriched the understanding of migration, the interviews conducted indicate that informants hold some similar opinions on the general situation of employment in Kosovo.

3.4.2 Profile of the sample

The age group included in the research ranges from 20 to 65 years old. As we can see from the table below, 61% of interviewees were between 20 and 40 years old, and 39% were between 40 and 65 years old (Detailed table in Appendix 3 of each interviewees' demographic characteristics).

Table 2 below shows the distribution of the interviewees by their employment category and migration status, gender, and age.

Table 2 Distribution of interviewees by employment category and migration status, gender, and age

Employment category and migration status	Gender		Age		Total
	Male	Female	20 to 40	40 to 65	
Migrant unemployed		4	2	2	4
Migrant employed	3		2	1	3
Return Migrant employed	4	3	5	2	7
Return migrant unemployed		1	1		1
Employee	6	3	4	5	9
Employee-trade union member	1		1		1
Employer private sector	1		1		1
Employer private sector (return migrant)	1			1	1
Employer public sector	1			1	1
Job seeker	1	2	3		3
Total	18	13	19	12	31

Source: Fieldwork, October-November 2015; April-July 2016

The table shows individuals who were employed and unemployed, those looking for jobs, those who were migrants, and those who were return migrants living in Kosovo, their gender, and age group to which they belonged.

Of these, the majority were of Kosovan nationality, 65% (Table 3). There were migrants, return migrants and one interviewee from the Serbian minority who had dual nationality (two passports, Kosovan and Serbian). All the interviewees were from Kosovo, apart from the Serbian employee who was from Serbia, but living in Kosovo.

Table 3 Nationality of interviewees

Nationality	Number of people
Kosovan	20
Kosovan/New Zealand	2
Kosovan/British	2
Kosovan/ Swiss	1
Kosovan/American	3
Kosovan/Italian	1
Kosovan/Danish	1
Serbian/Kosovan	1
Total	31

Source: Fieldwork, October-November 2015; April-July 2016

I also tried to select people from various professional backgrounds, from those with university degrees, to those with secondary or primary education. This selection has been made to have more varied experiences of and perspectives on migration.

Table 4 below shows this composition; however, I chose more economists and engineers from those with university degrees because as mentioned throughout the thesis, a high number of graduates in Kosovo have economics degrees.

Table 4 Professions of interviewees

Professions	No.
Translator	1
Economist	3
Engineer	4
Architect	2
Teacher	2
Auditor	1
Dentist	3
Housewife	2
Bartender	1
Builder	1
Restaurant Owner	2
Deputy CEO	1
Political Adviser	1
Analyst	1
Politician	1
Marketing Specialist	1
Administrator	1
Employee in manufacturing	1
Hairdresser	1
Banker	1
Total	31

Source: Fieldwork, October-November 2015; April-July 2016

I conducted the interviews mostly in the interviewees' offices because this was more convenient for them, and some other interviews, such as with job seekers and current migrants, I conducted in cafes.

Throughout this time, I have been able to develop close links with employees and representatives in different Ministries in Kosovo and other people in Kosovo within the public and private sector employment environment. Personal safety is also

important when meeting people to interview. Hence, before interviewing someone, I informed friends or family about the meeting and the meeting place.

The section below shows how I analysed the interviews that I conducted and what techniques have been used.

3.5 Methods for data analysis

One of the most common methods to analyse the semi-structured interviews is thematic analysis (detailed table in Appendix 7 of the thematic analysis of interviews conducted). This approach involves ‘the critical review of responses to determine appropriate coding and the formation of themes from those codes’ (Mina-Heydarian, 2016, para. 4). The purpose of thematic analysis is to try to identify ‘patterns or themes within qualitative data’ (Maguire and Delahunt, 2017, p.3352). To conduct the thematic analysis for the thesis, I have reviewed the data and familiarised myself with them, generated initial codes for the data, searched for themes among the codes, reviewed themes, and defined and named the themes. These steps are explained in more detail below.

3.5.1 Familiarisation and generating codes

I have reviewed all the data that I collected, such as each interview transcript, to familiarise myself with the data. While going through and analysing the responses of each interviewee, I started highlighting with different colours the codes that were describing the content.

‘A code is a brief description of what is being said in the interview. [It] is a description, not an interpretation. So, which codes [one] uses depends on what is being said and on the purpose of the research’ (Mortensen, 2017, para.13). As Braun and Clarke (2006) explain in their article on thematic analysis, the way one codes depends on the interest of the researcher and on the data. If the data is driven by the researcher’s analytic or theoretical interest in the area, then the thematic analysis is analyst driven and one searches for specific themes. Whereas, there is also the inductive approach where the themes depend on the data. In the case of thematic analysis for this thesis, the interest has been to search for themes that are related to the research questions, but also for new emerging themes, so a wide spectrum of themes emerging from the research is considered. This has informed not only the preconceptions, but also other factors that have influenced migration from Kosovo that have had an impact on the two factors studied, employment support and unequal treatment at work.

I have identified codes that are related to migration experience and reasons for migration, employment experience, job hunt experience, employment support, reasons for returning to Kosovo, experience of integration in the country of destination, lack of implementation of law, and support from trade unions and education in Kosovo. After highlighting the codes, I transferred corresponding paragraphs for each interview into an Excel spreadsheet and then to a Word document to group and regroup the codes and the basic and major themes.

This phase helped me to understand my data and to generate meaning through the codes.

3.5.2 Searching for themes and reviewing themes

After identifying and analysing the codes for each interview, I started to look at the broader interpretation of the codes and to create basic themes that represent something interesting about the data. According to Maguire and Delahunt (2016), a theme is a pattern in the data that is important or interesting and says something about an issue.

I have reviewed and analysed the basic themes related to reasons for migration, reasons for returning, finding a job in Kosovo, and rights of employees, iteratively to see if they overlap or have contrasts, and where would be the best fit to group them. I have again read through the data and checked if the themes were adequately presented and if all the relevant data has been coded (Mortensen, 2017). After this, I then checked for recurring basic themes, and grouped them in a Word document (More details in Appendix 7).

3.5.3 Defining and naming themes

After having thoroughly analysed the recurring basic themes, I defined, rearranged, and grouped them into major themes. I then named the themes in a descriptive and engaging way. The themes have been defined so as to tell the story and respond to the research questions, but also to include other related intervening factors and circumstances.

3.6 Validity and reliability

The various reports and official documents used in this study that have been presented in the table earlier in the chapter are treated as reliable because they are based on thorough research and come from trustworthy institutions such as the International Labour Organisation, Employment and Skills Observatory of Kosovo, European

Commission, UNDP, Kosovo Agency of Statistics, The World Bank, and various analysts and contributors who work in different institutions and are experts in this field.

I collected some of the literature review data about theories and typologies of migration and unemployment and the labour force in the Republic of Kosovo from published journals, material on age of migration, international migration and theories from different books, and collected insights for the empirical chapters from different articles on remittances, labour markets, employment opportunities as a driving force for internal and external migration, treatment of employees, violation of employees' rights in Kosovo, and the work of trade unions in Kosovo.

The absolute truth is not expected from the interviewees or the existing data, as people have different perceptions of the same question or fact because they occupy different positions in the social space, different life experiences, and may have a limited knowledge of the world surrounding them.

3.7 Storage and Safety of data

When storing the data electronically I made copies of the files so that in case something happens to the originals, the copies exist as a backup. The files that contain personal data I carefully labelled and stored securely in my personal space in One Drive. They have pseudonyms as identifiers. The key to real names is stored in a different folder.

Also, I stored the audio recording materials in a locked cabinet (Wangaruro, 2011).

I have transcribed the interviews with migrants and return migrants and made summaries for the other interviews and saved them in separate folders, with initials and numbers. A list with the real names of participants will be kept along with their code names, and only the supervisors of the research and the researcher will have access to the list.

3.8 Ethics

This research complies with the ethics requirements of the University. I have received ethics clearance from the University on January 2015 (Research Ethics application and approval in Appendix 1).

Before conducting the interviews, participants were guaranteed confidentiality by a written notice on the information sheet that the use of data will be in compliance with the data protection legislation (see Appendix 4 for the Information Sheet; the Albanian version is also provided). They needed to sign a copy of the consent form before the interview/survey began (see Appendix 5 for the Consent form; the Albanian version is also provided). Consent was also given about audio-recording of the interview. They were informed about the reason for the research, their rights, the uses of data, how the data will be stored, analysed, reported, and disseminated, and who to contact if they have any concern. They were also informed briefly in advance about some of the questions they will be asked, the place and the time of the interview, potential risks involved in participating, the benefits they may have from the study, how confidentiality and anonymity will be safeguarded, who is organising the research and the contact details of the relevant person if they have any concerns or questions related to the research or their potential participation in the interview. They were given

sufficient time to think about whether they wanted to participate in the interview or withdraw without giving a reason.

3.9 Risks

I have been cautious about the potential risks considering that the study includes direct collection of new data from humans. My assumption initially was that some of the participants such as employers and government officials may be biased in their answers or be hiding the truth about the implementation of employment policies and job support programmes, and the discrimination of the job seekers and employees. I was prepared to address these situations with tact and care, by not going beyond the questions planned, or avoiding some of the questions if any discomfort is perceived. Furthermore, I planned that if a case should arise where my belief is that answers are not truthful from the persons mentioned above, I will conduct further interviews with people of diverse backgrounds in order to get different views on the same question.

I also planned that there might be potential risks with employees of different companies/organisations when interviewed. I initially thought that they may be afraid to answer the interview questions as they will have to explain about how they are treated at work. Other cases of potential risk I thought might be with the job seekers who are searching for jobs and cannot find any and who may be frustrated with the lack of employment support and discrimination. Such cases might have led to possible revelations of confidential or private information. However, through providing a written information sheet and consent form, boundaries of consent were clarified, and explanations were given about how the data was to be used. I informed them that in case of any distress, the suggestion would be to interrupt the interview. Another risk

might have been my own personal safety when meeting with different participants, such as the risk of physical threat or abuse. I informed my family, or a friend, about the time and place of the interview and offered the participants opportunities to meet in safe places during daytime.

Another risk that I thought might be present was the potential unwillingness of participants to cooperate because my research touches on sensitive issues such as revelation of some illegal practices. To avoid this, I built trust with the individual in order to ensure credibility, and demonstrated a clear account of the purpose of my research before the interview started.

Finally, the interviews went smoothly and lasted on average an hour each, and the interviewees were happy to share their opinions. There were two cases where the interviewees did not want to be recorded, therefore I respected their decisions and only took notes during the process.

In the following section, I provide some reflective notes on my personal experience of migration to the UK and my return to Kosovo, and how that influenced my decision to undertake the PhD. Along the journey I reflect on my experiences of conducting the data and the lessons I could take away from this.

3.10 Reflective notes

In this section, I seek to understand my part in the research and my influence on it as an insider and to articulate my positionality in the research. Bryman (2016) claims that reflexivity requires that the researcher should be sensitive to their culture, political, and social contexts as one's ethics, social values, competency can influence the

research process. To commence the account of my reflexive approach, I describe my previous personal and professional experience, pre-study beliefs, and preconceptions of the situation in the labour market in Kosovo (cf. Malterud, 2001; Darwin Holmes, 2020).

The idea for the PhD came to me in 2014 when I wanted to return to Kosovo, my home country, for good. I had been living in London from 2010, after getting married to my husband who had been living in the UK from 1999. I remember the first time I came to London, I felt so lonely in such a big city, with no family and friends. I had to start everything from scratch. I recall that soon after I came here, I wanted to go back home and never come back. I do not know, maybe I was not ready for such a big change, nor did I anticipate life to be that different for me here in the UK from what I was used to in Kosovo. I decided I would give life in London a try. I started my Master's degree after a year and then gradually started internships and jobs, initially at a London borough. Life was getting busier for me, and the adaptation was getting better, too. Maybe having no time to think made me go with the flow. I had limited time to even talk or think about my family, my friends, my country.

After a few years of working, in June 2013, I gave birth to my son. It was the happiest time of my life. It was not easy though, being a mother for the first time made me panic and was very tiring. Apart from my husband, I needed an extra hand to help me manage the situation. I was missing my mother, her help, and her guidance. Also, I felt that I was well prepared professionally to go to and contribute in Kosovo. Towards the end of 2013, I said to my husband, I have been wanting to return to Kosovo for a few years now, I think it is the time to think about it more seriously. I was still not happy, I simply was feeling empty, even more considering that I needed my mother.

She came to help me with the baby for three weeks, but had to go back home. I regretted that I moved to live in the UK when I did not have my family close to me even in the most important moments, such as to cherish moments with my baby and to have the help I needed.

In April 2014, my husband and I decided to give it a try and returned to Kosovo. Before then, my husband was trying to create networking with different companies so that he could potentially find a job more easily that way.

When we returned to Kosovo, we had several meetings with representatives in different institutions and organisations. All we were getting was, are you crazy? Why are you returning? Everyone is trying to leave Kosovo, you are doing the opposite. Now that I think about it, I know how sad I was when I was hearing people saying that to me. I do not know, maybe I was so desperate to stay in my country close to my family and my friends, such as I just wanted to try and make it work. The year 2014 was a year of massive migrations of Kosovans to Western Europe. Whereas I was returning to Kosovo! How did I think to return then when I also had a small baby, no accommodation, was staying at my mother's house, and without a job secured? [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

During my job hunt experience, I was attending employment fairs, had some interviews, but nothing positive came out of them. I was struggling to find a job, despite my successful career I had built here in the UK. I thought that having had good work experience in the UK and educational preparation, I would find a job easily in Kosovo. [REDACTED] I was given lots of promises, but none resulted in a job.

Lots of friends and family were saying to me that I will not be able to find a job if I don't have any family or friend in a powerful position who can employ me. Initially I felt very discouraged by it, but later I understood that this was the unfortunate reality of finding a job in Kosovo.

There was lots of corruption in Kosovo. The media reported lots of incidents of nepotism and favouritism in the labour market. Also, people who I spoke to were tired and not satisfied with what was happening in Kosovo. They felt poor, neglected by the government, cheated by the system, and excluded from equal opportunities. There was no hope, and many told me that they would migrate at the first chance.

Slowly, I began to realise [REDACTED] that staying in Kosovo then was not a viable option. I felt that people's calls for help were not heard by the government and I could see that many wanted to migrate. They had no jobs, or if they had a job, many were not satisfied with the low income they received or the treatment they had at work. There were also those who had been looking for a job for a long period of time and in the end someone less skilful got employed through nepotism. They had no support to find a job and increase their employment skills. I also thought raising my child there would not be ideal considering that the quality of education was also falling as there was no law enforcement to control anything, not even the private education institutions that had been created.

In the wake of this situation, we decided to come back to UK, but I came with an idea. I thought I need to do something about this. I need to bring those voices to life; I need to understand better what is really causing migration from Kosovo. What influence

have the labour market conditions in migration, especially the skills development programmes and opportunities to increase employment chances? When I heard from some friends and relatives that they do not get salaries on time, or maternity leave, or work overtime but don't get paid for the extra hours, I wanted to understand how does that affect people in Kosovo and what choices they make? Now that I think more about it, my personal experience of not being able to find a job maybe was an extra push to explore further the causes of migration from Kosovo. And that is how I decided to undertake my PhD studies.

I was very sad to leave Kosovo again, but I guess I had no choice, but to come back to the UK. Maybe I had high expectations. Maybe I thought that now we are a sovereign state and things have progressed. Kosovo attained its independence in 2008 after being occupied for many years by Serbia. [REDACTED] I recall before the war when we were under the provision of Serbia and were considered a minority, we had limited rights in all aspects of life. We could not decide for ourselves, our culture, education, health system, economy, we were bound by Serbian rules and had to follow.

Maybe after the war, and especially after independence, I was expecting that life in Kosovo would be much better, and I could not wait to go and give my contribution. Being a majority would have meant that we would decide for ourselves, and would have improved our lives in ways as to have more human freedom, educate our new generations in a decent education system, take care of the health of the population, and develop the economy so that families could make a good living, financially and in terms of happiness. I did not expect that life in Kosovo would be difficult, that finding

a job would be a nightmare, that in order to go to the doctor you would need to know someone, that to secure a place for your child at the public nursery you would need to know someone, that political parties would fight for their personal interests, that there would not be effective support of employees' rights from the trade unions, and keeping a job would be so difficult, such as even if your rights are not respected, you would have to remain silent. This was all a shock I experienced, and much more, the regret for taking such a decision at that time!

However, I feel I have learnt from all this. Undertaking such a big decision as to return, one needs to plan the return systematically, assess the circumstances, plan accommodation, job search, childcare, and leave some room for any discrepancies. I learnt that in developing countries, such as Kosovo, progress may take a long time.

I feel that this whole experience led me to undertake such an incredible journey, that of the PhD. Nowadays, the labour market situation has remained relatively similar compared to how it was during the time I conducted the interviews in 2015 and 2016. There are still lots of issues with the abuse of authority in the labour market in Kosovo. The figures from the Kosovo Statistical Agency show that there is still a high unemployment rate, and nepotism and favouritism play a huge role in the recruitment process. The newly created government in February 2020 collapsed within two months of its operation due to political fragmentations and the fight for personal and political party expansions. So, the whole journey of the PhD has remained relevant throughout these years and became even more interesting for me.

Through readings and analysis, I realised how much more we can improve in Kosovo, starting from the data. There is not much investment in research in Kosovo, scientific

studies are a few, and finding reliable data can sometimes be difficult. Some of the newspapers are politically driven, hence one has to read from several sources to find out what the truthful situation is. There were cases that even official statistics were not representative as the minority did not participate in the surveys. In some instances, I had to use articles and journals from authors in the region to read different viewpoints on migration from Kosovo. However, readings from Serbian authors have been sensitive for me considering that they still see Kosovo as a province of Serbia. We went through trauma during the war and my grandfather was killed by the Serbian army, so this adds to the emotional fragility. I also conducted an interview with a Serbian employee. I was a bit worried initially how it is going to be, would she feel uncomfortable as a result of the interview questions considering that she is a member of the minority? Now that I think about it, I remember every part of that interview and how smoothly it went. She was comfortable and shared information openly. Whereas, I was panicking inside myself, but I am glad I managed to have a very good conversation. It gave me more richness to the data, and perspectives from a minority member. Other interviews that I conducted, I really enjoyed as well. I learnt a lot about what people go through in their lives, how they made their decisions to migrate and what influenced them, what they prioritise, and how those decisions change the way they live, or their perspectives on life.

Before I conducted the interviews, I prepared open-ended questions to allow the interviewees to discuss their experiences and views freely, without making any assumptions about their perspectives. Considering my personal, professional, and employment experience in Kosovo, I certainly had my preconceptions about the situation in the labour market there. However, throughout the PhD research I wanted

to understand whether my pre-study beliefs were in fact true and applicable to others, and whether how people were supported in their job search and the opportunities they had, and how they were treated in the workplace impacted on decisions to migrate (Darwin Holmes, 2020).

My preconceptions and my own experiences were the starting point into my understanding of the real issues and conditions in the labour market in Kosovo. I have an insider perspective, language proficiency and the cultural perspective that facilitated the collection of data and results interpretation (Corlett and Mavin, 2018). My relationship with the interviewees was open and honest from the start. I obtained informed consent from the interviewees and ensured them of the confidentiality and anonymity of responses, hence they felt comfortable to share their experiences and provided detailed information, enriching the data. In this manner, during the data collection, I detached myself from the responses as the open-ended questions let the interviewees to freely explain their experiences at their own pace and in their own words. I asked as few leading questions as possible to avoid getting biased results or to influence the responses in any way. My positionality as a migrant myself influenced my research so that I was more empathetic and connected to the interviewees' stories; some of their narratives touched a chord in me. Interviewees' experiences provided a unique perspective on the labour market in Kosovo and their propensities for migration, and made it possible for the research to include a multiplicity of voices that add depth to the study. This is elaborated more below.

Going back to the initial steps of how I decided to undertake my PhD studies and reflecting on this now, I can see how much knowledge I gained through this journey.

When I started initially, I thought that employment support and unequal treatment at work may have had an influence on migration from Kosovo, but I was not aware that corruption levels and nepotism in Kosovo have reached a point so as to influence every sphere of life. Here, as the reflexive approach suggests, I am acknowledging and disclosing my beliefs and personal position that might have influenced the research initially. However, I was aware that my positionality would depend on the situation in the labour market in Kosovo and that there will be probably unexpected findings, especially considering that this research yields information about personal experiences (Darwin Holmes, 2020). Other factors, such as mismatch of skills in the labour market and low education quality added to the range of factors, not surprisingly, but again at much higher levels than expected. Hence, my positionality was not fixed, and the data collected revealed factors such as the association between human capital and democracy at work, and their influence on decisions to migrate from Kosovo or to return.

So, now that I have reflected on all these events in retrospect, deep inside my heart, I feel I have made the right decision in coming again to the UK. I can see how I looked at the events then, and can align with my emotional state at that time, but if I looked at the whole situation from today's prism, I would have acted differently. I would not have gone back to Kosovo but waited a bit more for things to improve. The significance of this whole event is that my decision to return could have easily resulted in me and my family experiencing all these discriminations even further. But, from every experience people reflect and learn, so did I!

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter has provided information on the qualitative approach used, the justification for why I have used this methodology, such as it has helped to understand the life of people in Kosovo, their migration experiences and what triggered their decision to migrate. Furthermore, this chapter provides insights on the semi-structured interviews, the reason why I have used interviews to gather the data, rather than other methods, such as quantitative techniques. Also, I explained how I triangulated the data to get robust results, such as by conducting secondary research as well and collecting court cases to understand the nature of different claims and how they were handled. In addition to this, I explained the sample size, the sampling strategies that I used, such as convenience and snowball techniques, and how I accessed the interviewees.

After having collected all the data, I used the following steps to analyse them, such as, familiarisation and generating codes, searching for themes and reviewing themes, and defining and naming themes. I also explained why this data is reliable and valid; how I carefully labelled the files and stored the data safely in One Drive. I talked about the risks assumed and anticipated when accessing and conducting the interviews, and how I mitigated those risks. Finally, I provided some reflective notes on my understanding of the research processes and my own position within it, and how I sought to detach myself to prevent my own views from influencing the data collection and the interpretation of the results. I also relayed my research journey and reflected on the experience of undertaking this research.

Chapter 4 Kosovan migration: push-pull factors

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I analyse the emigration trends from Kosovo and the existing legal framework that regulates population movements. The major themes are the reasons for emigration in different time periods and the migration experiences of interviewees. I explore different media and institutional discourses on drivers for emigration. This facilitates the understanding of the framework within which the migration experiences of interviewees have been developed and how well the debates and the legal provisions match the realities experienced by emigrants/returnees. In addition, this also helps to understand the role of programmes to increase human capital, and the way employees are treated at work affects their migration trajectories.

The empirical findings from the primary research that I conducted with emigrants and returnees during October and November 2015, and April and July 2016, reveal that there are some supplementary factors that have influenced emigration from Kosovo. These factors are related to the conditions in the home country, such as: availability of job opportunities, equal access to jobs, support to increase employment experience, such as available training and internship opportunities to increase skills in different sectors. Furthermore, the interviewees reported that there are factors related to their employment situation that increase their tendencies to emigrate. This includes the low salary, the violation of employment rights such as the right to have a working contract, annual leave, join a trade union, receive maternity payment, among others.

Around 58% of Kosovan migrants are employed in the countries of destination (Demukaj et al., 2007). They are employed mainly in construction, restaurants and

hotels, manufacturing, and agriculture. Data from the Kosovo Public Pulse (a report that provides analysis of public perceptions on social and political issues) in 2012, suggested that migration incentives vary with employment status, for example those who are unemployed or occasionally employed have the tendency to migrate more, 51 percent and 40 percent, respectively. For those who are employed, the incentives to migrate are higher for those working in the private sector compared to those who work in the public sector, 38 percent and 17 percent, respectively (UNDP, 2014). As can be seen in Chapter 5, 6, and 7, this may be due to the private sector being more discriminatory towards the rights of employees compared to the public sector.

According to Kotorri et al. (2013), Kosovans mostly migrate from cities, such as Prizren (total population: 177,781; economy: based on construction, trade, private businesses, agriculture and food processing), Ferizaj (total population: 108,610; economy: based on small businesses, supply economies, agriculture and construction), Gjakove (total population: 94,556; economy: based on small businesses) and Gjilan (total population: 90,178; economy: based on small businesses, construction, agriculture, and supply companies). The average age of those in the diaspora is 28. This coincides with the average age of the Kosovan population, where ‘more than half of the population is under the age of 25’ (ibid, p.17). ‘Nearly two thirds of the Diaspora are male. Most of the Diaspora, [144,900] or 46% have secondary education and about [31,500] or 10% obtained higher education’ (Demukaj et al., 2007, p.7). The 2011 population census data showed that early migrations were dominated by males, whereas more recent migrations are dominated by females ‘52.94% female and 47.06% male (marriages also had an impact on the latter). The age group 25-44

comprised 47.2% of the migrant population' (Kosovo Agency of Statistics, 2014, p.22, 23).

The following section outlines the socio-demographic profile of Kosovan migrants, which is discussed against the economic and political background of the corresponding period. I also provide analysis of the legal framework on migration and diaspora formation in order to explain the role of the responsible institutions and regulations in the decision to migrate, identifying the gaps in enforcement of the relevant legal provisions.

In section 3, I provide analysis of the factors that have influenced migration from Kosovo from the point of view of the media and institutions such as the Kosovo Agency of Statistics; Governmental Authority for Monitoring of Migration Movements; Riinvest Institute; and the Institute for Development Policy among others. These factors include family reunifications, socio-economic, political and education factors in the home country. They have been prevalent in different periods. However, experiences of migrants/return migrants discussed in section 4 highlight the importance of employment opportunities and future prospects as incentives for migration. These are lived experiences that illuminate the complexities in migration decisions, facilitating our understanding of the role played by available state support with employment and unequal treatment at work in the migration incentives. Many interviewees revealed that they would be hesitant to return to Kosovo due to their perceptions of limited employment opportunities, lack of transparency in the labour market and lack of future prospects for their children in Kosovo. These stories also reveal that family reunification has had a huge role in their decision to migrate.

4.2 Background information on migration trends from Kosovo

Even though this thesis focuses on analysing migration incentives from 1999 to 2014, I am providing background information in this section that relates to an even earlier time in order to have a historical retrospective for how migration from Kosovo has developed in different time periods. This allows for migration decisions to be analysed in the context of significant historical events that might have had an impact on the forthcoming mobilities.

Migration has been part of Kosovans' livelihood and has shaped the society for many decades, mainly from 1960s onwards. It happened massively during the war with Serbia in 1999, during the economic crisis reflected in the exodus in 2014, more regularly as a result of networking, or as a part of technological and scientific developments in the world, mainly after 1999, and other reasons that will be explained in the remainder of this chapter.

According to Demukaj et al. (2007) around 17% of the total population of 2.5 million (resident and diaspora) live abroad. This means that 'the estimated size of the Diaspora is at about 315,000 Albanian Kosovars plus 100,000 Kosovars of Serbian and other ethnicities. About 30% of Kosovan households have one or more of their members living abroad. Most emigrants live in Germany 39%, Switzerland 23%, Italy and Austria each 6-7%, UK and Sweden each 4-5%, USA 3.5%, and France, Canada, Croatia each around 2%' (Ibid, p.7).

Looking at the 2011 population census data, the size of the diaspora as estimated by the Kosovo Agency of Statistics was just over 700,000 people. However, reliability of

some of the data is questionable and there is no consistency of information available on migration flows (UNDP, 2014).

Migrants are grouped in three categories, according to the time of their emigration.

- 1) Old Emigration that happened during the 1950s and 1960s through to the 1980s, toward the regional countries and then European Union countries in search of better welfare for their families. In Western Europe, this was the time of economic growth and labour shortages.
- 2) The post-Cold War migration: it took place during the late 1990s, as a result of political tensions and low economic development, and especially during the military conflict in Kosovo in 1999.
- 3) The latest migration: it happened during 2014 and early 2015 as a result of socio-economic and political factors (Gollopeni, 2016).

These were the three post-WWII main periods of migration from Kosovo, however, there has been migration in between (Detailed information on how migration developed in these periods is provided in Appendix 6).

These trends indicate that migration from Kosovo has been embedded in political, socioeconomic, and geographical background; in other words, these individual and family/household decisions are made against the politics and economics of the place. They are based on a range of factors that are complex and diverse depending on the period of migration and the stage of the home country's development. Some of the factors are 'governed by a push-pull process whereby unfavourable conditions in one place pushed people out and favourable conditions in an external location pulled them in' (Kotorri et al., 2013, p.25). There are also the intervening factors that can be either

deterrents or facilitators of migration, such as the cost of migration, networking, insecurity, and cultural barriers. We saw that before the war in 1999, and after the war, migration was and has been mainly socio-economic and related to employment, income, and quality of life. During the war people feared for their lives and fled from Kosovo.

The legacy of this migration and other migrations in the Balkans are still tragically relevant. There have been forced migrations because of ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and ethnic migrations as a result of the collapse of regimes created by 'real socialism'. There were also labour migrations (exclusively from Yugoslavia) and transit migrations. With the end of World War II, 360,000 Germans left Yugoslavia and migrated to Germany and Austria. Some Hungarians from Vojvodina and Romania migrated to Hungary, and 200,000 Italians left the territories ceded to Yugoslavia (Bonifazi and Mamolo, 2004). With regards to Turkish migration from Yugoslavia, the establishment of a socialist state was not welcomed by the majority of those of Turkish origin, and by Muslims generally. As a result, migration of these populations began, and also included many Albanians and Muslims from Bosnia and Sandjak who changed their national origin to migrate to Turkey. From the 1960s, migration was mainly due to economic reasons and Yugoslavia was the one country to promote this type of migration and became one of the major sources of labour for Austria, Germany, and Switzerland. In the 1980s, migration in the Balkans was characterised by two sending countries, Yugoslavia and Turkey, and one receiving country, Greece. In the 1990s and after, despite the forced migrations and displacement of people, the factor that attracted mobility was the economic imbalance between the majority of the Balkan countries and the countries of the European Union.

Displaced persons moved from Bosnia to the former Yugoslavia in 1992; from Bosnia to Croatia in 1993; and forced migration from Croatia to the former Yugoslavia occurred in 1999. At the end of 2002 internally displaced persons totalled 367, 000 in Bosnia and 262,000 in Serbia and Montenegro, and 85,000 people lived under the protection of the UNHCR in Kosovo. Furthermore, the unemployment rate, political instability, and the potential for natural population growth creates pressure in the labour market, and can be factors that influence population movement. These factors also influence the development of transit routes for illegal migration. These migrations influenced trafficking and smuggling mainly towards the EU countries (ibid).

It should be noted that the relaxed European migration policies and the lack of control of smuggling have had an impact on boosting migration from Kosovo. However, the perceived political stability in Kosovo compared with the Middle East countries resulted in rejection of many Kosovan migrants from the European host countries.

In the section below I will discuss the role of institutions in Kosovo responsible for managing migration. To study migration it is also important to understand the legal provisions within which migration happens and the implementation of these legal provisions, especially in the cases that we have seen above, where the failure to implement the law increases migration and smuggling.

4.3 Legal framework on Migration and Diaspora

Kosovo established the Ministry of Diaspora in 2011 to represent the interests of the emigrants abroad and incorporate them in the country's decision-making. Its strategies have been to design and implement policies, promote the cultural and educational identity of the diaspora, register the diaspora members, organise the research related

to diaspora, and offer information to diaspora members, among others. This Ministry drafted the Law on Diaspora that has been approved by the Kosovo Assembly, and it also initiated the Diaspora Strategy and Action Plan 2013-2018 (Governmental Authority for Monitoring of Migration Movements, 2013). It created the committees that supervise certain groups with inputs in this strategy, such as in socio-economic development, political and social rights, integration in the host country, among others. According to the European Commission report in 2016, this strategy has been implemented smoothly (European Commission, 2016b). There is also another institution that deals with the coordination of migration policies and that is the Ministry of Internal Affairs, respectively the Department of Citizenship, Asylum and Migration.

While the above legal framework is on diaspora, in regard to the legal framework on migration issues directly, such as movement, Kosovo has a legal framework that regulates measures of border control. It has three main laws as per the following: ‘on integrated management and control of borders, cooperation in Integrated Border Management (IBM), and on the management of the state border control and surveillance’ (Qosaj-Mustafa, 2015, p.4). There is ‘[t]he Directorate for Migration and Foreigners in the border police [that] deals with irregular migrants’ (European Commission, 2016b, p.66).

The border control laws address issues that are related to management of borders and prevention of irregular migration and smuggling. They are part of the EU requirements of Kosovo for visa liberalisation. Kosovo has also some sub-legal acts related to migration to implement the above laws, the operation and activities. Some of the sub-

legal acts were created to establish the cooperation between different agencies, such as law enforcement agencies that prevent and investigate illegal activities at the borders (Forum for Security, 2010). The assessment of risks and threats is also included in these laws and sub-laws. However, despite the existence of a legal framework, the number of smuggling and irregular migration cases investigated was low. It has been stated in the 2014 Progress Report that Kosovo has achieved the legislation for border control and management, but the implementation side of these laws has lagged behind. Law enforcement agencies and the judiciary lack capacity and the definitions of these laws and sub-laws seem to be complex (Qosaj-Mustafa, 2015). Hence, as explained in the previous section, the latest exodus from Kosovo in 2014-15 was easily facilitated by smugglers, as the investigation and control was low. These gaps in law implementation are presented below in more detail.

4.4 Enforcement of laws

The migration, asylum and border management regulations are largely compliant with EU laws but need further development and enforcement. In the three regulation areas, there are gaps in enforcement identified by the European Commission. While the staff trainings are being incentivised and running in most of the departments, there seems to be insufficient staffing level to be able to cope with all the workload, especially with the increase of asylum requests and the required capacity to evaluate these requests. This is also the case with the lack of the supervisory staff to ensure the effective running of all the workstreams.

Even though border control seems to be improving in terms of equipment and databases, there is still poor infrastructure and lack of cooperation with the different

agencies including also the regional ones, even though initial improvements are in process, such as agreements with Albania on the exit checks (European Commission, 2016b). There is also a need for improvements in information sharing between the agencies.

All the implementation challenges show that while specific improvement measures are in place, there is still room for enhancement of the implementation of asylum, migration and border management laws that would ensure appropriate support for the asylum seekers and better control of irregular migration flows.

The Government of Kosovo, together with the European Union office in Kosovo, recently completed a project to ‘Strengthen Kosovo Institutions in Effective Management of Migration.’ The aim of this project was to increase the capacities of Kosovo’s institutions to be effective and efficient in migration management. The project had various impacts, such as on drafting the new Law on Asylum and amending the Law on Foreigners in order to comply with EU standards. Both laws have been passed by Parliament. Other impacts of the project were the New National Strategy on Migration 2019-2023 and Action Plan for monitoring and reporting purposes; updates on the handbook on border control procedures for the staff of the border police; a public awareness campaign in order to make migrants aware about irregular migration and the benefits of staying in Kosovo (European Union Special Representative in Kosovo, 2019).

Finally, the EU helped the Kosovo authorities to handle immigration and adopt the legislation that conforms to the EU standards. It also helped to enhance legal migration and help the returnees to reintegrate in Kosovo (ibid).

4.5 Analysis of factors influencing migration from Kosovo - the media and institutions' point of view

In this section, I provide analysis of the reasons for migration from Kosovo in different time periods based on the views and analyses of various reports from media, international organisations, research, and policy development institutions in Kosovo. The reasons can be summarised into five groups, namely: family reunification and socio-economic reasons that have been predominant in almost all the migration trends; cultural reasons; political reasons, mainly during the military conflict with Serbia but also influential in the recent exodus; and education reasons, mainly from the year 2000 and onwards. I provide these analyses to understand the context within which migration happened from Kosovo, to situate and understand the views and experiences of the migrants and return migrants who I interviewed.

- 1) **Family reunifications:** these have continuously been an important reason in almost all the migration stages in Kosovo. This includes, in many cases, men who after some time of successful integration make efforts to bring family members to the destination country. According to Kosovo Agency of Statistics (2014) migration occurred during the 1980s, increasing in the 1990s and later, and based on the data collected during 2011 census, it was largely because of family reunification and high levels of unemployment. The latter reason was more prevalent in the recent migration exodus in 2014 where 'the underlying motive remains employment abroad because family unification often depends on the

earlier emigration of a family member, who had left Kosovo for entirely economic reasons' (UNDP, 2014, p.30). However, family reunification can be for marriage reasons, too. Based on a report titled 'Migration Profile' of the Governmental Authority for Monitoring of Migration Movements (2013), there was a constellation of different migration reasons, but family reunification reason dominated with 46%, and then socio-economic factors with 35%.

- 2) **Economic and social factors:** these have also been one of the main reasons for migration from Kosovo in different periods. This is noted mainly after the independence in 2008 and 'include the differences in standards of living, paid employment opportunities and in the welfare (and health system) between Kosovo and the host countries' (Mollers et al., 2017, p.19). However, migration for economic reasons also happened in the 1960s, where, as explained above, mostly men migrated to Germany and Switzerland on a contractual basis to work or to earn a higher wage. After the war, a challenge for Kosovo remains the trade deficit, as there is limited capacity for production, hence job generation is low. Poverty is high, and the GDP remains low compared to other countries in the region, such as Albania, Serbia and Croatia (Kotorri et al., 2013).

The level of employment in Kosovo plays a significant role in migration tendencies. According to IMF estimates, the GDP per capita in 2017 was €3,566, with a real GDP growth of 4.2%. The inflation rate was 2.2% as of April 2019 and the unemployment rate 30.5% in 2017 (International Monetary Fund, 2018 and International Monetary Fund DataMapper, 2019). This high rate of unemployment greatly affects the youth, considering that 'Kosov[o] has the youngest and fastest

growing population in Europe’ (Riinvest Institute, 2007, p.15). The Riinvest Institute conducted a household survey in 2007 that showed two thirds of emigrants were not employed prior to migrating. There is a lack of equal opportunities in employment according to a study about irregular migration from the Kosovar Institute for Policy Research and Development published in 2015. According to this study, ‘the limited employment opportunities mentioned, exacerbate the unsafe environment for smaller Kosovo businesses’ (Qosaj-Mustafa, 2015, p.7). Corruption and nepotism also prevent foreign investment in Kosovo.

- 3) **Cultural factors:** these encompass the social labelling and cultural norms in Kosovo that trigger migration, such as the household being identified as weak if the family income and education is low. Migration is also pushed by a migration culture, because having a family member abroad is perceived as increasing the reputation of the family due to the increase in the income. Furthermore, migrants are directly obliged to send remittances home to contribute to the household income that ‘constitute an essential source of rural livelihoods’ (Mollers et al., 2017, p.7). In addition, networking has played a very important role in incentivising migration from Kosovo. Those who have relatives abroad and especially those who get remittances, have the information in hand about the destination country and may have help from migrant relatives prior to, and after, migration (Vathi and Black, 2007). This also includes settlement and integration processes in the host country, for example relatives offering shelter, financial support or information to the migrant.

- 4) **Political factors:** political factors have played a significant role in migrants' decision making. For example, in 1989 many of the Kosovan men decided to avoid being drafted into the Serbian army, and there were individuals and families politically involved in Kosovo that had to migrate from Kosovo to avoid political persecution. This wave of migration was again interrelated with economic reasons, as these people had no economic future in Kosovo even if they were to stay.

The political and ethnic war in Kosovo in 1998-99 between Serbs and Kosovans resulted in massive population displacement into neighbouring countries or Western European countries. However, this migration was reversed when the war ended, and the majority of those who fled returned. Those who remained in the host countries found it almost impossible to start life from scratch in Kosovo considering that their houses were burnt down during the war, and they lost all the savings they had, and therefore they decided to stay in the country they migrated to. So, this 'category of migrants has transformed this emigration wave from a politically induced into an economically sustained one' (Kotorri et al., 2013, p.20).

The 2014-15 migration was mostly economic but had political nuances as well. The exclusion from the EU visa free regime left Kosovans isolated and exposed to security concerns, as previously mentioned, because this can incentivise the irregular migration and increase human trafficking. Hence, there were many attempts by citizens of Kosovo to migrate illegally at different periods and 'travel to third countries via Serbian border' (Institute for Development Policy, 2015,

p.16). Furthermore, applying for a visa has been associated with excessive costs, therefore making it sometimes an impossible process to access (Emini, 2015).

General political instability in Kosovo has had an important influence in the recent migration from Kosovo. There had been a six-month delay in establishing the new institutions in Kosovo because of competing political parties which sought to gain power after the 2014 national elections. The new government, comprised of a former coalition of two major political parties, did not bring anything new to politics in Kosovo. Therefore, lack of transparency and accountability has undermined the credibility of the public for these political parties (Beha, 2017). Even with the newly created government, Kosovo's public sector continued to be politically dominated. Together with this, the public administration is being politicised by the two major political parties. Kosovo continues to suffer from corruption, bribery, and nepotism including from high government officials, and a business environment that is insecure. It was ranked 95 with a score of 36 at its corruption perception index based on the Transparency International data. This shows that Kosovo is ranked among some of the least developed countries, such as Ecuador, Guatemala, Malawi, and Ethiopia (Transparency International, 2016).

- 5) **Education factors:** have influenced migration from Kosovo mostly from the year 2000 and onwards, in the post conflict period. According to a Migration Survey conducted by the World Bank (2009), men migrated more than women for education reasons and the age range was 25 to 35 years old. Germany, followed by Switzerland, have been the most usual places to migrate to for educational attainment. Those who have relatives abroad reported more educational benefits.

The results from another survey conducted in 2011 with ‘273 highly educated and skilled returnees’ (UNDP, 2014, p.61), show that the majority of those who migrated for education purposes were on a scholarship scheme (85%), and the remaining 15% were self-financed. 90.3% of the interviewees were employed. Results of this survey show that migrants have attained good education levels from migration, and this was mainly the case for the age range between 25 to 35 years old.

Looking at how much the existing education levels of Kosovans influence migration, according to Vathi and Black (2007), in the post-conflict period, the low and the semi-skilled migrated illegally, whereas students and highly skilled migrated through work or study routes. Hoti (2003) warned that there will be more migration of highly skilled people because they face better opportunities abroad and face lower migration costs. However, they also tend to understand the difficulties that they may encounter if migrating abroad to get the university degree recognised. There are many private education institutions in Kosovo that do not have accreditation yet.

They may also face challenges to integrate in the labour market in the country of destination due to potential language barriers and application of skills in a different labour market where services, technology and production is much more developed.

However, there is the other side of the coin, where many prefer to go abroad and continue their studies due to the low quality of education in Kosovo and the limitations in opportunities. As the interview results also reveal, there is a lot of

corruption and favouritism in Kosovo that discourages career development and prospects in Kosovo. Those Kosovan migrants who study abroad make an important impact by transferring their skills and knowledge to Kosovo. In this way migration promotes development of human capital in Kosovo.

In order to test these propositions, the section below will provide an analysis of the empirical data collected in Kosovo with migrants and return migrants to understand the reasons for migration.

4.6 Empirical findings: reasons for migration

Mollers et al. (2017) examined the reasons for migration from Kosovo and argued that migration from Kosovo does not only happen as a result of unemployment and poverty, but also due to the fact that Kosovans lost their hope that things will get better. These reasons have also been revealed in my primary research with interviewees who said that the lack of employment support and inequalities at work reflect the loss of hope and result in migration tendencies.

The general interview results show that the lack of support for increasing employment skills and for addressing unequal treatment at work in Kosovo are caused by the following factors: political interference, lack of enforcement of the law, lack of investment, lack of initiatives, mismatch of skills in the labour market, corruption, nepotism and favouritism, and loss of hope among others.

The table below, compiled from transcripts and a thematic analysis Excel sheet (the latter available in Appendix 8), shows some of the interviewees most frequently

spoken words, the context in which they have been used, and how many times they have been said. The table only shows the explicit use or wording that directly expresses the respective meaning.

Table 5 Most frequent words stated by interviewees

Word	Context	Frequency used
Corruption	In order to find a job, you need to engage in corrupt practices	40
Nepotism	You can find a job only if you know someone	26
Mismatch of skills	Mismatch between the individual's job skills and the demands of labour market	3
Family reunion	As a reason for migration, such as through spouse visa or other forms	16
Education	Hired based on education; better education abroad; education levels are low in Kosovo; people being less educated to perform the job as hired through nepotism	83
Health	Health system in Kosovo is not of good quality; better health system abroad	35
Politics	Political influence in trade unions; political influences in job appointments; political influence in organisations/institutions	67
Unemployment	High level of unemployment in Kosovo	55
Training	There should be training to increase employability skills; people who underwent training; or the training offered by employers	80
Economy	Finding a job, low economic development, informal economy	38
Vocational education	To reduce mismatch of skills there should be vocational education; vocational education to diversify skills in the labour market; to meet the demand of labour market	18
Salary	Low salary; not paid on time; or not paid at all	61
Children	Migrated because of the kids for better education, life and health system; did not return to Kosovo because of the kids; or migrated with kids	105
Investment	There should be investment to generate jobs and for the economic development	16
Law implementation	Good laws, but not implemented	60

The first set of words that have been used the most were ‘children’, ‘education’, and ‘training’. Many of the migrants mentioned children, and that they want to stay in the host country because they want to give their children better education opportunities abroad. Education was also mentioned in the context of the many graduates in Kosovo who complete a degree but remain without a job because they do not know anyone that could employ them. As a result, some of those who are employed through nepotism, might or might not have a degree, but do not necessarily possess the adequate skills to perform their job.

The word ‘training’ has been used to indicate that there is a need for training in order to increase employability skills. There were some cases, especially in the public sector, of employees who undergo certain trainings offered by their employers. However, the interviewees were concerned that there are not sufficient training opportunities to prepare them for employment.

Below I will provide trajectories of several migrants and return migrants who I interviewed in Kosovo in 2015/16. As stated above, family reunification was one of the main reasons for migration for many of the interviewees as they got married to a Kosovan who was living abroad at the time. There were others who migrated because their ambitions to achieve something in Kosovo were limited during the Serb occupation and they also wanted to escape being drafted into the Serbian army. Also, during the occupation by Serbia, Albanian institutions were closed, and the situation was worsening, hence many Kosovans decided to migrate (Gollopeni, 2016). Some of the interviewees were highly educated in Kosovo before they migrated and as their integration process in the country of destination lasted for a long time, they had to

perform jobs in the host country that were different to their profession and that are considered low skills jobs.

I asked interviewees questions about their interesting experiences in life, their migration story, opinions about the employment situation in Kosovo as a driver for migration, whether or not they were thinking to returning to Kosovo and the reasons for their decision, as well as their experiences of working in Kosovo, whether they were treated well, and the type of training they attended to increase their skills.

Of all the interviewees, 77% were residing in Kosovo at the time of the interview, and 23% were migrants living in other countries as illustrated in Table 6 below.

Table 6 Country of residence of employees

Country of Residence	Number of people
Kosovo	24
UK	2
Italy	1
US	1
Denmark	1
Switzerland	1
Germany	1
Total	31

Source: Fieldwork, October-November 2015; April-July 2016

The return migrants and the actual migrants interviewed migrated in different time periods, mainly before and after the war. The table below shows that 56% of migrants and return migrants interviewed migrated before the war in 1999. The remaining 38% migrated after the war, and 6% during the war (table 7).

Table 7 Period of migration (returnees and current migrants)

Period of migration	Number of people
Before the war	9
During the war	1
After the war	6
Total	16

Source: Fieldwork, October-November 2015; April-July 2016

This table also shows that I interviewed 16 migrants and return migrants and that the remaining 15 interviewees were employers, employees, and job seekers.

During the interviews, I realised that some of the interviewees were very passionate about returning to Kosovo, they had all that nostalgia accumulated for years while being outside of Kosovo and were very keen to share their experiences. Despite that passion to return, some of them were sceptical about how they would find existence in Kosovo if they were to return, particularly considering all the political and economic turmoil.

For this chapter I have chosen the stories of four migrants/return migrants as they have provided lengthy and detailed experiences that are relevant and interesting. Their accounts provide insight into and are illustrative of the reasons for migration in different time periods. As these migrations were mainly for economic, political, education and family reunification reasons and one migrant might have had more than

one reason to migrate, or because the same reasons were also mentioned in interviews with other migrants, I have grouped them under one general heading. The interviewees also talked about the pull factors for their emigration, especially with regard to why they liked living in the host country, or as a reason why they would not return to Kosovo. These pull factors also fall under the general heading below.

I provide other interviews with migrants/return migrants in Chapter 5, 6, and 7, and draw on these to analyse the importance of employment skills support and democracy at work, especially for the recent exodus from Kosovo in 2014-15.

Furthermore, for each migration I have separated the stories into sub-sections, namely before, during and after migration, or other relevant sub-sections so that it is easier for the reader to follow the flow of narratives.

Drivers of migration: economic, political, education and family reunification

4.6.1 Migrant 1

Migration experience

■■■■ is a 37-year-old male migrant, and at the time of the interview was the manager/owner of a restaurant in ■■■■■ US, his second host country. I interviewed him while he was visiting Kosovo. He migrated three times, returning twice. He migrated in 1997 for the first time to Germany with his cousin when he was 17 years old. He was keen to migrate and approached an agency that was sending Kosovans abroad illegally.

■ and his cousin were envious when they saw migrants coming to Kosovo for visits. Being young, they thought that it would be easy to earn money outside Kosovo and thought the migrants they saw seemed to have a good life in the host countries. Hence, they decided to migrate, and initially took a taxi from Prishtina to Budapest. They were told by the agency that if they get to Budapest, the agency will help them from there, and that is what they did. On the way to Budapest they were stopped in Belgrade by the police and had to bribe the police by giving them €100. They continued their journey to Budapest and arrived at a hotel where one of the organisers/smugglers from the emigration agency was staying. He did not treat them, or the other migrants, well. They stayed for some days in the hotel and were sent by the agency to Slovakia. As part of their journey to Slovakia, they had to walk for about 2-3 hours along the Danube River and did not even know where they were going. When they arrived in Slovakia, they realised where they were. They were sent to the houses of local people and had to sleep in their gardens. There were around 50-60 migrants. The extent of organisation from the smugglers was unknown. The police arrested them and placed them all in a room. They took money from them and ■ considered this as a looting from the police. 'We regretted so much leaving Kosovo', he said. After that they were given an ultimatum of 72 hours to leave Slovakia and as a result ■ called the organiser from the agency to intervene.

After two hours, several vans arranged by the smugglers went to pick them up in order to take them elsewhere in Slovakia. From Slovakia they were sent to the Czech Republic. There they were caught by Czech authorities, and were sent to prison. However, ■ said that the Czechs treated them better than the Slovaks because at least they did not loot them. They were told to leave the Czech Republic within 72

hours and were sent to a hotel around 2-3,000 km away where they stayed for about 2-3 days. From there they went to Germany and they were afraid that if they were caught in Germany they would be deported straight away. They walked six hours to go to Bayern, Germany. 'We were exhausted and got all wet walking in several ponds' said ■■■■, and he added that they were allowed to sleep for around 20 minutes on a big stone. There were many women, and children were crying. 'There were cases in Slovakia when mothers have been told to throw away their babies because the whole group could get caught by the police, however we all decided it would be better for this to be the case than throw a child away', said ■■■■.

They arrived in Germany having travelled on a fridge lorry (there were around 40 people) were sent to Stuttgart and were then left free to do whatever they want. Then they decided to separate from the group. Also, ■■■■ and his cousin separated, they went to their relatives in Germany. ■■■■ went to his then girlfriend's cousin who took care of him in terms of food and shelter and kept him for a week in his house. At that time, the war in Kosovo started. ■■■■ decided to go to the immigration office in Germany and let them know that he is in Germany. After that he was transferred to an unused military building where other migrants of different nationalities were sent. He stayed there for three and a half months. There were migrants of different nationalities and they were interviewed by the German authorities and asked questions, such as why they had come. He could not say that he went there for economic reasons, because he was afraid that the authorities would be surprised, considering that he was only 17 years old. Therefore, he pretended and told them that he migrated for political reasons because his father was politically persecuted. 'They knew that I was lying', said ■■■■.

and from there they transferred him to another camp where he stayed in a room with six other Albanians. Some of them were working in viticulture.

■■■■ did not have the right to work, however one of the migrants who was working in viticulture, took him to work as well. ■■■■ grew tired of that life, and after three months in that camp, decided to voluntarily return to Kosovo. But, at that time the war was still going on. Therefore, he was not allowed by the German immigration authority to return to Kosovo, as it was not safe. Considering that he did not have a choice, he worked a year and a half in viticulture until he received an invitation to return to Kosovo in March 2000. 'I could not wait to return to Kosovo' said ■■■■. He said, 'I could not integrate because I did not have any rights, I did not have the right to work, I had the right to move only 25 km from the city I was in; I was like in a house dungeon.' He felt very isolated because of all these legal restrictions. During the time when he was in Germany, and when the war started in Kosovo, his family migrated to ■■■■ as refugees. They did not need any financial help, but he sent them €1000 to help them. While he was working in viticulture, he moved to a flat with other Albanian migrants.

Return to Kosovo

When he returned to Kosovo in the year 2000 after he received an invitation to return, he was so happy, he could not wait and even left his job in the viticulture two weeks before returning. His family had already returned. The area that they lived in Prishtina, ■■■■■■■■ was known for wood processing. So, together with his cousins, ■■■■ started manufacturing kitchens and selling them. He did that job for a year. His cousin is still doing that job and is very successful at it. He told ■■■■ that he has lots of clients,

but the employees do not want to work, because €350-€400 seems too little for them. They have two to three breaks during the day, and the lunch provided by the employer, but they still do not seem to be happy and keen to work.

I asked him about his thoughts of the labour market in Kosovo. He said that he believes there are jobs, however for those who finished university, it is not easy to find a job without knowing someone who can help, and he/she would not be keen to go and work physical jobs or low skilled jobs. However, he thought that there are jobs for those in the production industry and he did not believe the unemployment figures to be 30-40% because the people he knew were all working. He was sure that if he was to return to Kosovo, he would find a job.

When I asked him if he wants to return to Kosovo, he said: 'I tried to return in 2008 and prepared everything to return; I went to America because of my wife. She migrated with her family to America during the war and after 6 months they returned to Kosovo as well in 2000, the same year I returned, too. I was dating my wife during that time. My wife, then my girlfriend, migrated back again to America with her family in 2001. This was because her father was [REDACTED] and had his own business, but he could not settle in well in Kosovo.' Before migrating, [REDACTED] wife told him that she wanted to make their relationship known to their families so that when she migrated back to America, she could take him to America through family reunion procedures. [REDACTED] did not accept and told her that he experienced migration once in Germany and did not want to migrate again. As a result, his then girlfriend migrated to America again in 2001, and he stayed in Kosovo. At the same time, [REDACTED] left his job that he was doing

with his cousin, producing kitchens, because he thought the job was very physical and tiring.

He then explored ways to open a private business. He decided on an internet café, as he thought this was a needed business in Kosovo at that time, and the competition was very low. 'I did not know anything about computers, but was ready to take a risk and open that business' said [REDACTED]. He invested around €10,300 and bought 10 computers and an electricity generator. He opened the business and it was very successful because it was the time that people needed to communicate with their families abroad, but they did not have internet. He started the business in 2001 and his brother kept it until 2007.

[REDACTED] was present in Kosovo until 2005. When I asked him, how did he learn the IT skills that were needed for the work, he said that he attended an IT course (CISCO) and learnt a lot from an employee that he hired who had lots of knowledge. He was dating his then-girlfriend long-distance, and the first time she came for a visit to Kosovo after her migration was in 2003. Then they decided to make their relationship known to their families. From 2003 to 2005 he was sceptical whether he should stay in Kosovo or migrate to America. It was difficult because he had his own successful business in Kosovo, he said, 'I had very good income and did not need to migrate.' Therefore, there was not any economic reason anymore to migrate, but it was love, creating a family, he added. In 2004, he decided to go to America and married his wife in 2005. His wife became pregnant in 2005, and they did not want to start the pregnancy checks in Kosovo, therefore she went back to America, while [REDACTED] stayed in Kosovo for two more months to ensure he left the business to his brother in a good position.

Remigration

When he migrated to America in 2005 through a spouse visa, his life did not improve, but went downhill. His CISO diploma was not accepted. He had to start from scratch in America, from obtaining personal documents to getting a driving licence. He was not ready to start his studies from scratch as he needed to work to secure income for the family and pay for living expenses. He started working in a restaurant owned by his wife's family. He had no clue about what it is like to work in a restaurant. In the year when I interviewed him, he was still working in a restaurant, but he now worked in his own restaurant. In spite of this, he was not happy, as he thought this was something he did not want to do, but it was imposed on him as he did not have any other choice.

In 2008, he decided to return to Kosovo with his wife and children as he did not like the life he was living in America. He was doing a job that he did not like, despite having high hopes that he will find a job related to his IT profession in America, but that was impossible. They stayed for four months in Kosovo. During that time everybody was saying to them, why did you return, it is not worth staying in Kosovo, even his mother and brother said to him that the situation in Kosovo is not good, such as the education, health and everything. He also realised that people only wanted him when they needed him. He was disappointed, he did not expect people to be like this. In one moment, he thought, why would I stay in Kosovo, everyone here wants to migrate for a better future, for better education for their children, better health system, so why would I stay here?

He had a friend in America who also returned to Kosovo and stayed for 3 years but migrated again to America. All the savings that he had made for 16 years in America, he spent in Kosovo in three years. ■■■ mentioned that this friend was a huge influence on him to return to America, in addition to the influence of his mother, brother and other relatives. In 2009, he returned to America. During the time that he was in Kosovo he did not work, only helped his family with their property business, as his brother had closed the internet business in 2007. ■■■ could not see a future for himself in Kosovo.

In that year when I interviewed him, he was not thinking of returning to Kosovo for good anymore, at least not like he did in 2008, even though he still loves his country and wishes to live there. The main reasons he was not thinking of returning to Kosovo were his children, education, health, and the lack of respect for the law. However, he lives with the desire to return to Kosovo. When he returned to America, he opened his own restaurant, even though that is not something he likes, but it yields him good income. He bought a house in America, but that would not stop him in the future from returning to Kosovo. His aim is to send his children to university in America, because his mother's dream was for him and his siblings to get educated, so he wants to do the same for his children. 'I would regret if I returned my children to Kosovo who would get a university degree and remain without a job. There in America, when you finish university, you get a job offer straight away and can live a good life' ■■■ said.

As we can see, economic reasons and family reunification are the key reasons for ■■■'s migration that can be drawn from the interview I conducted with him. ■■■'s migration has also been influenced to some degree by family and relatives. This case reveals the role of the family in decisions to migrate; it shows that individuals

sometimes take these decisions not on their own, but as part of a family, or a household. ■■■'s decision to migrate was partially influenced by the fear of financial insecurity in Kosovo. His family did not want him to stay in Kosovo considering how difficult life was in terms of finding a job and securing an income. Initially, ■■■ was driven to migrate by his perception that he could earn money more easily abroad and that Kosovan migrants who returned to visit Kosovo seemed to him to be living a good life abroad. With this perception of the 'good life', that seemed economically driven, ■■■ started his migration journey. We then saw that his experience of migration was not as he expected it to be, considering all the difficulties he had to go through to reach his destination. Even more, when he arrived, he was unhappy due to the limitations he had as an irregular migrant, such as being unable to work. He used the first chance to return to Kosovo in 2000 and regain his happiness. His life changed when he fell in love with an emigree. When the relationship became more serious, he decided to migrate again in 2005, but this time through a spouse visa.

Again, migration did not prove good for him as he was not liking the life there and the job that he was doing. Hence, he decided to return to Kosovo and try his luck again in 2008. Now, we see that his perception about the life in Kosovo started to change. He did not feel that it was worth staying in Kosovo anymore after he realised that many Kosovans wanted to migrate due to the loss of hope in the economic and political developments in Kosovo. He believes that there are jobs, but they are limited. He also had a lot of pressure from family and friends to return to the US as his return to Kosovo seemed to be shocking, considering that many Kosovans wanted to flee Kosovo at that time. He also realised that people wanted him only when they needed him. Finally, the future perspective of the newer generations seems to have had a huge factor in

returning to the destination countries. ■■■ migrated back to US for a better future for his kids as he did not see a perspective in Kosovo. He has been living in the US since then. What we realise here is that his aspirations and the perceptions of opportunities changed through the course of his life, and shaped his willingness to migrate or to return. He made his migration decisions based on his access to economic resources that initially he thought would be easier to attain abroad, but also based on social and cultural resources. His decision to migrate was also determined by his need to be closer to his wife and his re-migration was triggered by prevailing perceptions in the society at the time that no one should return and whoever could leave Kosovo, should leave.

4.6.2 Migrant 2

■■■ is a 44-year-old female migrant and is a housewife who lives in Germany. I interviewed her while she was visiting Kosovo. She migrated in 2002. Her husband died 4 years prior to the interview and left her with four children. Three of them are at school and the youngest is in the nursery. After her husband's death she finds her life exceedingly difficult, and she has to deal with everything on her own. She said 'I have so many obligations, I do not work here in Germany, my husband died and I cannot even describe how difficult it has been, I have so many responsibilities (paused), but I have to accept the reality, this is life.'

Life before migration

Prior to migrating, ■■■ was working in Kosovo for two years as an electro technician. Her brother, who was an engineer, worked in the same place. She really liked the job she did and the workplace in general. She said: 'I am there [in Germany], but every morning when I wake up and when it is 9 am, I remember the time when we had coffee

[at work], then it was different, now [the workplace] has changed a lot; for 14 years that I come to Kosovo for visits, it is impossible to not go and see my colleagues in the office where I worked.’ She said that all the requirements at work were made on paper, however this has changed now as all these requirements are done through the computer. She found that job through her brother. She started working in the year 2000 and left the job in 2002.

When I asked her if she had any difficulty in her job in Kosovo, she said: ‘I had my brother there, if I did not understand something, I talked to him and it was resolved quickly. I did my job and if I could help someone with the job if they couldn’t manage to do it on time, I helped..., the director who has now died was my brother’s friend and I had known him before. I could talk freely to him even though he was much older than me, but you could express yourself freely if you had any concern.’

‘The working time was from 7am to 3pm or 8am to 4pm. Everything was all right, there were no problems. I was safe, and if it were not for me to get married and migrate, today I would have been in that job. I asked my colleague who is a manager now if she can secure me a position, but the reason I cannot return is the children. I do not have a house and a job in Kosovo and with four children where shall I go? Therefore, because of my children I remain in Germany. I told them, you should study hard and when you finish your degrees we will return to Kosovo. Hence, unless they do not finish their studies, I do not think to return to Kosovo’ said [REDACTED]

Migration experience

She talked about her migration experience and said, ‘I never thought that I would migrate, but you never know. My brothers live abroad, and I thought I would visit them sometime, but not live abroad. When I migrated, it was very difficult for me. I migrated in 2002 through a spouse visa because my husband was Kosovan but lived in Germany and had a German passport. The first two months were terrible, I was crying all the time. It was a very different life, though it was 100 times better than in Kosovo. After the first two months, I came back to visit my family in Kosovo and stayed for 4 weeks. When I returned to Germany I started to adapt, and was pregnant with my eldest daughter. My job in Kosovo was my last job as I did not work anymore. I did not have childcare for my children. Now I think about my children all the time, they take priority on everything. I leave everything aside, the stress, sadness and tiredness for them.’

■■■■ also remembered the moments when she lost her husband and said, ‘to see a person who was playing and talking to the kids and laughing with them and for five minutes, it wasn’t even five minutes, for that person to die suddenly, I still can’t comprehend it. I remember the last three moments, when he died, when I saw him in the morgue and when we buried him. I cannot even imagine it, only when I take the photos and look at them. That is why I said, no I will stay here, my kids have their father’s family nearby where we live in Germany, even though, for me personally, it would have been easier to go and visit my brother. One of them lives 12 kilometres from where we live, even though for Germany an hour and 20 minutes is not far, but it is not the same as having them 2-3 minutes close or 5 minutes.’

Life after migration

She thought that the standard of living is much better in Germany than in Kosovo, as her children have good healthcare and a good education system. She believed it is impossible to raise them without a job in Kosovo. She said: 'only the children have stopped me from returning to Kosovo, because after my husband died, I would have not stayed in Germany even for a minute. Things there (Germany) are different, the living conditions are better, but personally for me it would have been easier to be here, (in Kosovo), because I have all my family here. I have all the sadness that I go through due to the loss of my husband, and also I feel sad for my children, so if returning to Kosovo I would have had my family to talk to when I needed. But at the moment, I left all my desires behind to return to Kosovo because of my children.

She also talked about a bad experience that she had in a hospital during her stay in Kosovo. Her daughter was ill with a high fever and she sent her to the hospital. It was 2am when she went to the hospital and all the doors were closed. She looked for a doctor and saw a nurse whom she asked to give her some medicine for the fever. The nurse asked her to bring a spoon and give her the syrup. ■■■■■ was shocked, and told the nurse that she did not have a spoon. The nurse then brought the syrup nervously. ■■■■■ compared this situation with the cases when she sought medical support in Germany and the treatment was very good, and where the doctor would even do a home visit for the check-up.

For the employment situation in Kosovo, she thought that it is not fair for someone who completed a university degree to remain without a job. She believed that the problem resides with the political leaders and corruption, nepotism, and favouritism.

Her sister completed a Master's degree in Prishtina and does not have a job. Whereas, in Germany, she said, this would not happen, because if you finish a degree, they would find you a job immediately, even though she seemed to have limited knowledge about the job market in the host country. But, in Kosovo this is not the case, 'you finish a degree and wait 10 years for a job, this is not right, it happens only in Kosovo.'

She said my suggestions would be 'if the job advert is open, if they were to get the one who deserves it, the situation wouldn't be as it is now. But, here in Kosovo for many years, employment is done through someone you know; if you know someone you get the job, if you don't know you don't get the job even if you deserve it.'

Finally, she loves Kosovo, she said 'it is your place, your language, your family' but 'you don't have any insurance, not very good health system, no job, otherwise I wouldn't have stayed in Germany. If and when my kids want to return, I will as well. Even though, they would not return if the situation remains the same in the future. They would come for a visit, but not to return.'

As we saw, [REDACTED] migrated for family reunification reasons, even though migration was never in her plans. However, when she migrated, she had to adapt to life in Germany, and her life took a tragic direction as she lost her husband and as a result was left with her four kids.

As we understood, [REDACTED]'s employment situation in Kosovo was very satisfactory before she migrated. She loved the way she was treated and the workplace in general. She was employed through her brother, and it seemed that if she would have had any

issues at work, her brother was in a powerful position to support her. This may indicate that family ties and knowing someone in a powerful position in the workplace played a huge role in the labour market even then. She expressed indirectly that this is still the case in the labour market in Kosovo where, if you do not know anyone who is in power, you may not be able to get a job, and that this was one of the reasons why she was sceptical about returning to Kosovo. My interview with her indicates that certain people benefit from social-cultural privilege and attain jobs unfairly, based on nepotism and favouritism. So, here as in ■■■'s case, we see that the reasons for migration for both were family reunification, but the reasons not to return to Kosovo were related to the access of the children to the father's family and education. Nevertheless, ■■■ dreams of returning to her home country to live for good.

4.6.3 Return Migrant 3

Migration experience

These return migrants were husband (■■■) and wife (■■■) who lived in America but returned to Kosovo. I interviewed them in Kosovo. ■■■ is a 48-year-old male ■■■, ■■■ is a 47-year-old female ■■■. ■■■ migrated first to the US in the 1980s, and returned to Kosovo in 2011, whereas ■■■ migrated first to the US in 1996, and returned to Kosovo in 2009.

■■■'s parents lived in America from the 1970's. They were retired in America, but they never wanted to take their children there. ■■■ and his brother were brought up in Kosovo by the grandparents.

The reason [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] migrated to America was that in 1996 when they migrated ([REDACTED] for the first time, whereas [REDACTED] had already migrated in the 1980s), institutions in Prishtina were closed, as the political situation was worsening.

[REDACTED] said: 'that was a temporary migration because the institutions were closed, and we finished the university degrees, so the idea to migrate was until things get better in Kosovo, without knowing that here it will become worse and worse, and our migration would last 15-16 years. However, always with the idea to return. So, we returned to Kosovo because we always wanted to, and all the savings that we made during the time we were in America, we invested in Prishtina. A moment came that I was tired from the transitions, because we were travelling all the time. The first reason for the latter is that I brought my eldest daughter here to Kosovo when she was 14 years old because I thought it is more reasonable for her to be in Kosovo without me, in her country and culture, rather than with me in New York.

Raising a teenager in New York was a nightmare for me. She finished the first year of secondary school in New York and I saw that she was growing but not [REDACTED]. [REDACTED]. She was at school all day, and when she came back, she was in her room [REDACTED] and in one moment I said enough! I said to [REDACTED], next summer she will be in Prishtina and nobody believed me. It was entirely my idea, and nobody believed that I will really do that, not even her. Even on her essays at school she wrote 'until I saw my mum folding my clothes in the closet, I didn't think that she is going to do it. So, I left her in Prishtina to become a healthy adult instead of keeping her with me in America. It was not easy for me, she stayed here (in Kosovo) 4 years without me. On the 5th year, the time came for my son

to return to Kosovo, too at the same age. He never complained, why did you bring me back to Prishtina, but he was raised with the mentality that his sister is in Prishtina and we will return, and the same pattern will follow with him.

So, it was a step-by-step return, we did not return at once, but first it was our daughter who returned, and we came to visit her every summer and she came to visit us in America every winter. You could see the difference because she was growing with more respect towards family, had different attitude with people, how she dressed up was different, [REDACTED]. So, I saw the benefits of her return and I brought my son as well and returned with him. On the other hand, [REDACTED] remained in America for another 2 years to see how the situation was going, so it was a very strategic return, because I hear people returned thinking that they will make a nice life with some money, but the money gets spent if you do not have an income. You never dare to compare Kosovo with New York, you cannot compare New York with the Balkans, and even less with Kosovo, it is completely a different world, so just go with the flow.'

Return to Kosovo

They are very happy that they returned and do not have any regrets. They go for visits to New York because they have US citizenship, they usually go to do shopping there, but they never think about going back to America to live for good. They have nostalgia when they go there about the life they had for 15-16 years, especially for the neighbourhood because it is beautiful. 'It is not easy to return from New York to Prishtina', they said. [REDACTED] has still family in New York, his sister and some cousins.

To return to Kosovo they were supported by ■■■'s family, for example when they returned their daughter was staying at her aunt, ■■■'s sister. So, part of their return was also the family support.

When I asked them would they recommend someone to emigrate, they said there are several reasons for emigration. There are cases of Kosovans who do not see any perspective in their country, people have families and they need to support their families, and when you do not have income you want a better life. Employment is very important no matter how low the salary is. There are also those who go in order to obtain a better education and better lifestyle.

They were very happy that they found good jobs in Kosovo related to their professions. 'Sometimes you feel disappointed that you finished school and for 15 years you could not practise it and you think that you failed for all those years. But the moment you return, and you are given opportunities you realise that education never gets lost', they said. 'We know people who returned from America and who had no education degree, they could not find a job in Kosovo', they added.

When I asked if they worked in their professions in America, ■■■ said: 'the first 10 years I worked everything, I worked as babysitter, I did the paperwork for a doctor in a private office, I worked in a day-care, then I continued education there, and when I received the diploma it took me some time to integrate in the public sector, public schools, but the last 4-5 years I worked mainly in the profession. Nevertheless, I worked also in sales and was very successful.'

■■■ said in ‘a civilised world there are internships that lead you to something because you have the chance to present who you are, what you have learnt and what you know, whereas here in Kosovo you don’t have internships, one finishes the Master’s degree and can finish 13 Master’s degrees but have never worked because the companies would not give the opportunity due to favouritism.’ Whereas ■■■ believed that the issue is with the lack of new vacancies available because there is quality. ‘There is a job vacancy and in 60-70% of cases especially when we talk about public places, the job is already reserved for someone, but the job announcement is done only pretending that they are transparent. You complete a Master’s degree and a PhD, but here you do not have anywhere to work. Wherever you work you are not valued, in that moment when you start a job somewhere and you show your skills, you want to be promoted and have your salary increased so that you are stimulated to do better, the other one (the employer) would say why would I do all this for you. I realised that it is very important to be valued at the workplace, it is very stimulating.’ ■■■. added, ‘the labour market in Kosovo is very tight, very limited, everywhere in the world there is training phase...’

When I asked them about how they are treated at their workplace, ■■■ said: ‘I like the nature of my work, mainly I enjoy that I work with children, the progress that I see in them every day, that brings me joy. Regarding how I am treated at my workplace, they treat me very well, with lots of respect. I do not have any problem except the negative side is the pressure because it is a new school, it was built ■■■ ago. Whenever the principles of the school change, the mentality changes as well and you need to adapt to it, but sometimes you are missing the main things because of all the paperwork and due dates that I have to cover. Other than that, as in every organisation there are

changes, and the contract is continued based on performance.’ I asked her if she has a permanent working contract and she said she does not have one. The same is also for ■■■ in terms of contract. Both see this as posing insecurity in their workplace and while in many places there are permanent contracts, in their workplace not only do they not have contracts, but they also do not have trade unions to protect them.

I asked them if they know how active the trade unions are, and how they support the employees. They said that this is not the case for them as they work in the private sector and they do not have trade unions. ■■■ added ‘I didn’t hear that there is any in the private sector, even those in public sector don’t protect the employees, there are no organisations that support employees.’ She also said ‘I heard that teachers, for example three months before the end of academic year, get retired because they became 65 years old on the 1st of May whereas on the 15th of June the academic year ends, where in the world does this make sense? Let him/her finish the academic year, or if he/she gets sick and certain amount of time goes on leave when he/she is back will lose the job without a reason just because he/she passed the entitlement of sick days. However, in my case last year, I really appreciate because I had an operation and I was not working for several months, and they kept the job for me.’

Re-migration of their daughter

Their eldest daughter again migrated, but this time to ■■■ ■■■. She got married to a Kosovan who used to live in ■■■. They both graduated from the ■■■ and found jobs in Kosovo. Suddenly, her husband was influenced by his ■■■ to return to ■■■ because he worked in an organisation and told him that if you finish this specific Master’s degree, I will find you a good job

with a high salary. So, he attracted him to migrate for better money and better life. Therefore, their daughter had to migrate because of her husband, not because she wanted to migrate. 'In a way that was a commitment to a relationship', said [REDACTED]. However, [REDACTED] said that his son-in-law was not seeing any good perspective in employment in Kosovo because he was a manager but could not progress, as people in levels higher than him did not let him progress. Whereas, in [REDACTED], within 6 months he progressed. For their daughter, the integration has been very difficult because she had to start from zero, to learn German and then integrate in their system. This was devastating for her and the family because [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] always wanted to return their children to Kosovo, and yet their eldest daughter had to migrate to [REDACTED]. However, they still see this migration as better than America because [REDACTED] is closer to home and they can visit each other more often.

As we can see, this case is where the cultural factor of returning the children to learn traditional values has become a reality compared to the two cases above where taking such a turn has proven difficult, due to the pessimism toward the economic and political situation in Kosovo.

To recapitulate, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] migrated to America after the institutions were closed in the 1996 and the political situation was worsening between Kosovo and Serbia. They migrated, but always with the plan to return. They felt that the economic and political situation in Kosovo after the war was worsening. However, we saw that they decided to return to Kosovo when their eldest daughter, who was a teenager, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] They wanted to return her to Kosovo to regain the traditional respect for the family and prevent the newer generation from losing their

ties with the family and home country. This decision to return demonstrates the role of traditional cultural practices in migration or return decisions. It also reveals the importance for migrants of maintaining the ties they have with the relatives they left behind and in maintaining their social reputation as they did not want good family values to be lost.

Both ■■■ and ■■■ found good jobs in Kosovo, ■■■ through a friend and ■■■ by applying for a vacancy, that were related to their professions; however, we saw that they mentioned several issues that they believed were not good to provide secure employment prospects in Kosovo. As with other migrants whose experiences have been related in the sections above, they felt sympathetic that many graduates in Kosovo remain without a job. They are not even provided support with employment, such as trainings and apprenticeships to strengthen the skills and chances for employment. Even those who work are not motivated at work and rewarded with promotion if they show an impressive performance at work.

We also understand, from their work experiences in the private sector, that they do not have trade unions in which they are involved as there aren't any existing in this sector. They mentioned cases of violation of employment rights that they heard from others in different workplaces, such as the case someone losing their job because of sick leave.

Finally, this case shows that there are still a few people who have returned to Kosovo and found good jobs; however, the perception of these return migrants is similar to that of other interviewees who said that the general situation with employment support

and democracy at work is proving to be difficult. We saw this also from ■■■'s and ■■■'s son-in-law. According to ■■■ and ■■■ their daughter and son-in-law migrated to ■■■ because their son-in-law was not happy with his job in Kosovo as he wanted to progress in his career, but it seemed difficult to get a promotion or to be rewarded for his prodigious effort at work. Hence, migration seemed an irrevocable option for their daughter and son-in-law. This once again shows that despite all the effort to return to Kosovo, remigration became a viable option to gain better prospects for the youth. This has been caused by structural inequalities in the labour market in Kosovo that limit one's access to equal chances of employment and enjoyment of the benefits at work entitled by law. Hence, migration became an option to achieve greater market opportunities and greater democracy at work.

4.6.4 Migrant 4

Migration experience

These migrants to Denmark were husband (■■■) and wife (■■■). ■■■ was 45-years-old and worked in a factory. ■■■ was a 40-year-old female migrant, and was a housewife. After ■■■ finished school, his ambitions to achieve something in Kosovo had shrunk because Kosovo was under the Serbian occupation from 1989 to 1992. That meant for ■■■ there was no further opportunity for education because the schools were closed. This incentivised him to migrate, and he also did not want to serve in the Serbian army. These call-ups for the Serbian army were for soldiers to serve in different wars, such as in Croatia and Bosnia Herzegovina. Many Albanians escaped conscription through migration to different countries. In 1992, ■■■ migrated to Denmark. The reason he chose Denmark was because his brother was there, even though the latter was not able to help him. When ■■■ entered Denmark, he was taken

by the immigration authorities and was directed where to go, his documents were taken and he was questioned about the reasons of migration.

Another motive for his migration was also unemployment. In 1989, all the factories were closed in Kosovo, the pupils were taken out of schools, and employees were fired from work.

His wife migrated to Denmark in 1998 through a spouse visa because they were married. She did not work in Kosovo prior to migration, whereas [REDACTED] had worked in a private construction business. It was his father's business and they built houses. This was 3-4 years before he migrated to Denmark. He migrated by bus using his [REDACTED] passport, as they resembled each other a lot. His wife also migrated by bus and then [REDACTED] took her from Germany to Denmark illegally.

When I asked them what their opinions were about Kosovo's situation with employment, [REDACTED] said:

it is normal in a developing country like Kosovo for everything to be experimental, such as the labour market, labour law and employment being in the first phase of development. We Kosovans think that now we have our state, and everything should be perfect, but that is impossible because employment is slow, and to employ someone also the economy should develop. The economy is weak in Kosovo, we all know that, there is no implementation of employment law. The employee is used in Kosovo and does not have the rights entitled to us who live outside Kosovo. The salaries are low, but maybe for the life in Kosovo it is sufficient, maybe not. When you see people more or less,

they seem satisfied that they have a job and get some income, but how happy they are, we don't know.

■■■■ on the other hand, said: 'employment in Kosovo is catastrophic, only if you know someone, you need to pay someone to get a job. I heard cases of people paying €2-3,000 to get a job, and maybe they did not even earn €1-3,000.' She thought that the only way to improve the situation would be for the law to function. ■■■■ added that the government is corrupt, and that is the main reason for the chaotic situation. That means the politicians only work for their interest and not for the working class.

■■■■ said that in his father's private business where he was working, his father made the labour laws in the company. He followed the working inspiration and policies from his previous job. They did not have any problems with employees because they were happy with the treatment. They had good breaks, but the only disadvantage was that the salary was not that good. ■■■■ did not believe in the trade unions and said you do not have anywhere to complain, or if you complain the procedures will last up to 3-4 years.

He believed that employees in some places are not treated well, but in some they are. However, he said that Kosovans are not that committed to work, 'it does not matter if you take a salary of €300 or €500, but first you need to respect the job.' His perception was that there should be mutual respect for work, even if the salary is low. However, as we have seen from some of the employees interviewed, the low salary is not a motivation to work considering that it would not yield sufficient coverage for the most essential life expenses.

As with other migrants, they are keen to return with their children to Kosovo for good, but remain sceptical about doing so, considering that the education and health sectors are not to the standards they would like their children to experience. Furthermore, they feel incentivised and pulled away from Kosovo by the free healthcare system in Denmark. So, here we see the pulling factors having a role in the decision to return where one would compare the financial benefit maximisation between the systems in different countries and choose the one that yields the best outcome for the input provided. However, they would like to return to Kosovo if the situation improves, as it would be much better for their children to live in their home country, speak their own language and grow up in their traditions.

In ■■■■■'s and ■■■■■'s case, migration occurred as a result of limited opportunities for education and work during the 1990s in Kosovo and to avoid being drafted into the Serbian army. So, migration was both economic and political. As we saw, ■■■■■ migrated for the purposes of family reunification. When ■■■■■ migrated, we saw that his choice of destination was influenced by the existence of networks abroad. The migration journey seems to have been supported by networks, as ■■■■■ used his ■■■■■ passport to migrate.

To summarise this section, the migration stories reveal that migrants and return migrants are dissatisfied with the situation in Kosovo for many reasons. They think that there is an elevated level of corruption and identify a lack of the following: jobs, employment support, law implementation, quality education, health system, and social security measures.

People in Kosovo influence each other to migrate or return to the host country. There were cases when return migrants were convinced to go back to the host country. These life changing decisions are not easy and they are often affected by the actions of others, such as when one member of a family migrates, others migrate, too, because they no longer have any reason to remain in the destination country. The majority of interviewees believe that there are not enough jobs, however there were a few who thought that there are jobs, but that levels of corruption and favouritism are high.

As we have seen from the interviews, some thought that job seekers in Kosovo are not given opportunities to develop or increase their capacities, while in countries abroad there are internships where the job seekers can present themselves and their skills to different employers. In Kosovo these internship programmes are not sufficient. One can finish a Master's degree or even a PhD but never have the opportunity to work because companies would not offer jobs to everyone. They would prioritise in such instances, giving internships to family members, relatives, or friends.

The belief is the same for jobs. Many job opportunities are already reserved for someone, and the recruitment is done just for coverage. The interviewees mention that one should either know someone in a high position to get a job, or pay a huge amount of money. They also felt very discouraged because they said in many workplaces in Kosovo, one cannot be promoted at work nor valued as an employee. There are no incentive and reward measures for the great work in many institutions and organisations. The labour market is very limited, many do not have permanent contracts, and see this as insecure considering that they also do not have trade unions to protect their rights.

They love their country, but the education of future generations is another very important factor that pushes them to remain in the host country. They live abroad while continuing to wish that it were possible for them to return to Kosovo, and especially for their children to grow up in their home country and speak their language, but fear to return too soon because they do not want their children to complete a university degree and remain without a job. They are also not happy with the quality of the health system and the lack of social security measures in Kosovo, hence they want to stay abroad and use the opportunities offered to them and their families, in many instances for free. However, some returned to live for good in Kosovo, and the cultural factors played a huge role in their decision to return. As we have seen from the return migrants interviewed, they wanted to return their teenage children so that they learn traditional values. They do not have regrets, but are aware of the difficulties in Kosovo. They still believe that many in Kosovo would want to migrate to find a job, have a greater income and a better education. Here we see migrants having different needs, but these are limited by the need to support the educational development of younger generations and to ensure their wellbeing.

Here is a summary table of the main push-pull factors, per time period based on the four cases above.

Table 8 Summary of the main push-pull factors

Period of migration	1992	1996	1997	1999	2002	2005	2009
‘Push’ factors	Lack of opportunities for education Being drafted into Serbian army Unemployment Family reunification	Political tension between Kosovo and Serbia/closure of institutions	Desire to migrate because of seeing other migrants/economically driven	War/ conflict	Family reunification/Spouse visa Economic situation/ education/health	Family reunification/Spouse visa Economic situation/ education/ health	Family/friend influence Economic situation/ education/health
‘Pull’ factors	Free healthcare	Safety	Jobs	Safety	Better jobs	Better jobs	Better jobs
	Better education	Jobs	Income		Better income	Better income	Better income
	Better jobs				Better education system	Better education system	Better education system
	Better salary				Better healthcare system	Better healthcare system	Better healthcare system
					Better social welfare system	Better social welfare system	Better social welfare system

4.7 Conclusion

To summarise, in this chapter I have provided an account of migration trends from Kosovo, and of the various reasons why people migrate. I then analysed the factors that have influenced emigration from Kosovo by examining different media and institutional reports.

The most significant migration flows from Kosovo took place in three time periods, namely: the old emigration throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, followed by migration in the 1990s, marked by the ethnic conflict of 1999, and post-war migration, mainly including the latest exodus in 2014-15. We have seen that the main reasons for migration related to family reunification, marriage, or bringing family members to the host country; economic and social factors, where unemployment was an outcome of stagnant economic growth and lack of foreign investment; and political incentives that started from 1989 when many Kosovan men escaped the draft into the Serbian army. Other central reasons for migration was the insecurity caused by the war in 1999 between Serbs and Kosovans, when many left Kosovo due to fear of genocide and apartheid, and, following the end of the war, when the political deadlock in creating the new government resulted in feelings of disappointment in the Kosovan population, further fuelled by a politically dominated public sector that gave unfair privileges to certain people as a result of nepotism, favouritism and corruption. A better quality of education abroad has been an incentive to increase skills and employment chances. The family has played an important role in motivating members of the household to migrate, to gain financial security that was difficult to achieve in Kosovo, and to follow the pattern of social practices where, if one migrates, others should follow too in order to earn a higher income abroad.

In section three, we have seen that the migrants and return migrants interviewed had shown similar reasons for their migration with the ones explained by secondary research. While employment support and unequal treatment at work may have not been the direct influence for their migration, they indicated that the current lack of apprenticeships and favouritism involved in employment opportunities left many graduates at home, without work, to seek migration. We could also see that the lack of appropriate treatment at work had a role in their satisfaction levels with employment. There were those who mentioned the lack of promotion at work and the lack of support from the trade unions. They felt demotivated, because good work was not rewarded in any way. As a result, they were generally concerned about the situation in the labour market in Kosovo and the overall economic and political situation.

The quality of education of future generations, in this case their own children, was a prevalent factor pulling the migrants to stay in the host country where they are living. Staying in the host country or migrating are perceived as opportunities to free and generally better healthcare system, and higher income, among others. Some of the interviewees thought that it would have been better to raise their children in Kosovo in their culture, language and close to relatives, but only if the standard of living were better. Some had already returned, citing this cultural factor as the main influence in their decision, i.e., the desire to retain their family values and their social reputation. Finally, many of the migrants and returnees left us to think that even though the best option would be to stay in the home country, the prosperity of future generations takes priority, and for the time being, this can be best achieved abroad, not in Kosovo.

Chapter 5 Looking for and finding work in Kosovo

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the difficulties encountered by the interviewees in finding jobs in Kosovo and how this has motivated them to migrate. The chapter initially provides brief background information on the labour market figures in Kosovo and then identifies three main areas of difficulty with employment in Kosovo: corruption, mismatch of skills and lack of support to increase employment skills. Each of these factors is explored separately in sections, drawing on my analysis of the semi-structured interviews I conducted with employees, employers, and job seekers.

Section one starts by identifying corruption, and what the media, different reports and interviewees say about it. In addition to what the job seekers and employees said about corruption, this section also engages with their experiences with job hunting and the difficulties they encountered while looking for jobs.

In section two, the under-education and mismatch of skills is explored, such as the figures of over-education and under-education compared to nine other European countries, education policies, issues with employment, the skills deficit, the mismatch of skills and the need for research and investment to identify the profiles needed in the labour market in Kosovo.

Section three discusses the figures of those who seek employment in Kosovo, the need for training and employment support, the vocational training capacities in Kosovo, the vocational training strategy adopted, the type of vacancies offered in the labour

market, the employment support offered in Kosovo, and the geographical coverage of this support.

Section four provides information on the employment policies and the focus of these policies on vocational training. It also discusses the aim of these policies on the reforms needed to reduce the mismatch of skills and under-education, to improve employment support and decrease corruption, and to improve the business environment and governance. The chapter further discusses the support of the Ministry of Employment provided to job seekers in identifying jobs that match their skills, and the suggestions of the Adult Learning Strategy for Kosovo. However, the lack of jobs has proved that it is difficult to implement these interventions.

Kosovo has a very low labour participation rate. According to Kosovo Agency of Statistics (2018) around 26.5% were unemployed in the first quarter of 2018. The unemployment rate among young people aged 15-24 was about 54%.

In this context of severe work shortages, three kinds of difficulties with employment have emerged from the interviews: corruption, under-education and mismatch of skills, and lack of employment skills support.²

These difficulties are also listed in official reports, which identify the following additional difficulties: inappropriate education policies, lack of cooperation among different entities, lack of research on the labour market, and lack of investment in the labour market.

² Please note that nepotism (giving work to family, friends, or political allies) is subsumed here under corruption as my interviewees did not make a terminological difference.

This chapter explores and analyses these difficulties in the light of statistical data available on training, employment support, under education, and investment in the economy. It then goes on to question the efficiency of the new employment policy reforms.

5.2 Corruption

This section examines the role of corruption in finding a job in Kosovo, how it is perceived by official reports, media, in survey results, and the interviews that I conducted. I also provide an example of a job seeker who I interviewed, and the particular challenges she faced in finding a job.

The widespread belief in the media and amongst people in Kosovo, is that one can find a job only if one is very lucky, or through knowing someone. Corruption is perceived as a huge contributing factor to this, as is the influence of political parties in appointing people to new posts.

Corruption, according to official reports in Kosovo, is identified as an ‘area of vulnerability’ and is mostly associated with political interferences or bribes given to those in the public administration (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2011). An example of such a report is the United Nations Development Programme Report 2014-2015. This report provides an overview of key indicators and results of the Public Pulse Poll 2014-2015. This poll was based on a survey of the opinions of 1,306 citizens of Kosovo (over 18 years old, of both sexes, from all municipalities and regions of Kosovo, rural and urban areas) and provides the finding that ‘the majority of Kosovans (81% [or 1058 people]) believed that family connections, bribes, party

alliance and other non-merit factors are the most important in gaining employment in the public sector' (UNDP Kosovo Public Pulse Project Team, 2015, p.7). The remaining 15% (196 people) believed that education, professional experience, and vocational training can help in getting a job in the public sector. According to the same report, corruption is rated the third most important problem for Kosovans, where unemployment is the first and poverty the second. The institutions that are perceived to have the highest rate of corruption are: healthcare providers, Kosovo Electric Corporation, Courts, Customs, the central administration/institutions, and the Privatisation Agency of Kosovo, among others (ibid).

The results of the May 2019 Public Pulse Poll XVI revealed that 84% of respondents, the highest level recorded so far, believed that family connections, party alliances and bribes were the most important in gaining employment. The remaining 16.1% believed that education, professional experience, and vocational training helped to get a job in the public sector (UNDP Kosovo, 2019). Whereas 34% of respondents believed that the latter were important in obtaining employment in the private sector.

According to a survey on corruption conducted in 2011 by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, administrative corruption is the 'petty cash' that affects the lives of many Kosovans daily when they have to deal with the public administration, such as medical visits, school enrolment, issue of passport and driving licence, applying for a job, etc. The survey was conducted with 3,000 people aged 18 to 64, face-to-face in an interview format. The sample was representative and was selected in each region of Kosovo. The survey results indicated that 21% of those surveyed, or members of their household, applied for a job in the public sector three years before this survey

was conducted and 20% of them secured a job. 28% of those who were successful admitted that they paid money, gave gifts, or did a favour, in order to get the job. From those paying bribes in cash, the survey identified that 11.8% were men and 10.3% were women (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2011, p.3, 4).

This percentage shows that there was not much difference between the genders when it came to paying bribes, even though one would have expected that more men than women would pay a bribe because of the gender roles established in Kosovo where women are assigned more home-based activities, meaning more would stay at home rather than look for jobs, as they carry the burden of family life. As a result, according to the same survey, women pay bribes more often for personal/family reasons than men (84% vs.76%), whereas men pay bribes more for work/business related reasons than women (22% vs. 9%) (p.28). Considering the cultural and social inequalities that exist in Kosovo, this could create asymmetries that are gender-based and this also affects whether women can or cannot travel, and the place of destination. The report identified gender-based corruption in Kosovo as different especially from the western Balkan because women in Kosovo in ‘contrast to women in other parts of the western Balkans, [e.g. Montenegro, Serbia, Republic of North Macedonia] are more likely to pay a bribe in cash than men, while men are more likely to use food and drink as a bribe than women’ (ibid, p.3). This report found that cash accounted for 66% of all bribes in Kosovo.

The media, such as the Independent Balkan News agency, portrays corruption as ‘unlawful enrichment of senior state officials’ (Tota, 2014, para.2). The main sources of corruption are perceived to be tenders or procurements, construction contracts and

the privatisation process in Kosovo. The official reports and media also associate corruption with organised crime, trafficking of drugs and humans, and highlight the need to fight against corruption.

From the interviews that I conducted with 31 people between the ages of 24 to 63, such as migrants, return migrants, employers, employees, job seekers, and analysts, corruption in Kosovo is perceived as a barrier to finding jobs as well as to placing job seekers into jobs. Mainly migrants, return migrants, employees and job seekers, irrespective of age and gender, spoke about corruption, as many have been directly impacted by it, and they associate it with political interference and clans who have similar political views or interests and who appoint their people in different positions. They relate corruption more with ties or connections to find a job, rather than with the need to pay petty cash to get a job. Corruption, as stated by official reports and media, is also associated by interviewees with organised crime and trafficking and is believed that without fighting these two phenomena, corruption cannot be reduced. Corruption is also perceived as interrelated with the lack of implementation of laws. Their views provide the understanding that corruption is a huge concern in Kosovo, as it interferes at all levels of organisation and is an obstacle to social and economic development in Kosovo.

The job-hunting experiences of job seekers and employees that I interviewed were interesting and different, shaped by the obstacles they faced during the search for jobs and with the non-transparency in the selection process. They looked for jobs on different work portals, Kosovo jobs websites, newspapers and company websites; they also heard about different job publications on the radio, and some went directly to the

companies or their websites. Many of them also heard about jobs through friends and relatives. There were cases of those who did not have work experience in Kosovo because they were very young when they migrated.

The job seekers and employees interviewed believe that to find a job in Kosovo you have to be lucky or know someone, otherwise it is challenging. These opinions reveal similar facts to those stated above about corruption and political interference in the labour market. But, their experiences with searching for a job show frustrations and disappointments and offer very practical understanding of the situation. Employees and job seekers who were interviewed felt trapped, either as a result of their job hunt or with changing their job because they had limited or non-existent employment chances. It took them between one to three years to find a job.

An interesting example of challenges experienced during the job-hunting process is that of a job seeker who I interviewed in November 2015, [REDACTED], a 35-year-old woman who lives in Prishtina, and is an architect. She worked previously in several workplaces and did not have much choice, as there were not many opportunities. She worked in marketing for an internet company, worked as a director in a streets' infrastructure company, and also worked as a teacher in a secondary school. At the time of the interview, she had been unemployed for about two years and had been looking for jobs for seven months. She said:

It is ermm... quite problematic to find a job, not because of qualification, but because of people who work in those organisations, ermm public organisations/institutions. Those who interview you or take you in the test are not professional and are not adequate. If I am an architect and finished the

Master's degree, most probably the head of commission must be with bachelor, who will not know how to assess you, and that is a big disadvantage. How it came to this situation is because of the political parties that lead the state, they send their people in important workplaces who are not qualified for that position; this is the reason for unemployment, I think.

████ continued to apply for jobs in many places and of the ten places that she applied to, only three called her for an interview. She described where she looked for jobs:

I knew about different positions through portals, through different portals that are on the internet, and also there are job publications in newspapers but are already filled. Also, in portals these positions are filled because people already work with contracts, and they publish to cover themselves that they published the vacancy because it must be published. We have guaranteed information about this, and it became a tradition in Kosovo, and that is, that means it is a bit pointless to apply, and this is that, that simply demoralised people [...].

She believes that the situation will remain the same if the political parties continue to play the main role in the country.

When asked about her last job as a teacher at a secondary school, █████ was very enthusiastic about how much she liked the job and was heartbroken about the fact that she could not be with the students because her employment contract was not extended further. When I asked her about how she found this job, she heard from a neighbour that the school needed a teacher of architecture. She found a relative who had power in the school and was accepted with his help. She said:

As I said this is the only way to find a job in Kosovo, through people who you know and who have power.

██████ mentioned that even though her salary was low, she had the stimulation from the students to work and she would do the same job again. She applied again to work in the school, but was not accepted because she said, ‘they employed someone else who they knew and were of the same political party.’

She believed that international investment in Kosovo’s economy would have helped a lot as it would have changed the mentality including that of the political parties’ influence and of clans. Her future plans were to find a job in her profession and deliver her own projects. She was open to opportunities outside Kosovo, but she had a problem because she wanted a lot of her family people around, and she believed that she would not find this comfort if living abroad. Here we see the aspiration to stay and being open to opportunities despite the need to find a job. Considering that ██████’s perceptions of a ‘good life’ comprised of having her own family and relatives nearby, she did not pursue a path of migration. This shows that there are people in Kosovo, who, despite their capabilities, may not develop aspirations to migrate, due to family and social affinity. This also shows that different individuals may or may not develop migration aspirations even though they may face similar push factors.

In conclusion, in this section it became evident that corruption plays a huge role in the labour market in Kosovo. The belief among media and official reports is that one can find a job only if they know someone who has authority or through family connections. Corruption is also associated with political interference or bribery. According to the media, corruption can occur in tenders or procurements, the privatisation process and construction contracts. Corruption is also associated with trafficking of humans and drugs, and with organised crime. The migrants, return migrants, employees and job

seekers that I interviewed associated corruption with political interference and political clans who appoint their people in different positions and with family connections. They felt frustrated and disappointed with their experience of searching for jobs.

The next section looks at the influence of education in finding a job and how the education policies influence the labour market.

5.3 Under-education and mismatch of skills

This section discusses education policies and the government's approach towards increased participation and improved quality in education. It also examines the role of unemployment, skills deficit and mismatch in the labour market, the trainings available to support development of skills, the lack of research to analyse the labour market needs and the programmes needed to increase skills among those who need them. The section also analyses the interview data that I collected with two employers, one in the public, and the other one in the private sector and their opinions about the candidates they receive and how prepared they are for the job interview and the job in general.

In 2012, Kosovo was listed in the range of nine European countries where the occurrence of under-education exceeded 25% of workers. Kosovo's total incidence of under-education by sex in 2012 show higher rates of under-education of female workers (42.4%) than of male workers (29.1%). Whereas, in the same year, the lowest occurrence of over-education from the nine countries was in Kosovo, 10.5% (International Labour Organisation, 2014). Based on these statistical data, we can

assume that 25% of Kosovo's employees are undereducated, either performing tasks of a higher profile than their education or professional attainment or not being able to find a job because of not possessing the necessary skills required.

The latest report from the ILO (2014) on the Skills Mismatch in Europe show that the mismatch of skills happens when the growth of educated people exceeds the demand, resulting in a surplus of unemployed skilled workers and also in workers who are overeducated for the job they perform. One can relate this to the fact mentioned earlier that many people in Kosovo are employed not based on the skills to deliver the job but based on family ties or political preferences. Hence, they end up doing a job for which they lack the skills. On the other hand, over-education is low, and this can suggest that many educated people with different university degrees remain without a job, or those who can find a job, will be able to find jobs for which they are clearly overeducated, such positions as receptionists or waiters.

Based on the interviews that BIRN, a reporting network, conducted with different analysts and officials in Kosovo, graduates are struggling to find jobs due to poor education policies (Mehmeti, 2015). The Ministry of Education has focused its policies on increasing the number of private and public schools, and the number of students. As a result, there has been a huge increase in the number of students since 2008, from around 30,000 to more than 53,000, according to the 2011 census.

BIRN has identified that the government has produced quantity over quality because the huge number of graduates with diplomas of similar concentrations make employment difficult, even more so considering the low supply of jobs in Kosovo.

According to Shahini (2015), author of the report titled ‘Why Kosovo Needs Migration’ published by the European Stability Initiative, a think tank based in Berlin, people in Kosovo mainly study economics and law, and less ‘marketable skills’ such as caring professions, carpentry and textiles. There is a need in Kosovo to train the youth for new jobs and to focus on vocational schools. As practical tools are limited in schools and practical lessons are missing in the universities in Kosovo, the students in Kosovo lack practical skills (Mehmeti, 2015). Furthermore, the quality of graduates is of a level that they are not prepared for the job market. This also causes problems for the employers, especially for some private companies in recruiting because they have to deal with a shortage of a skilled workforce (The World Bank Group in Kosovo, 2015). There is no data available for the kinds of jobs for which employers cannot find appropriate applicants.

The second problem relates to the skills deficit and mismatch. The labour market in Kosovo has been facing an increase in the youth workforce that in fact has been causing challenges in absorbing the capacity of the labour market. The increase in tertiary education may cause an oversupply and can lead to problems in achieving efficient matching in the labour market. There is a need for medium-skilled workers and an increase in the level of training. The vocational training is fragmented and the quality of education in general requires improvement. ‘The network of adult training providers is insufficiently developed to match the potential need for retraining and upskilling among large proportions of the long-term unemployed and inactive population (particularly women)’ (ETF, 2019, p. 2).

ETF, EU and Kosovo's government recognise that there is a problem with unemployment and the mismatch of skills in Kosovo. Based on the ETF Country Strategy Paper, in 2016 only 20% of those working were classified as low-skilled, where the majority worked in service-related activities and less than 3% in agriculture. The latter percentage may not have reflected the shadow economy and its extent. 'Only 1.26% of registered jobseekers participated in training programmes whereas almost 60% of jobseekers were low skilled and companies offer limited skills development opportunities to their workers' (Culkin and Simmons, 2018, p.16).

The unemployment rate was highest for those without formal education, of this group, 48.4% were unemployed in the first quarter of 2018, and lowest for those who completed higher education, 14.6%. Based on the Kosovo Labour Survey in the first quarter of 2018, of the total unemployed in Kosovo, 28.7% were young people aged 15-24 years old (Kosovo Agency of Statistics, 2018).

Until the end of 2015, the number of those registered as unemployed in public employment services in Kosovo was 112,179 (48,960 females and 63,219 males). 48% of those registered as unemployed belonged to the 25 to 39 age group, over 10% to the 15 to 24 age group. Over half of the jobseekers were unskilled, and 18.7% had a secondary level education (Cojocar, 2017).

There is a deficiency in basic business skills, and this has been identified as a barrier to developing the private sector in Kosovo. Supporting entrepreneurial learning is an urgent issue to counteract the economic crisis in Kosovo (European Training Foundation, 2014). Many of the economically inactive people in Kosovo are looking

after children or disabled people, have an illness or disability, are in education or training, are retired, believe that no work is available, and are waiting to go back to work. Of the economically inactive people, '83.4% of females were inactive compared to 38.6% of males' (Kosovo Agency of Statistics, 2018, p.31). The reasons for inactive women in the labour market are personal or family responsibilities. This may also be linked with stereotypical gender roles.

Related to the poor education policies, is the lack of research in the labour market in Kosovo. This includes the lack of analysis of labour market needs in order to define what study programmes should be available. The study programmes should be such as to prepare the graduates for the skills that the labour market needs, and hence to make them employable. Furthermore, the study programmes in private and public higher education in Kosovo should correspond to development needs and employment strategies (Kosova Education Centre, 2014). Research would have helped to identify the vocations for training the youth and address the social exclusion challenges that the youth who are seeking work face (Mukkavilli, 2008).

The lack of employment skills among job seekers can be understood also from the experience of employers with the recruitment process. Two of the employers who I interviewed in October 2015, one in the public sector and one in the private sector, interviewed many candidates and found the majority unprepared.

They also received badly written CVs, and this created difficulties for them during the recruitment process. However, their opinions of where the problem stands with employment in Kosovo differed. The employer in the public company, ■■■■, a 63-

year-old man who lives in Prishtina, said that there is a mismatch in terms of the supply of skills and the supply of jobs, which ends in disappointment and acts as push factors for many young people to leave the country because they have families to take care of.

Whereas the employer in the private institution, ■■■■, a 39-year-old male who lives in Prishtina, said that the current situation with job applications shows that job seekers do not get any employment skills support, or at least they do not look for that support. He added that the government's approach is more to show off rather than do something concrete in employing people.

I have two different approaches; my experience includes public work and private. Most of the people who have applied to our company, the CVs we received were bad ones, this shows that they do not get any support or at least they did not look for that support. Our policy is that based on the CVs you can know what the person is. My impression is that they do not get support.

According to a return migrant (from the UK), ■■■■, a 37-year-old male, who lived in Prishtina and was an employee in a ■■■■ institution in Kosovo when I interviewed him, this situation shows a lack of focus on quality when it comes to public institutions. He believes that in some private institutions, the quality and management is dependent on the general manager, who can change rules within a minute. He returned to Kosovo from the UK to challenge himself, and was happy that he found a job at the institution he was working for. He was not satisfied with the fact that quality in the labour market in Kosovo was not considered, and therefore said the following:

This is my opinion, Kosovo is a young state without tradition including that of management, but also when it comes to professional preparation, and all this brings Kosovo in the situation it is in today. To find a job in Kosovo is difficult, you need to have connections. Even in UK connections help a lot to find a job, but it is not everything about connections. In the UK I did not have connections when I was employed in the local authority. If you are very good at something, in the UK you don't need connections. Whereas in Kosovo quality at the moment is not important, but important is who you know, especially for public institutions. Whereas for the private ones there aren't mega big companies where quality is necessary. Here you have one owner and he/she plays the role of the accountant to the manager, and you as a manager today you do this form of management, tomorrow he/she can say I don't like this, change this completely because I created this firm.

Because connections play an important role in employment in Kosovo, according to interviewees, there is a misbalance of 'supply and demand for skills in the labour market' (Employment and Skills Observatory of Kosovo, 2004, p.24). There are those who are not skilled and qualified to work but do the jobs for which they are not prepared, and there are those who are skilled and qualified but stay at home because they do not have relatives with decision-making power to employ them. According to an employee who I interviewed in October 2015, [REDACTED] a 44-year-old male, who lived in Prishtina and worked in [REDACTED] the lack of research in the labour market made a huge contribution to this imbalance of skills and jobs. He said:

Based on the news in newspapers and TV, there is huge unemployment. Research should be conducted to understand what the labour market needs are. There are 50,000 students in the University of Pristina and in private

universities, and many of them are studying political science and economics, and I don't think they can find themselves well in the labour market. It would be good to conduct research that would be able to tell what professions are needed in the labour market in Kosovo. This disappoints the young people because they finish university and don't find a job.

The lack of human capital development in the labour market in Kosovo poses difficulties for many companies as well. They struggle to find qualified people for the positions they need to fill and the situation of a mismatch of skills is mutually dysfunctional, both from the job seekers' and employers' perspective. It erodes growth, and the human capital and resources that are needed to boost development. Human capital cannot only be gained through attaining a university diploma, but it can also be through vocational and/or professional training. Research could help to identify areas that need an increase in the level of skills to fulfil the gaps in the labour market. It could help to mitigate the overqualification issue in Kosovo as well as that of underqualification. As the interviewee above suggested, there are graduates who are unemployed and the longer one is unemployed, the higher the likelihood of their skills depreciating. Furthermore, this could demotivate potential job seekers and encourage them to seek opportunities abroad.

The dissatisfaction of interviewees with the employment situation in Kosovo comes also from the fact that many of them have low salaries. Low salaries seem to have an important influence on the decision to migrate. A primary school teacher, ■■■■, a 30-year-old woman, who lives in Prishtina, believes that the employment situation in Kosovo is not good, and that there are not enough jobs to cover the demand. She was particularly disappointed with her low salary and said:

The salary does not offer a lot and we are busy at work, especially with the new methodologies we are busier. But I feel insecure and I always think that I can go abroad and find a better job with a higher salary than here.

To summarise, in this section I have discussed the education levels and the mismatch of skills in Kosovo and where it stands among other European countries. As we have seen, 25% of employees in Kosovo either do not possess the necessary skills to find a job, or they perform work of a higher profile than their education. This reflects the situation with employment in Kosovo, where many of those employed are secured their positions through family ties or based on political preferences and not based on the skills they possess for the job. Also, the learning provisions are not evenly distributed and do not have good coverage, and there is a deficiency in basic business skills. These provisions are not accessible to everyone and create an unequal distribution of human capital. Hence, many of the job seekers are not prepared for the job market and this causes problems for employers in recruiting the right candidates for the job. This creates a mismatch between the skills that are available in the labour market and the labour market needs. Many of the unemployed do not have education and are young, but there are also those who are highly educated and remain without a job because they do not have anyone in power to employ them. This generates unequal power relations between institutions and candidates because the institution employs people on the basis of nepotism, that in turn creates unequal social-cultural settings. The qualified stay at home and the unqualified work, meaning those who do not have a degree are perceived as 'deserving' the job, and those who have a degree are perceived as more qualified than the position requires. So, the institution holds greater power in this case and the candidates are dominated.

Education policies in Kosovo have focused on increasing the number of private and public schools and the number of students. This has created a surplus of graduates in the labour market in Kosovo who have similar degrees, but there are not jobs available for all. Furthermore, many of the private Universities in Kosovo do not provide a diploma that is internationally recognised, and they have a weak reputation in terms of the quality of education that they offer. This also makes it difficult to transfer the human capital internationally and results in many Kosovan migrants to be overqualified in the countries of destination. However, many Kosovans have high appreciation of foreign education and the opportunity to study abroad, and attain additional qualifications in the country of destination to facilitate their integration.

Finally, another issue is the lack of research in the labour market in Kosovo to identify what profiles are needed and to provide recommendations in what areas the education system should concentrate in order to fill in these gaps. Furthermore, this research would also identify the jobs that need to be generated and the investments that should be made. Lots of dissatisfaction also comes from the low income and the insecurity it poses in terms of living a good life.

The next section discusses unemployment in Kosovo and the availability of training and unemployment support with the view of increasing employability skills. This includes vocational education training available in Kosovo, and how effective it is to increase the human capital of the workforce.

5.4 Lack of employment skills support

This section offers statistical information on the number of job seekers in the labour market in Kosovo, the previous experience they had, if any, and the employment support they have from the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, such as in terms of vocational training. Furthermore, in this section, I provide the experiences of employees who I interviewed and who I asked about the employment support they have been provided, the sources they use/used to find jobs, and the suggestions they had in terms of the training needed to prepare for employment.

The general number of job seekers in 2013 registered as unemployed with the public employment services was 266,569 individuals, of whom, 123,462 were females and 143,107 males (Kurteshi, 2014). The number of job seekers increased to 273,443 in 2015. Whereas, based on the results published in 2014 from the Statistical Agency of the Republic of Kosovo, 59.5% were not economically active, which means those individuals were not employed, not searching for jobs in the past four weeks and were not ready to start work within two weeks. Of the 59.5% of economically inactive people in Kosovo, 20.2% (143,700) were not looking for jobs as they believed that there were no jobs. The demotivated workers made up 12.1 % of the population. Demotivated workers are those people who have no job, are ready to work, but they believe they cannot find a job. These are included in the inactive population category (ibid). The total unemployment rate was 30%, and was higher amongst females than males, as was the rate of female demotivated workers.

Most of the unemployed people in the Republic of Kosovo are without any previous work experience. Over 80% of the total number of unemployed people, and almost

100% of young people aged 15-24, are unemployed without previous experience for more than a year and are coming to the job market for the first time (Ukaj and Dragusha, 2013).

Based on a survey conducted by the Kosovo Business Alliance, only 23% of employment in the Republic of Kosovo is achieved by public employment services. Most of the placements are made through advertisements (33%), whereas employment through friends and relatives was about 26.3% (ibid).

As the number of unemployed in Kosovo is high, there is a need for training and employment support. The Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare provides a vocational training programme that only has the capacity to train around 3,000 people each year, and this is equivalent to less than 1% of all registered job seekers (Vathi and Black, 2007). The Ministry adopted the Vocational Training Strategy and Action Plan over the period of 2012-2014, with the support of the Luxemburg Cooperation Project. The aim was to increase employment and strengthen vocational training as needed in the labour market. In 2011, the Kosovan public employment services demanded 9,776 vacancies cumulated over a year. This is an increase on demand of labour in public sector for 21.6% from the year 2010 (demanded 8,037 vacancies) in year 2011. However, the private sector had a decrease on demand for labour in 2011, from 75% that was in 2010 to 67% in 2011. During 2011, due to the high demand for jobs, more than 399 candidates who were unemployed had to compete every month for one vacancy that was available in the labour market.

The most vacancies offered in 2011 were in the tertiary sector, such as services 67%, followed by the secondary sector, such as production 28%, and the primary sector, such as agriculture 5%. Looking at the vacancies demanded by skills, based on the monthly average in 2011, about 33 unemployed job seekers with a university degree competed for each vacancy offered. Statistically this relation is about 274-to-1 for unemployed on the skills level secondary school, 411-to-1 on the Kosovan average, and more than 656-to-1 for 'unskilled' unemployed (Department of Labour and Employment, 2011). When it comes to the demand and supply of labour and skills, it is reported that there are gaps between qualifications requested and existing qualifications, skills mismatch in the labour market. Therefore, it is difficult for some companies to recruit because of the lack of workforce for the jobs they offer.

The Division of Vocational training provides workshops for training in 30 occupations and has 80 members of staff (Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, 2011). There are eight Vocational Training centres in the main cities of the Republic of Kosovo, such as Prishtina, Peja, Ferizaj, and Gjilan, among others. The services in these centres are offered for free by the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare. These centres offer services for employment skills support for job seekers, such as training courses in occupational profiles (Beqiri, 2014). The focus is on training of registered unemployed people, usually young people. In order to be eligible for [these trainings], the interested [job seekers] should register firstly as unemployed at the Employment offices (Employment and Skills Observatory of Kosova, 2004). Vocational training was offered to 1,658 unemployed adults. However, there is no information available about the specifics of participants.

Although these courses are offered free of charge, the number of people who attend them is very low. As of 2011, the number of attendees in these trainings was 3,449 (between 2-5% of registered job seekers) and this is lower than the places available. The low attendance is due to some of the challenges that Vocational Training Centres have, and due to the difficulties people have in understanding the role of the Centres in order to make the choice of attending the trainings. Hence the use of Vocational Training Centres has gradually declined, even though the recent research shows that Kosovo businesses started to trust and employ the vocational trainees. The research also shows that 30 of 60% of trainees are employed after the training (Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, 2011). The job seekers use different search methods to find a job. The majority of the young job seekers, 53.5%, use family and friends, 19.8% find jobs through direct contact with prospective employers, and 15% by answering advertisements (Beqiri, 2014).

The Centres of Vocational Training have financial challenges due to them being dependant on donor contributions. They have other challenges such as gaining accountability to the society, lack of raising awareness through different campaigns, and upgrading the professional skills of trainers, among others. On the other hand, the Centres have their success stories, such as the case of the 125 jobseekers who entered a three-month training and 100 who were trained in a one-month programme (Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, 2011). One example of these trainings is the ECDL (training to raise digital competencies in society, education and workforce) training organised by the Ministry and delivered by the Agency for Promotion of Employment in Kosovo. 120 registered job seekers successfully completed the training in 2012 and were awarded certificates (ECDL Foundation, 2012).

The Centres of Vocational Training should be more inclusive of the people they train, and should target disadvantaged and vulnerable groups, minorities, people with disabilities and young women especially from rural areas and children not attending school. Nevertheless, analyses of the Vocational Trainings by ethnicity saw an increase in the inclusion of Kosovan minorities in 2011.

According to a female lecturer ‘vocational education and training [is the] education and training to equip people of all ages with employable skills’ (Beqiri, 2014, p. 480). She thinks that the Ministry’s Vocational Training Strategy is very important, especially for educating women and encouraging them to study and enter vocational education and training classes. However, considering the long-term unemployment rate in Kosovo, and that the highest levels of jobseekers is of those who have only passed secondary school and the unskilled, there is a need for more vocational training especially for unskilled job seekers to increase and match their skills with the labour market demand, especially the private sector. The main employer is the public sector and hence there is a need to develop the private sector more.

The Ministry of Labour, together with Kosovo Business Alliance, have organised employment fairs in Kosovo’s major municipalities. In these fairs the potential employers and employees gather and look for employment opportunities. This is another opportunity given to the job seekers to look for jobs, create networks and look for different employment and training opportunities. In 2009, 530 people were hired as a result of these fairs, whereas in the previous year only 969 people from 6,836 applications were hired (Tomev and Meinardus, 2012). These people were mostly employed in sectors such as agribusiness, construction, and IT. In 2011, companies

promised more jobs, but they could not find qualified candidates. This meant that many of the job seekers still lacked proper training and skills (ibid). However, there is no data on which sectors these jobs were promised for, nor for which qualifications were required, nor regarding what companies did to fill in these vacancies.

Even from the annual report of 2013 of Kosovo's Ombudsperson, findings show that there is a significant increase in the number of job seekers in Kosovo. Even though in 2013 the Ministry of Labour tried to provide vocational training and make agreements with different companies for employment, the issue with the implementation of legislation in the social services and assistance to families in need, the supervision of legal provisions and the effort to amend the labour law, remain almost the same as in the previous years (Kurteshi, 2014).

The difficulty with the implementation of the law is also due to the existence of the informal economy. The law needs to be formulated so as to control the informal economy. According to Cojocar (2017), 35% of employees in Kosovo in 2015 were in the informal sector, and the informality in Kosovo is considered the highest in Europe. However, the data may be unreliable, as some income is not reported to avoid taxes. Informal employment in Kosovo is mainly in the construction and agricultural sectors, and informality is more wide-spread in the tradable rather than the non-tradable sector. This is because in the tradable sector, informality rates are higher as a way of reducing competition costs.

The employment services, as presented in the official documents below, such as strategy papers or reports, seem to have good coverage in Kosovo. Similarly, the

official I interviewed at the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare declared that there is sufficient support provided, but the experiences of job seekers and opinions of many interviewees reveal that there is lack of employment support provision. There are some forms of training available and these can be beneficial for some when it comes to gaining skills in opening new businesses, but these training programmes do not seem to be enough for the huge number of unemployed in Kosovo. In this case there seems to be a contradiction between what is said on paper and what is revealed in practice. The data and analysis below show that the problem is connected to the lack of awareness and effectiveness of employment support services available, and to the lack of sufficient employment support provision and lack of employment agencies in Kosovo.

‘The Public Employment Service helped to find 4,729 jobs for jobseekers. The number of people trained by the employment service during [2014] was 2,093’ (European Commission, 2014, p.36). This number decreased slightly from 2013, as there was lack of investment in promoting employment.

Public Employment services in Kosovo are provided through 7 Regional Employment Centres, 23 Municipal Employment Offices, 8 Vocational Training Centres and 6 mobile training units (European Training Foundation, 2014). The employment centres offer information on available jobs, support on the labour market search and administer the registration of those who are unemployed. However, the public employment services in Kosovo face difficulties with placing people in jobs or training due to lack of adequate skills. According to the Skills 2020 Kosovo Report (2014) compiled by representatives of key policy makers and stakeholders in Kosovo, the

Kosovo's employment problem resides in the high level of unskilled or low skilled unemployed. 'Almost one third (30.2%) of Kosovo's 15 to 24-year-olds were not in education, employment or trainings' (Kosovo Agency of Statistics, 2015, p.9).

The department of Employment at the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare in Kosovo offers CV and employment skills support. Accessing the website of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare and the Employment department link³, we can see a description of the responsibilities of the department, but there is no clear guidance about the interactive links for job seekers, where they can find the available employment support and information. One has to google the Employment Agency of the Republic of Kosovo in order to access the link⁴ where they can search for jobs, register, receive information about labour law, employment support, and about the vocational trainings' centres.

There are only a few job-hunting agencies in Kosovo that help job seekers in searching for jobs. Those that can be accessed online are HeadHunter⁵, Kosovajob⁶, Portal Pune⁷, among others. Usually, when applying for a job in Kosovo, the open vacancies can be found online on the websites of the job-hunting agencies mentioned, different companies and institutions, and in written media, such as newspapers. Word of mouth also plays a very important role, such as discussions with friends, family, and colleagues.

³ <https://mpms.rks-gov.net/en/departamentet/departamenti-per-pune-dhe-punesim/> [accessed on 20/08/2020]

⁴ <https://apr.k.rks-gov.net/en-US/JobSeeker/JobConsulting/19> [accessed on 20/08/2020]

⁵ <http://headhunter.al/> [accessed on 20/08/2020]

⁶ <http://www.kosovajob.com/> [accessed on 20/08/2020]

⁷ <http://www.portalpune.com/> [accessed on 20/08/2020]

Employment support services, such as vocational trainings, CV improvement, job search skills, and interview skills, are unknown, or if they were known, were not used by many of the people I interviewed. Three of them were not sure if these services are offered by the employment department at the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare. The lack of awareness of the existence of such services may be a result of the absence of advertisements for them. The answers of three interviewees who were employees in different institutions, such as Ministry, Office of Auditor and primary school, show scepticism and a lack of awareness about the provision of employment support programmes:

‘I haven’t used these services’, ‘No, these trainings are not offered here, I haven’t heard, maybe the employment department does this, but I don’t know’, ‘No, I haven’t used any training or these services. I have worked for 7 years in this post’ (██████████ October 2015).

Some return migrants who were employees in institutions in Kosovo were not interested in these services because they had working experience in the country abroad or they developed some of these skills while studying at the university. An example is ██████████ a 24-year-old woman who is a return migrant from ██████████ who now lives in Prishtina and who, at the time of the interview, had been working in a financial institution in Kosovo for less than a year. ██████████ was prepared for employment while at university. She had Communicating in Business and Human Resources Management classes at university, and those taught her how to perform well in interviews. However, she was not satisfied with employment support in Kosovo. She said:

I got employment skills while studying at the ██████████ and in one of my jobs in a project where I had to interview people for becoming a potential employee... I am not happy with employment support because when

I applied for jobs I was invited to a training, and instead of learning I had to stack shelves for a week.

During the time she was unemployed, [REDACTED] applied anywhere and everywhere for jobs. She heard people in a pub talking about the financial institution that she was working for at the time of interview, and went home to look at their website and sent them emails. She sent her CV as well, applied, and was accepted. This happened after a year of looking for jobs. However, she did not intend to work in the finance sector, but because it was difficult to get a job, she applied everywhere, and she welcomed this job opportunity. Otherwise, she would have remained unemployed long-term, and that was not something she wanted. This reveals that the choices of job seekers in Kosovo may be indirectly imposed as a result of lack of opportunities. This imposition could influence the quality of work performance and overall dissatisfaction with the job. When one does not like a job, there are higher chances that the person would either leave the job or not perform to the best of their abilities.

She said:

I didn't think that I will get the job, I didn't think anything of it, it is not in my nature to work in a finance institution, banks or anything like that, but I just applied because I was applying anywhere and everywhere. It happened, I got hired, that is it.

Prior to applying to this institution, [REDACTED] looked at different job portals, such as Kosovajob, went to different websites individually, such as that of USAID, and looked at how they posted jobs. She commented:

Literally that was everything I could do because the job market is very hard here. Right now, I have many friends who finished their Master's degree abroad and now stay at home as they find it very difficult to find a job.

Therefore, it is one of those, you get lucky you find a job, take it, don't leave it, take it.

Similar to the job seeker presented above, this employee found it very frustrating when companies post vacancies for the sake of 'transparency' and invite potential candidates to interview when that position may already be filled. 'That is just for companies to cover themselves and to claim, "I have a proof that I have posted the job ad and I have proofs that I invited candidates",' she said.

Another migrant who also returned from [REDACTED] is [REDACTED], a 30-year-old woman who lives in Prishtina and was an employee of the same institution in Kosovo where [REDACTED] works. Prior to working in this institution, [REDACTED] wanted to open a business and attended a training about how to increase business skills. She found this course very valuable for herself and potentially for others who want to open a new business and get basic skills. She opened a restaurant, but closed it because she wanted to focus only on her full-time job and her daughter.

At the time of the interview, [REDACTED] wanted to find another job because she was not satisfied with the salary she received. But finding a new job proved to be difficult and almost impossible for her. She looked at the employment agencies in Kosovo to seek help with job hunting, but revealed the following reality that she faced:

I am looking for a new job and applied at the Job Hunter agency, but I am very disappointed with this agency because they don't answer the phone, nor do they reply to my emails. These agencies don't have any influence... There aren't reasonable job-hunting agencies, there aren't agencies that you can ask for help.

■■■■ believed that only those who have luck can find a job and she became even more convinced about this when she saw that many of her relatives struggled to find work.

The interviewees called for an increase in human capital development programmes, such as in CV improvement services, training programmes on how to prepare for an interview, and to increase different skills, including how to apply for a job, among others. They advocated that it is very important to have more head-hunting agencies to help with employment and that these agencies should have a more proactive approach. Interviewees suggested that candidates should be recruited based on experience and test results, and not because of personal connections or political preferences.

Some of them also recommended that there should be a website through which people will be able to apply for jobs.

■■■■, is a 32-year-old male migrant who lives and works in the ■■■■, and who has regular visits and connections in Kosovo, believes that:

There should be more trainings and a need is to open a centre where students can go and get help with CV writing and support in how to search for jobs. There isn't a website where students can be referred to and ask for help, such as how to do the CV, how to act in an interview, and that offers work placements outside Kosovo.

Specific attention was given by the interviewees to the lack of research that analyses the labour market in Kosovo. They believed that proper research into the labour market

would have reduced the number of students who graduate with diplomas that are not needed in the labour market in Kosovo. This would also have served to reduce the mismatch of skills.

They had confidence that international investments in the labour market would have brought light to the employment situation in Kosovo by creating new jobs and changing the mentality of work. One of the return migrants from the ■■■, mentioned earlier, ■■■, said:

I believe that without the intervention of the European Union in the state institutions in Kosovo, there cannot be improvement, because we are not at that level capable to manage ourselves. Whereas, in regard to employment, there is hope that companies from abroad will come, but not companies that would employ 100 people, but mega companies that in a way would give us the guide of how we should work.

He said that these kinds of investments from outside would also increase respect for the job and respect for employees.

In conclusion, in this section I have analysed unemployment in Kosovo. It is high overall, but is highest amongst women, and most of those who are unemployed did not have previous work experience. A lot of the placements in the labour market in Kosovo were made through advertisements, friends, and relatives. The Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare has offered vocational training to increase skills development and strengthen vocational skills needed in the labour market. There are gaps between the qualifications requested and those existing in the labour market, and this creates mismatch in the skills in the labour market. There are eight vocational

education centres and they train only around 3,000 people. The participation in these programmes is very low, due to people not understanding the roles of these centres, the quality is inadequate, and the centres face financial challenges. There is a failure in the implementation of the existing legislation in the field of social services, and this is partly because of the existence of the informal economy. Professional qualifications and national policies play a significant role in the construction of what counts as skilled labour, not only within the country, but also abroad, in the destination countries, for ‘skilled migrants’, and determines whether their skills are valued and recognised.

The Department of Employment at the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare in Kosovo offers CV improvement and employment skills support and there are a few job-hunting agencies that help job seekers to look for jobs. However, the people I interviewed had little knowledge about these provisions and this may be from the lack of advertisement. The interviewees were frustrated that many of the job vacancies are advertised for the sake of ‘transparency,’ and in fact the position may already be filled. This is just so the companies can cover themselves that they have proof that they posted the job and invited the candidates. They suggested that one can find a job only through knowing someone and there should be increased services that can help with CV improvement, interview tips, and how to apply for jobs, among others.

The next section looks at the reforms in the labour market in Kosovo to boost jobs and increase vocational training so as to match the needs of the labour market, and improve the business environment and governance.

5.5 Hopes for change with the new employment policy

This section discusses the new employment policies in Kosovo to increase human capital in the vocational sector, and through this, how to boost employment. It also offers insight into the role of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare in supporting job seekers in finding a job that matches their skills; the services it offers; the opinions of a senior representative at the Ministry about the situation in the labour market in Kosovo, and the idea for job seekers to register online. It provides information about the country's adult learning strategy; its recommendations in improving the education levels of the unskilled young people; and how these recommendations were implemented. This section also includes a sub-section about the lack of jobs, how it has been an issue despite the reforms, and what the contributing factors are.

The employment policies in Kosovo have been focused on reforms to boost jobs and the economy. These reforms can support employability by bridging the gap between the needs of the labour market and the education and training system (ILO, 2014).

The key changes brought together were the introduction of the sector-wide approach in the education sector, where vocational training has been identified as top priority amongst the different education sectors. The main challenge for the labour market in Kosovo remains the increase of 'relevance of skills and qualifications of the labour force' (European Training Foundation, 2015, p.28).

In the area of vocational training, a specific focus has been to build the capacity of the Agency for Vocational Education and Training and Adult Education. The role of this agency is to develop qualifications that match the needs of the labour market, develop a vocational education training system with a long-term perspective, train the

vocational training teachers, and create a system that ensures quality in these trainings. Its focus was on training in Methodics and Didactics and Professional Didactics where 189 vocational education teachers were trained (Likaj, 2016).

Three main interventions have been included within these reforms and the employment sector strategy 2014-2020. These interventions are at the early stage of implementation, and are related to the application and enforcement of employment law. The development of these reforms is explained in the paragraphs below. The reform includes interventions on reducing the mismatch of skills, improving the business environment, and improving governance.

The action plan on how to implement these economic reforms was submitted to the European Commission in 2015. The three reforms above are not new, considering that the vocational training system has been undergoing significant changes in recent years as a result of many initiatives to improve policy design and the implementation process of the skills system. According to Aliu et al. (2019) despite the reforms, the vocational education training system fails to meet the needs of the market economy, and is mainly school-based (theoretical) and this can affect the likelihood of student's employability as it may not prepare them with the skills that are required by the labour market.

Kosovo's government, relevant organisations and agencies have cooperated with international organisations to create strategies on how to tackle the issue of skills mismatch (International Monetary Fund, 2015).

The ILO Statistical brief on 'Skills Mismatch in Europe' suggests that state institutions

and workers need to ensure that occupational requirements can be matched through adequate training and education. The success of this process would have a major impact on how outcomes in the labour market are shaped, competitiveness, economic development, and productivity (International Labour Organisation, 2014). Based on this brief, Kosovo would need to have adequate education policies, study fields and training to match the skills in the labour market. Matching the skills in Kosovo can be measured by looking at the number of unemployed people who have a university degree, and if this number increases, that can signal a mismatch between the skills needed in the labour market and the skills provided by the education system (European Training Foundation, 2014).

In order to respond to the labour market needs and reduce the mismatch of skills, the education system curriculum for primary and secondary level in Kosovo is being upgraded. Furthermore, the Agency for Vocational Education and Training and Adult Education, mentioned above, has been established in order to coordinate the efforts of the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Labour and Chamber of Commerce. Active labour policies are being designed that will aim to increase female participation in the labour market.

5.5.1 The role of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare

The Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare offers support to job seekers in identifying jobs that match their skills and requirements. It offers services such as how to look for jobs, and how to improve one's CV. Nevertheless, despite availability of this service, a senior representative, [REDACTED], who I interviewed in 2015 in the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare in Kosovo said:

Some of the job seekers hesitate to improve the CV, especially those looking for physical and professional jobs.

However, he did not mention what the ministry is doing to convince those people to take the steps of improving their CVs. He mentioned the fact that there is more demand than supply in the labour market in Kosovo. He said:

Up to 1,000 people apply for one vacancy in the public institution; 20-30% of interns can remain at work (chosen according to skills); there are no vacancies and skills match.

He adds that:

The online involvement of job seekers through the [REDACTED] is not possible, this does not exist. It would have been great if job seekers would register online and be able to search for jobs, or access CV templates and information regarding how to prepare for interviews. This could involve also those job seekers who are working, but who want to change the job. Currently those who come to the [REDACTED], are actively looking for jobs.

The Ministry of Employment is working with external experts to develop regulation on public employment services, but the senior official I interviewed did not believe that this cooperation would be able to change the situation: 'It will be more in the organisation aspect of the public employment services', he said.

Even though the service to register online does not exist yet for job seekers, progress has been made with the completion of the employment management information system operating in all employment offices and in the tax administration of Kosovo. This system 'allows for improved monitoring of people's labour market status,

administration of social assistance payments and positioning of those in need in the relevant schemes' (European Commission, 2014, p.36).

5.5.2 The Adult Learning Strategy

In order to help Kosovo to establish an adult learning system that is operational, the Adult Learning Strategy for Kosovo (2005-2015) was published. This strategy was the first comprehensive strategic plan for education in Kosovo and was an outcome of cooperation between key stakeholders, such as education, labour, employers, trade unions, trade and industry. The strategy suggested important points in improving 'illiteracy and poor number skills through first and second vocational training'; the development of 'special programmes for target groups, such as unskilled young people, returning refugees, people with special learning needs, minorities'; trainings enhancing human capital development; increasing 'awareness of adult learning' and investment in 'adult learning' programmes; and the 'development of a national authority to assure quality and standards for vocational training in Kosovo' (Employment and Skills Observatory of Kosova, 2004, p.44).

Plans were made to revise the vocational education training curriculum and align this with the curriculum of pre-university education. To achieve these objectives, it was important to strengthen the management and implementation capacities of vocational training. The implementation can be difficult because there is no research and data available on identifying the skills that are needed in the labour market in Kosovo. Also, without good monitoring and enforcement mechanisms, it is difficult to implement policies and strategies (European Training Foundation, 2014).

Nevertheless, despite all these strategies and plans, the vocational education training curriculum is not updated in response to the changes that take place in the labour market and economy, and this suggests the situation will remain the same until the implementation of strategic documents improve (Aliu et al., 2019). The lack of skills in problem solving, critical thinking, digital media, research, and teamwork remain a challenge for primary, secondary and higher education.

Teaching and learning in vocational education schools is largely theoretical, with limited access to practical training. Schools lack the materials for practical teaching and learning.

In 2009 a decision was made to create a comprehensive plan for the whole education sector in Kosovo, hence the Kosovo Education Strategic Plan 2011-2016 was introduced. For the implementation aspect of this plan, an evaluation report was undertaken and was published in 2015. The findings from this report suggested that ‘around half of the pupils in upper secondary education choose a vocational education profile. However, the link between vocational education and the labour market remains a challenge and quality assurance mechanisms remain underdeveloped’ (MESP, 2016, p.17). Challenges have been reported with the management of the education system, the low access of education systems to information and communication technology, and sustainability for promotion of adult education among many others.

After this strategy, another Education Strategic Plan has been developed for the period 2017 and 2021. This strategy was created based on the lessons learned from the

previous strategy. An analysis of the factors that can have an impact on the implementation of the strategy was made, and the following have been identified: political, economic, social and technological factors. These include for example, Kosovo's cooperation with the EU to improve the quality of education; implementation capacity of municipalities; stagnation in economic development; and significant demographic change such as decline in the number of pupils (ibid).

Regarding the lack of research on the labour market mentioned above, the same has been stated by [REDACTED] a senior official at the [REDACTED] Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare in Kosovo. He said:

In the last 5-6 years, the Ministry did not research which professions are demanded in the labour market in Kosovo because there are professions in the labour market in Kosovo that remain the same for over 10 years and are saturated. As a result, companies in Kosovo employ people who are not skilled for the job they do and the skills mismatch occur.

Regarding the second intervention, the economic reform mentioned in the beginning of this section includes tackling some constraints to private sector growth, such as business investment, resolving insolvency, and enforcing contracts (International Monetary Fund, 2015). However, the improvement of the business environment and the private sector in Kosovo remains discouraging, and with this the failure to generate new jobs. This is because of the informal economy remaining large, together with low access to finance, and high costs. Widespread corruption and the lack of legal enforcements and delays in courts have slowed down the business environment (European Commission, 2014). The media in Kosovo discuss the fact that 'enabling macroeconomic and business environment that allows existing firms to grow and new

firms to emerge and succeed' (The World Bank, 2014, para.5) would improve employment prospects in Kosovo. Workers need to be supported in the new job opportunities to have access to the labour market and the skills needed.

On the other hand, the job seekers interviewed said that there is interdependency between job creation, corruption and the lack of legal enforcements/implementation. The hope is that if corruption and political interference are less influential in the labour market in Kosovo, the potential change coming from the employment policies can be effective. This could increase investments in the labour market, could result in the creation of jobs and in greater transparency. This indicates how social action is driven in Kosovo and that material interests, generated through corruption, could shape outcomes in the labour market. This phenomenon could easily spread when the rule of law is not effective, especially in the case of Kosovo, where institutions and the functioning of the state have been going through transition and development.

The issue of corruption has also been mentioned by the interviewee, [REDACTED] at the [REDACTED] Ministry. He said:

It is difficult to systemise job seekers at work because without knowing someone, you cannot find a job, [but] government is trying to find opportunities for job seekers through active measures such as salary subvention, self-employment, internships, etc. and they are quite effective. This is because government allocates resources for the accomplishment of these [measures]; they have specific funding' and 'this year they offered 40-50 grants for businesses.

A slightly different view about the lack of engagement with the employment services came from [REDACTED], a member of a trade union that I interviewed. He said that ‘there is no good mentality to go and register in the Employment department even though this has been improving recently’ (Interview, October 2015). He added that the Employment department does not offer effective support, except some employment fairs and support from USAID in offering grants to open a new business.

Another intervention has been the improvement in governance aimed at the labour market in Kosovo. The adult learning strategy was identified as a problem, not only due to the lack of skills of job seekers as stated by the ‘Skills 2020 Kosovo Report’ mentioned above, but as a first problem it identified poor coordination between main stakeholders. There is lack of policy dialogue and synergy between different relevant entities and ‘[t]his undermines the potential for more effective and efficient use of public resources, including donor investments’ (Employment and Skills Observatory of Kosova, 2004, p.7). This is related to the need to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of policies, institutional arrangements and actors involved. In this regard the centralised system of education, poor quality assurance, and the lack of links between the central, municipal, and school level is mentioned. There is a lack of information and coordination between these levels, and therefore schools are either not involved, or only involved in a very limited way, in the policy making process. There is a need to have governance mechanisms in place that allow larger interactions between stakeholders that have different viewpoints and linkages among information systems and that would allow clearer communication. This reform suggests enhancement of cooperation between employers and the education system, and maintaining good cooperation. It also suggests involvement of stakeholders in policy

making and policy implementation at all levels (European Training Foundation, 2014).

5.5.3 Lack of jobs

Despite the reforms in the employment sector, the lack of jobs has been a problem in the labour market in Kosovo. This has influenced poverty and income insecurity (The World Bank Group in Kosovo, 2015). Kosovo's economy has not been able to use its own production to employ its people. According to economists in the country, 'Kosovo's economy must grow by 8 percent each year to absorb the young' (Synovitz, 2013, para.6) unemployed and stabilise the unemployment. The investment in businesses in Kosovo is dis-incentivised because of the interest rates being the highest in the region, despite the banking sector rapidly developing. As a result, private investment is low and this affects job creation. 'Private investment has remained at 20-22% of the GDP for the past five years, while public investment has increased from 5% to 12% of the GDP. The large current account deficit (19% of the GDP in 2011) is financed primarily through aid and remittances' (USAID, 2014, p.2). Some investments made resulted in new jobs, such as the creation of the American Bank of Kosovo, that generated over 11,000 new jobs.

In 'the business services sector there was a similar growth in number of enterprises during 2010-2013 by (+53%), but the number of jobs grew by 'only' 24%' (Oberholzner, 2014, p.7). This was because almost 3,000 businesses closed and that meant more than 5,000 jobs associated with these businesses were lost. On the other hand, with the establishment of 6,250 new businesses, almost 13,600 new jobs were created. This growth was 'mainly in industries dominated by solo-entrepreneurs and

micro enterprises, [but] the large financial corporations more or less stagnated' (ibid, p.7, 15).

The hope is that with investments in agriculture and increase in export, there is the possibility for the generation of jobs in rural areas where 60% of the population lives. Development of 'high value crops with export potential and enhancement of local production for local consumption' (USAID, 2014, p.14) will help in generating these jobs. However, these enforcements and developments depend on effective regulations, policies, and law implementation.

A contributing factor to the lack of jobs in Kosovo has also been corruption. This is related to the vulnerability of public officials to corruption and bribes, and, in turn, decreases the access of citizens to public services. It also influences the decrease of investment due to corrupted finances. This goes along with the increase in the informal economy as previously stated in this chapter, where many businesses prefer to operate informally, in their own favour. This results in excessive costs in the economy of Kosovo and in the expenditure going mostly to certain individuals or businesses rather than in generating production, jobs or income (Loxha and Rogova, 2012). Huge businesses in Kosovo bribe the officials in order to achieve efficiency. They are usually the ones that apply for public funding and 'the denounced corruption is mostly related to these procedures' (Shaipi, 2008, p.15).

The suggestions of interviewees were to encourage businesses to pay taxes, as this would reduce the number of those businesses involved in the informal economy. By paying taxes, the employees would be able to contribute to their pensions. They

recommend that effective implementation of labour law would help to put these practices in place. ■■■■, an employee at the ■■■■ in Kosovo, who is also a member of the institution's trade union, recommended:

The situation of employment in Kosovo could improve by fighting corruption and organised crime. If these improve, everything else related to employment and other things will improve. There are good laws, and there are institutions that the system has designed that are similar to that of developed countries, an example is the procurement system. This system in England functions very well, but here it does not function properly.

The employees and job seekers also suggest that to improve the employment situation, Kosovo should improve the private sector. More jobs should be created, especially in agriculture as the state gives a lot of subsidies and support in this sector. With the privatisation process that has started in Kosovo, possibilities for employment may be increased. Investing more in private businesses, such as helping small enterprises through subventions from the state, would open new jobs for Kosovans. The cooperation between the private and public sectors should be stimulated as well, such as helping each other to find qualified candidates for a relevant position.

In summary, this section has discussed the main change introduced in the education sector in Kosovo, the development of vocational training, specifically building the capacity of the Agency for Vocational Education and Training and Adult Education. Other parts of the reform were the reduction of the mismatch of skills, improvement of the business sector and governance. To reduce the mismatch of skills, the curriculum for the primary and secondary level in Kosovo was upgraded. The role of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare has been to support job seekers to find a

job that matches their skills and to offer services to help with CV improvement and on how to search for jobs. Even though the online services to register for jobs do not exist yet, progress has been made to complete the employment management information system in all the offices that offer employment support and tax administration. Through this system they can monitor the labour market situation and the social assistance services.

The section also discussed the strategies in place, such as the Adult Learning Strategy (2005-2015) and the comprehensive plan for the whole education sector, the Kosovo Strategic Plan 2011-2016. The strategy suggested improving the education levels of unskilled young people, the poor, those with special learning needs, and minorities. The focus was to strengthen the vocational education training; however, implementation has been difficult due to lack of research on identifying the skills needed in the labour market in Kosovo.

The interviews conducted with job seekers in Kosovo reveal that low levels of job creation are linked to corruption and the lack of legal enforcement. However, different views were given by a member of a trade union who said that the Employment Department does not offer employment support that is effective to develop the human capital needed for the labour market, and that job seekers do not go to register at the Employment Department.

The final subsection looked at the lack of jobs and how this influences income insecurity and poverty levels. Investment is discouraged due to high interest rates and as a result, the generation of jobs is low. Another contributing factor to the lack of jobs

is corruption, where the access of citizens to the public services is decreased and investment lowered, also due to corrupt finances. The interviewees suggest improvements of the private sector and the creation of jobs, especially in agriculture. They also recommend increased cooperation between the private and public sector. The lack of jobs creates a sense of insecurity among the population. Insecurity does not always mean physical threat, conflict, or tension, it can also be of cultural and social nature. This means that migrants would be concerned for their and their families' wellbeing and security as part of cultural groups and societies. They consider financial stability as an inherent element of their wellbeing; hence, the lack of job opportunities makes them seek economic, social, and cultural security abroad. They think that one way to achieve this would be through migration, as that would provide an opportunity for them to progress in life.

5.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter provides a brief analysis of employment and unemployment figures in Kosovo. As with shortages in employment, three difficulties with employment arose, such as corruption, under-education and mismatch of skills, and lack of employment skills support for jobseekers. Each of these difficulties were explored in the chapter, as well as how they were perceived by the interviewees, media, reports, and analysts. Diverse accounts provided by the interviewees have been presented, such as job seeking experiences in Kosovo, as well as descriptions of the hiring process as described by employers in the public and private sector. Experiences of the labour market of return migrants have also been explored.

From these interviews, the issue of mismatch of skills has been highlighted, together with accounts of nepotism, corruption, and favouritism which relate how job seekers in Kosovo can only find a job if they have someone in power to hire them. This creates unequal access to resources and unequal opportunities among the population. There have been efforts to respond to labour market needs, and to reduce the mismatch of skills by upgrading the education system curriculum for primary and secondary levels in Kosovo, through the establishment of the new agency on vocational training to coordinate efforts of different Ministries, that of Education, Labour and Chamber of Commerce. The issue of corruption and nepotism does not only apply to the pre-employment process, but also operates within institutions. The recruitment of employees through corrupt channels creates unequal working environments.

Another issue has been the need for training and employment support. While in the strategy papers, and based on the interviews conducted with ministry officials, there seem to be good coverage in Kosovo with regards to employment services, the interviews with job seekers reveal that there is a lack of such forms of support in Kosovo. These provisions and professional qualifications are important not only to increase human capital internally, but also so that skills are recognised in the country of destination.

Another issue remains the lack of jobs and how to generate investments so that new jobs can be created. Many businesses operate informally, and do not pay taxes, resulting in excessive costs for the economy of Kosovo. Hence, the interviewees suggested that businesses should pay taxes and should not get involved in the informal economy. This would help to improve the private sector in Kosovo and the generation

of new jobs. Helping small enterprises through subventions would be another way of opening new jobs in Kosovo. The lack of job opportunities could be perceived as a form of insecurity and risk because the absence of financial stability makes it difficult to maintain one's wellbeing. Hence, migration is a viable option to achieve what is missing in the home country.

Finally, there are people in Kosovo who, despite the need to migrate due to difficulties with finding jobs, do not develop the aspiration to do so because they may not be able to finance their move, or they are not ready to live far away from family and loved ones.

Chapter 6 Working in Kosovo

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided in two parts, Institutional Framework and Empirical Results. The Institutional Framework represents the first two sections of the Chapter that are based on secondary research where I analyse industrial relations in Kosovo and the main actors in the labour market, such as the trade unions, employer organisations, and collective bargaining, among others. Furthermore, I provide a retrospective of labour laws in Kosovo during the time when it was a Serbian province, and examine the current labour law and the process of collective bargaining. I then compare the latter with the EU's labour regulations, and provide an analysis of Kosovo's degree of compliance and non-compliance with these rules, such as in terms of social security measures and protection of women in case of maternity.

The Empirical Results are represented in sections 3 and 4 of this chapter, where I analyse the implementation of labour law in Kosovo through the prism of expert interviews, court cases and media representations. This includes the interview I conducted with the labour inspector, court cases provided [REDACTED], and different media articles and stories on the violation of employment rights. In section 3, I also discuss the informality element that exists in the labour market in Kosovo, where many employees do not possess contracts and as a result do not enjoy their employment rights entitled by law.

The last section analyses the narratives of return migrants who relate their experience of looking for work in Kosovo or about the jobs they found; the driving forces behind their decisions to migrate; and the differences they encountered between working in

Kosovo and abroad. I also analyse the stories of the job seekers who are not return migrants, and who have worked previously, but were looking for jobs at the time when I interviewed them. Finally, I present short accounts of the experiences of three employees in the public sector in Kosovo, and the work experience of a migrant in London, who prior to migrating, worked in a private business in Kosovo.

6.2 Institutional Framework

6.2.1 Industrial relations in Kosovo as the underpinning factor shaping employment experiences

6.2.1.1 The role of trade unions

In this section, I explain the rights entitled by law for organising trade unions; the coverage of trade unions in the public and private sector; the social dialogue relating to trade unions; the role of employer organisations, and collective bargaining. These issues are important to enhance our understanding of the legal entitlements with regards to trade unions, and how well these entitlements are implemented in practice to protect the rights of employees, how well the trade unions cover the public and private sector, and how the disputes get resolved between employees and employers.

The law that establishes the rights for organising trade unions has existed in Kosovo since July 2011. However, there was trade union organising before the law was introduced; the Independent Trade Union of Kosovo has existed and has been active since 1990 (Qosaj-Mustafa, 2011).

The law regulates the rights and freedom of employees to organise themselves in trade unions in the public and private sector, with the aim of representing and protecting the economic, social and professional rights of employees with regard to work and their

relations with their employers. The law states that employees have the right and the freedom to organise themselves in trade unions without obtaining permission from the government or the employer (Jahjaga, 2011). The law also specifies that nobody should be discriminated against, nor should their rights of employment be violated, because of membership or non-membership in the trade union. Governmental authorities cannot intervene in abolishing the rights of employees to organise in trade unions. The membership of trade unions is based on free will. This law gives specifics regarding the documentation needed to register the trade union and register into the trade union. It also regulates the rights and duties of the members of trade unions (*Law for the Organizing Trade Union in Kosovo*, 2011). Even though the law exists, the interview results, court cases and media analysis reveal that, in practice, its implementation is lacking due to the interference of the government and employers in the membership process.

The trade union coverage of employees in the public sector is relatively good. However, the number of trade unions in Kosovo is decreasing and this is a result of the dissolution of socially owned enterprises and their privatisation (Shaipi, 2017).

The presence of trade unions in the private sector is almost non-existent. There is the Private Sector Union, but it is almost completely dysfunctional, due to very limited capability and coverage. Thus, the private sector unions do not have representation in social dialogue. Furthermore, the trade unions are quite fragmented due to political interference with some trade union leaders, and as a result of internal conflicts. In terms of political interference, trade unions in Kosovo are perceived as being dependant on the political parties in power and operating as ‘an extension of state influence to maintain social peace’ (Haxhikadrija et al., 2019, p.11).

Generally, the trade unions in Kosovo are undergoing a crisis because of inappropriate leadership and limited financial capacities, as many of the members are not paying the membership fees. The trade unions of both sectors mentioned above have continuous arguments about their members. They accuse each other of presenting fake members, for the increase in the numbers of members, and for the failure to organise workers (Zogjani and Marku, 2017).

6.2.1.2 Tripartite Social Dialogue

In order to establish and develop social dialogue in the Republic of Kosovo for employees and employers on employment relationship, social welfare and economic policy issues in the Republic of Kosovo, the Social Economic Council (SEC) was created (Jashari and Pepaj, 2018). These social dialogues ‘are related to the realisation of [the employees and employers’] economic, social and professional rights, that are achieved, through resolution of disputes in bilateral or trilateral agreements’ (*Law for the Organizing Trade Union in Kosovo*, 2011, p.2).

The SEC organises the tripartite social dialogue in Kosovo, and is comprised of the three following entities: Ministries of the Kosovo’s Government (Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare; Ministry of Trade and Industry; Ministry of Education, Science and Technology; and Ministry of Health), trade unions (Union of Independent Trade Unions in Kosovo (UITUK)), and associations of employers (Kosovo Chamber of Commerce and Kosovo Business Alliance) (Fol movement, 2017).

Currently the main trade unions in Kosovo are UITUK and the Confederation of Free Trade Unions. UITUK is the only employee organisation that is represented in SEC.

Kosovo's SEC is similar to the Social Economic Council of the Netherlands and the European Economic and Social Committee. The Social Economic Council of Netherlands is a tripartite central advisory body on issues of social and economic policy and 'has powers of intervention in regard to the industrial relations' (Eurofound, 2003, para.3).

European Economic and Social Committee has similar roles to those of the SECs in Kosovo and the Netherlands, as it is an 'advisory body representing worker's and employer's organisation and other interest groups and it gives the interest groups a formal say on EU legislative proposals' (European Union, 2017, para.1 and 2).

6.2.1.3 Employer organisations

One of the components of the SEC is the association of employer organisations. This association comprises of the following most important employer associations: the Kosovo Business Alliance and Kosovo Chamber of Commerce (Fol movement, 2017). The role of these employer organisations is to represent the interests of businesses in Kosovo 'under the objective of improving the market economy, entrepreneurship and triggering competition between [their] members' (Kosovo Chamber of Commerce, 2017, para.1). Furthermore, their role is to strengthen economic relations and 'unite business associations and businesses that affect the economic and private sector development, build sustainable partnerships between the public and private sector in order to increase employment and meet customer demands' (Kosovo Chamber of Commerce, 2017, para.3 and The American Chamber of Commerce in Kosovo, 2017). There has been little growth in the sectorial associations and even less growth in general employer's associations. There have been similar accusations between the

employer's organisations as within the trade unions about presentation of false membership figures and representation at the SEC. However, the latter has been resolved with the agreement of the participation of both the Kosovo Chamber of Commerce and the Kosovo Business Alliance (Shaipi, 2012).

Even though the SEC is active in Kosovo, 'the dialogue between the government, employees' and employer's organisations is weak' (Global Investment and Business Center, 2016, p.230).

6.3 Labour rights: Applicable regulations - EU Directives, national law, collective agreements, and workplace representation

6.3.1 Comparison of applicable regulations in Kosovo and the EU standards

In this section I provide background information on how the labour market evolved from being highly regulated in the early 1990s, to a more flexible market in recent years. Access to employee rights changes in each stage of labour market development. Employee rights in Kosovo are regulated by the Labour Law that was approved in 2010 by the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo. 'With the entry into force of this Law, UNMIK regulation No. 2011/27 on the Essential Labour Law in Kosovo dated 8 October 2011, Law on work relationship of ASP of Kosovo of the year 1989 and the Yugoslav Labour Law dated 1977 with the respective amendments were abrogated' (*Law on Labour*, 2010, p.42).

The first law on labour was issued after Kosovo was granted the status of the Socialist Autonomous Province in 1977. The law was regulated by the laws of republics and

autonomous provinces of Yugoslavia. It regulated issues such as the establishment of working relations, 'preliminary inspection of working skills and assignment of employees at certain jobs' (Binaku, 2015, p.30). The so-called Autonomous Province of Kosovo made amendments to the law that were in favour of Albanians. This period, up until 1981, was known as the most successful for Kosovo in political, economic, educational and cultural spheres. However, after 1981, the laws in force were not fully implemented. The Serbs and Montenegrins were employed by Serbia without selection procedure (ibid). This was not only for those living inside Kosovo, but was also applicable for those who lived outside, but went to Kosovo to find a job. The aim was to increase the number of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

Serbia violently suppressed Kosovo's autonomy from 1990. In 1989 the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia approved the Law of Fundamental Rights on Labour Relations. This law was amended in 1990 and was adopted in Special Circumstances applying only to Albanians. Based on this law, more than 135,000 Albanian employees were to be dismissed from their jobs in all organisations working in Kosovo. However, it did not have full coverage, as many Albanian employees left without being dismissed, because of the war (Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate, 1991).

The law suspended all legal provisions that regulated employment relationships, the creation of employment, termination of employment, disciplinary provisions, and changes of working position, among others. It was concentrated in the violent and discriminatory employment regulations and management.

From 1990, up until the armed conflict in 1999, Kosovo was directly governed from Belgrade. Albanian Kosovans created a system of parallel government institutions to confront and contest the authority of Serbia. The war between Serbia and Kosovo in 1999, ended with the military intervention of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). The UN Security Council Resolution 1244 established an international administration in Kosovo called the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) (Baleci and Heeman, 2013). In 2001, UNMIK passed regulation 2001/27 which included 28 articles for essential labour law in Kosovo, and minimum legal protection of the rights of employees, such as the prohibition of discrimination, rights to organise and to collective bargaining, labour contract, prohibition of forced labour, minimum wage, and official holidays among others (ILO, 2014).

After this essential law, they tried to introduce a more sophisticated labour law, but without success because of financial constraints, the underdeveloped economy, lack of investment, and pressure from the International Monetary Fund. In 2005, UITUK together with the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare and the Kosovo Chamber of Commerce adopted a general collective contract to advance the rights of employees. However, this was not implemented due to lack of finances and other unknown reasons. In 2008, Kosovo declared its independence and enforced its Constitution as the highest legal act (Institute for Advanced Studies GAP, 2010). Kosovo is still not universally recognised as an independent state.

In 2010, the Republic of Kosovo adopted the Labour Law that sets the foundation of the legal framework to regulate employment rights. There is also a general collective agreement that supports it by offering and setting clearer and more detailed

information related to labour rights. This arrangement has been agreed upon between the representatives of trade unions, employer organisations and the Government of the Republic of Kosovo presented in the previous section (Jashari and Pepaj, 2018).

The Labour Law prohibits all forms of discrimination, such as in the recruitment process, training, employment publication, prohibition of any form of discrimination of persons with disabilities, prohibition of forced or compulsory labour, etc. The law includes provisions of the International Labour Organisation Conventions that serve as a base for individual state regulations. It also addresses the regulation of similar aspects of employment rights to that of the European Directives on employment, such as ‘health and safety at work, [the] equal opportunities for [men] and [women, the] protection against discrimination’(Center for Policies and Advocacy, 2014, p.7); working conditions such as contracts; the right to organise and attend strikes; the right to establish and organise trade unions; and legal support for training of persons with disabilities.

The main example of compliance of Kosovo’s labour law with the EU’s labour standards is in the domain of working hours. Full time working hours in Kosovo are 40 per week, including at least 30 minutes daily break. Those who work more than 4 hours and less than 6 hours per day are entitled by the Labour Law to a daily break of 15 minutes. The extended working hours (overtime) may be to the maximum of 8 hours per week. These extended hours shall be performed in cases of an increased volume of work and other cases when necessary. If working more than these extended 8 hours, the extra work may be only in urgent cases, such as accidents and unforeseen circumstances (Institute for Advanced Studies GAP, 210). With the European Hours

of Work Convention, the maximum working hours in the week shall not exceed 48 hours, including overtime, and eight hours in the day (European Commission-Employment, Social Affairs & Inclusion, 2013).

Another example of Kosovo's Labour Law compliance with EU's labour standards is in the legal provision of annual leave. Employees are entitled to at least four weeks of paid annual leave, 100% paid sick leave and unpaid sick leave. Mothers with children up to 3 years old, single parents, and employees 'with disabilities are entitled to additional two working days off' (*Law on Labour*, 2010, p.16).

Despite consideration of the above labour rights, the Labour Law in Kosovo lacks implementation and is wanting in comparison with EU standards. It fails to address some important issues such as entitlement to health insurance, insolvency of the employer, collective redundancies, among others, and does not comply with EU regulations in terms of social security measures. It has also been mentioned in the Kosovo Progress Report in 2014 of the European Commission, that the 'implementation of the Law on Labour remains unsatisfactory' (p.11). The number of labour inspectors remains very low, only 50 inspectors for 106,555 registered companies during the year are present to cover the implementation of the labour laws and health and safety at work. The labour inspectorate should be strengthened in terms of number of staff, their skills and additional equipment (Tomev and Meinardus, 2012).

In addition, the implementation of maternity leave provisions needs to be enforced, especially in the private sector, to eliminate discrimination against women and to

promote the employment of women in the private sector. Furthermore, Kosovo needs to enhance contract enforcement and the legal and judicial system in order to ensure better implementation of laws, including the Labour Law (European Commission Staff, 2014).

Non-compliance with EU labour standards is highlighted by the fact that neither the Labour Law in Kosovo nor the Collective Agreement have any strategies in place on how to help employees in the event they remain without a job, such as supporting them and their dependants through social security measures.

Kosovo does not have unemployment insurance, or any other safety nets for employees who are laid off (Haxhikadrija et al., 2019). ‘The only social risks covered by the social security system in Kosovo are old age, and as of 2011, maternity. Old age is covered through three pension pillars: the basic pension scheme, compulsory pension savings, and supplementary personal savings. The compulsory pension scheme [comprises] of contributions that are equally paid by employers and employees (5 per cent of gross salary paid by each employer and employee)’ (Shaipi, 2016, p.7).

The social security measures have been a very important issue tackled in the European Social Charter, Part 1, Paragraph 12 which states that ‘all workers and their dependants have the right to social security’ (Hoti, 2011, para.12 and Center for Policies and Advocacy, 2014).

The EU has provisioned the social security measures through the strategy of Flexicurity (flexibility and security). Flexibility in terms of the employee and employer being flexible with each other when needed, and security supporting those employees when they are not at work, such as helping them to integrate in the labour market or to coach them in stable contracts (EUR-Lex, 2015).

The EU strategies through Flexicurity include ‘national policies to help people temporarily out of work move into new jobs; modern social security systems that provide adequate income support and encourage labour mobility; lifelong learning opportunities for employees to enable them to retrain and qualify for the new jobs that become available; [and] reliable and flexible contracts using modernised labour legislation and collective agreements’ (EUR-Lex, Access to European Union law- Flexicurity, 2015, para.2) (More details in Appendix 9).

Another failure to comply with the EU’s Labour provisions is in the special protection of women in case of maternity, as although Kosovo’s labour law specifies rights and obligations, it does not foresee any entitlement to special protection as in the European Social Charter. In ‘the European Social Charter the [special protection] of the employed women in case of maternity [includes] regulation of employment in night work of pregnant women, women who have recently given birth and women nursing their infants; to provide mothers who are nursing infants entitlement to sufficient time off for this purpose; to provide either by paid leave, by adequate social security benefits or benefits from public funds for employed woman; to take leave before and after childbirth up to a total of at least fourteen weeks’ (Hoti, 2011 and Council of Europe, 1996, p.6).

In Kosovo, the Labour Law entitles pregnant women to ‘12 months of maternity leave. [In] the first six months of maternity leave, they are paid 70% by the employer, whereas, for the following 3 months they are paid by the government of Kosovo with compensation of 50% of the average salary in Kosovo’ (*Law on Labour*, 2010, p.23). If women want to extend their maternity leave for three more months, these three months will be unpaid. In the case of many pregnant women who wish to return to work in Kosovo, their employment relationship will be terminated or may risk termination.

There were additions and specifications added to the Labour Law by the collective agreement, and considerable information will be provided on this below.

6.3.2 Collective agreements

Since after the war in 1999, most of the collective bargaining was at the national level rather than at the organisation or company level (KES, 2015). The collective agreement has not been implemented, even including the last one in 2014 (explained below). This means that even though, theoretically, the public sector is covered by the collective agreement, in practise, this sector is not represented. According to the Association of Independent Labour Unions in Kosovo ‘[e]mployers did not always respect the rights of worker organisations to bargain collectively, particularly in the private sector’ (United States Department of States, 2018, p.26). The Association reported that there have been difficulties with establishing unions, because employers interfere in unions and workers’ associations. Employees in the private sector remain unprotected due to that fact that the collective agreement has not been implemented in this sector.

There are only some provisions, such as the ‘payment additions for years in service being implemented’ (Shaipi, 2016, p.9). However, the key provisions that differentiate the collective agreement from the labour law have not been implemented. Representation in the workplace is also undergoing lots of challenges, considering the internal conflicts and lack of capacities in the trade unions. Trade unions have organised different protests, such as for campaigning for wage increases, and have focused their activities mostly on the public sector (European Commission, 2019).

The collective agreement was reached on the 18th June 2014 between the organisations of employees, organisations of employers and the government of the Republic of Kosovo. The agreement is based on the Labour Law and provides complementary information detailing and clarifying the rights, responsibilities, and duties of the entities on the agreement.

The collective agreement regulates work relationships, working schedules and holidays, salaries and other personal income, information of the employees, termination of contracts, the rights and obligations of entities, and ways of solving the disputes (Official Gazette of the Republic of Kosovo, 2014). The agreement specifies the same rights entitlements as stated in the Labour Law, such as the publication of vacancies, signing of the contract and the content of the contract, the type of contracts, probation period, and internships, among others. However, the agreement gives more detailed specifics about working from home, details regarding night shifts, details on days off, holidays, paid and unpaid absence from work, maternity leave payment and rights to a caregiver in the event the mother dies.

The collective agreement pays specific attention to safety and health support at the workplace, salary, and different compensations. This includes bonuses, increases in salary, with the increase in the years of experience, compensation of holiday when sick, compensation of expenses during official travel (if working in the field), when retiring, rewards depending on the years of experience, and compensation for meals. It also provides a small section on the work and functioning of the trade unions and extended regulation on the termination of contracts and different cases of termination. It prohibits discrimination towards those who join unions, or violation of ‘rights due to his or her union activities’ (United States Department of State-Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, 2016, p.39).

This collective agreement provides very useful information on employment relationships and prudently identifies the duties and responsibilities of each entity in the employment relationship, including the role of government, and other factors such as trade unions and inspectorates. However, as mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, the lack of implementation of the collective agreement has left the public sector unrepresented, despite it being covered by this agreement in its entirety (Shaipi, 2016).

According to the European Commission report on Kosovo (2016b), collective agreement takes place at two levels, at the central level through the SEC, and at sectoral levels. The law on the SEC should be amended to strengthen and improve the role of the Council and the quality of social dialogue. Examples of collective agreements at sectoral level include the collective sectorial agreement between the Ministry of Health and the Federation of the Health trade unions in 2011. These two

contracting parties regulate the work contract content, annual leave, working schedule, information, resolution of disagreements, hazards in the workplace, prevention of discrimination, conditions for securing the trade union activities, among others (Republic of Kosovo Ministry of Health and The Trade Union Health Federation of Kosova, 2011). Another example of a collective agreement is that of the Trade Union of RTK and the management of RTK. This agreement has been made to decide on the rights, obligations, and responsibilities of employees (Republic of Kosovo Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, 2016).

Collective agreements, as per the latest available data in 2011, covered 100% of employees in the public sector (Eurofund, 2012). However, there seem to be challenges with application in practice and follow-up of these collective regulations. ‘Some provisions (including the payment additions for years in service), are being implemented, but the most important provisions that upgrade protection to a higher level compared to the labor law have not been implemented to date’ (Shaipi, 2017, p.10). These collective agreements continue to be ignored by the government and private sector alike. According to UITUK, the government failed to oversee and enforce the collective agreement ‘particularly with regard to the standard work week and compulsory and unpaid overtime’ (United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, 2014, p.40).

‘In the private sector, employees are completely unprotected as the collective agreement signed between social partners and the Government of Kosovo is rarely implemented in the private sector’ (Shaipi, 2016, p.9). Employers in the private sector violate employment law, hence they also violate the collective agreement. Many

employees in the private sector work long hours, their salaries are delayed, and they receive no contributions to their pensions. They are also dismissed from work without any reason, and their right to take holidays is not respected. In many instances, women's rights associations and organisations 'reported that sexual abuse and harassment occurred on the job but went unreported due to fear of expulsion or retaliation' (United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, 2014, p.40). On the other hand, the positive aspects of the collective agreement seem to be the inclusion in this provision of maternity leave and breastfeeding. However, some important aspects have not been addressed in the collective agreement, such as the representation of women in decision making positions (Eurofund, 2012).

The European Commission report (2016a) shows the following findings with regard to the collective agreement:

- the 'implementation of the general collective agreement is [still pending since 2014]'
- despite it not being implemented yet, it is 'fundamental to lay down the rights and obligations of employers and employees'
- 'due to fragmentation the trade unions' representation' is limited, especially in the private sector and this 'represents a big challenge to a meaningful social dialogue bargaining at the central level. Trade unions are free to form and register, and a number did so during the reporting period' (p.51).

There are cases when the collective agreement has been ignored. An example of this is the general strike organised in 2015 by the Union of Education, Science and Culture of Kosova in the pre-universities and universities. This strike was organised against the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology of Kosovo 'as an act against

intolerable delaying tactics of the Ministry towards completing the implementation of the collective agreement which was signed already a year ago. The agreement deals with issues related to the compensation of teachers' work experience, retirement, transportation costs and meals' (European Trade Union Committee for Education, 2015, para.1). This agreement was signed between UITUK and the Ministry. The government was slow to react and promised to improve and adapt salaries based on work experiences. According to UITUK, the promise was not kept, as the situation was getting worse, 'in many schools, salaries were paid based on a ten years outdated salary level, disregarding several years of work experience' (ibid, para.2).

To enable successful implementation of these labour rights entitlements by law, the EU ensures that enforcement measures are undertaken in order to improve the application and implementation in practice of the different directives. The enforcement measures applied by the EU are the 'supervision of compliance with labour laws, legal regulations stipulating civil servant relationships, and obligations resulting from collective agreements' (European Commission, 2015, p.201).

The Law on Labour in Kosovo provides the Labour inspectorate with the authority to supervise the implementation of the law, collective agreement, and the protection and occupational safety (Center for Policies and Advocacy, 2014). In cases of breaches of the law, the labour inspectorate is entitled to issue fines of up to €100,000. For example, the EU Labour Act specifies penalties for employers who violate worker's maternity and parental rights, rights related to the return to work or dismissal during the maternity leave. These breaches of the law by the employer are considered very serious, and fines can be issued of up to €13,000 (ibid). The Labour Inspectorate in

Kosovo has faced many challenges, such as a lack of resources, where not only the number of inspectors is too low to cover the entire territory, but there is also lack of material resources to deliver the job successfully. The Labour Inspectorate has not managed to fulfil and deliver its functions as required by the national legislation and ILO standards (Hoti, 2011). This is due to lack of investment in this area and in other measures that would ensure effective implementation of the Labour Law in Kosovo.

For a safe and healthy working environment, the EU conducts reviews of progress in this area, identifies the challenges and offers strategies on how to improve health and safety at work. This includes improving the collection of statistics and information on accidents and work-related sickness, simplifying existing legislation, and better promotion and enforcement of legislation by EU countries (EUR-Lex, Access to European Union law, 2015).

Whilst investment in law implementation bodies, research studies, and public awareness in Kosovo has been neglected, the European Union allocates a specific amount of its finances to invest in programmes in the field of employment and social affairs. With this investment, it improves the understanding of the employment situation, poverty, working conditions, and discriminatory situations. It manages to improve this understanding through analysis, studies and development of statistics, reinforcing awareness-raising, and promoting debate on these issues (EUR-Lex, Access to European Union law, 2010).

6.3.3 Workplace representation

Trade unions in Kosovo, as mentioned in earlier sections, have played a limited role, including in the workplace representation. They have managed to organise some strikes, but ‘there have been a handful of isolated instances of workplace representation’ (Eurofund, 2012, p.7). According to the U.S. Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs (2017), trade unions manage to organise public sector employees to go on strike and demand the full implementation of the collective agreement and better working conditions. By law, the trade unions are supposed to be independent, however, in practice, many are divided and ‘cannot survive without political/government support’ (U.S. Department of State Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, 2017, para. 97).

Union officials report that ‘political party interference in trade organisations and individual worker rights remained an issue. Workers in the public sector commonly faced mistreatment, including sexual harassment and the loss of employment due to their political party affiliation. Employers did not always respect the rights of worker organisations to bargain collectively. The UITUK reported that many private sector employers essentially ignored the country’s labour laws. Representatives from these sectors told the UITUK anonymously that employers used intimidation to prevent the establishment of unions’ (United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, 2014, p.36 and 37).

The informal economy (which amounted to 31.7% of GDP in 2017) has had a huge role in this, because many workers in Kosovo are employed illegally, and are not registered. UITUK reported that ‘most often employees addressed their work-related

matters internally and informally with their employers' (ibid, p.39). 'Taking into consideration the lack of capacity of trade unions to exercise their power, it is clear that there is plenty of room for rights violation and abuse' (Hoti, 2011, p.9). Also, of concern in Kosovo, is health and safety representation at work. Even though in 2015, the Ministry of Labour and the Labour Inspectorate tried to increase awareness through a campaign which focuses on improving safety in the workplace, the number of people who died or were injured at the workplace is concerning. In 2016, 9 employees died while at work, and 62 were injured, 13 more compared to the previous year. Only 3 of those who were involved in accidents have been compensated for the injuries they received while at work. According to the trade unions, the number of those injured at the workplace in Kosovo is much higher, but this is not reported by employees, due to their fear of losing their jobs (Center for Policies and Advocacy, 2017).

Despite the general situation, there are still a few cases that provide workplace representation and support to employees. An example is the interview that I conducted in October 2015 with a trade union member, [REDACTED] who at the time of the interview was working as an [REDACTED] in an [REDACTED] institution in Prishtina, and was part of management of the trade union of this institution. Through this interview I understood the typical complaints made in the institution, the support that staff get from the trade union, how the trade union handles complaints, and the kinds of problems that the employees are confronted with at the workplace. Generally, the [REDACTED] was positive about the support and impact that the trade union provides for the employees in this institution.

According to [REDACTED] 'staff [were] offered professional trainings that were needed and that could improve their human capital. Usually staff who are employed here came without professional qualification because Kosovo is a new state, and this is a new institution.' He said that one of the main problems that employees face in the institution, is the salary being much lower compared to the institutions in regional countries. Such a salary is a small motivation for the work they do. Another problem that he mentioned in the last 3-4 years is the 'appointment of people in positions without opening the vacancy and without criteria, hence the other qualified staff felt underestimated. The trade union has raised their voice, but they could not eliminate the dissatisfaction of staff and 'it is evident even now', the [REDACTED] mentioned.

When asked about how this [REDACTED] institution deals with complaints coming from the staff, [REDACTED] explained the following:

We get complaints from staff continuously, we meet as trade union members, treat the issue, we meet with the Trade Union Council and they give their opinion about the dissatisfaction of one person or two, and we write a complaint or request to management. If this does not function, then we send papers of complaint to other institutions that we report to, such as Kosovo's parliament.

An example of a typical complaint in the institution is that of an employee who was fired due to the reasons that he did not do his job, and had neglected his work. That person was not given any notice in advance for the dismissal from work. Usually in these cases, one should be notified and given options for improvement. If there is no improvement, then decisive action can be taken and the person can be dismissed from work. According to the [REDACTED] the trade union tried to deal with the situation, but

was not successful as the person did not come back to work; he filed a complaint at court and won the case, but has not yet resumed work.

Examples like this show that there may be cases of bravery from employees against discrimination and violation of employment rights. However, these cases seem to be rare, and are at the individual level rather than being an indication of a widespread habit.

When I asked [REDACTED] what happens in cases of violation of employment rights, he said that there were cases when employees left the job because of disappointment. In one case, they had an employee 'in grievance because of the low salary and one of the requests in the grievance was to increase the salary, so the employee left because this request was not fulfilled.' Another case was when two employees had a disagreement and the disciplinary commission had dealt with it, however, the employee did not go to the commission but left the job without the case being treated. This raises a question, why there is lack of communication in many cases between the employee and trade union? Is this the result of a lack of information, or a lack of trust in the trade union?

Generally, the [REDACTED] believes that in every institution there was political interference in the institutional culture and organisation/management. Fighting corruption and organised crime would have a chain effect on employment and other areas that required improvement. He said that there were good laws that were comparable with those of England, such as the procurement system, but the key was for the law to be enforced and to function. He shared a similar opinion to that of the labour inspector and many other interviewees, that the situation with the implementation of

employment laws was much better in the public sector compared to the private one. This was again, partly a result of the limited number of labour inspectors to cover all the institutions/companies in Kosovo.

Finally, he believed if the bottom-up approach would be practised in all the workplace entities, there would be much more involvement in the trade unions and a better approach from the managers with regards to respecting employment rights.

To summarise, this interview shows us that there are certain institutions where the trade unions are active and try to support employee's rights. As a result, due to this active support, we can see that this may have influenced a boost in employees' confidence to fight for their rights and seek justice. However, the interviewee expressed deep pessimism regarding the attainment of equality and respect for employment rights in Kosovo, especially in the private sector. Again, in this interview, we can understand that favouritism, nepotism, political interference, and appointment of employees without standard recruitment procedures is common even in the institutions where the trade unions are active. This seems to be a persistent matter generally in the labour market in Kosovo, even though the [REDACTED] mentioned that the institution that he works for 'is the most independent institution compared to other institutions and is the main institution to fight corruption and organised crime.' The practicalities show that even in institutions like this one, which fights against corruption and organised crime, it has proved difficult to have zero discrimination and staunch support from trade unions. From the interview, there seemed to be a lack of communication between the trade union and the employee who complained, and the reasons for this were not clear. Inequality at the workplace seems to be a persistent

matter regardless of the type of institution in Kosovo. The interests of all persons should be considered equally when making collective decisions, including when employing someone. Many workplaces in Kosovo do not seem to follow this process and fail to protect many of the fundamental rights and interests that are integral and necessary to democracy. This also weakens the relationship and trust between individuals and institutions, and agencies that are meant to protect employees' rights.

The above legal labour entitlements and lack of consideration will be exemplified through practical experiences of interviewees, court cases and the labour inspector's view on their routine inspections in section 6.4 and 6.5. The stance of the press will be provided on the issue, too, to reflect on the current debates and in order to understand how the media presents the realities happening in the labour market in Kosovo.

6.4 Empirical Results: the experience of work and access to/respect of labour rights

In this section, I analyse the interviews with the labour inspector, cases that have been referred to court, and press articles, in order to examine the implementation of labour rights in Kosovo.

The topic of violation of employment rights has had a consistent presence in the press in Kosovo in the period after the war. This is due to the many diverse problems in the labour market in Kosovo where protests have been organised by the employees or the trade unions in respect of labour rights, and to express disgruntlement with all the disputes in the labour market. The media in Kosovo has presented different articles on

the protests, unemployment of graduates, the treatment of employees in the private sector as slaves, and different opinions of trade unions' representatives about employment and treatment at work. The media in Kosovo has shed light on specific examples of mistreatment at work, and on violations of employment rights and unemployment.

According to an article titled 'Papunesia e larte ndikon ne te drejtat e punetoreve' (High unemployment influences the rights of employees), published in the newspaper Telegrafi.com on 06 May 2016, one of the problems in the labour market in Kosovo is the high level of unemployment. Unemployment creates sufficient demand in the labour market in Kosovo, allowing employers the flexibility of changing employees. Thus, it has become difficult for employees to demand their employment rights due to the permanent fear of losing their jobs. This article highlights the fact that the violation of the employees' rights was predominantly done in the private sector, where 'the employees do not have any trade union to protect their rights' (Telegrafi.com, 2016, para.8). An example of the fear of losing one's job is of an employee interviewed by a journalist of Radio Evropa e Lire. The article was written in May 2015, and the circumstances of the interviewee may have changed, however, this example is used to illustrate how the voices of employees are raised in the media, to show their dissatisfaction with the way they are treated at work.

The employee was employed in a private trade company in Kosovo. Initially he worked without a contract for three years and with a small salary. After three years, he managed to sign a working contract with the company, but he said that the contract was just a piece of paper that has not been respected.

He said: 'In the contract the salary is €400, whereas I do not receive the salary regularly. In the contract is written that I should work 8 hours a day, whereas I work up to 10 or 12 hours. The contract entitles me to two days off per week, whereas I work 6 days a week and I only have a day off' (Krasniqi-Veseli, 2015, para.4). He was not satisfied with the level of treatment of employees in Kosovo and believed that this is a huge concern. He added that the arrogance of managers is constant and he has felt undervalued many times. He added: 'The job that you deliver is not valued even if you work well, but if you make a mistake, the punishment is present and that may result in being sacked from work' (para. 6). He never reported any complaint to the responsible institutions due to his fear that he will lose his job.

In addition to unemployment issues, the informality in the labour market in Kosovo has been identified by the media as a major problem. A study conducted by Demukaj et al. (2007) in Kosovo shows that the informality in the labour market is more evident in the construction and agricultural sectors. In surveys conducted by the institute, 65% of the respondents refused to disclose information about their contracts, whereas only 18% admitted to having contracts, and 10% said that they did not have contracts (Telegrafi.com, 2016). The lack of possession of contracts means that employees are deprived of the rights that they are entitled to by law. During 2015, there were 1,800 people in the whole of Kosovo who were identified by the Labour Inspectorate as working without employment contracts for different employers. During this time the Inspectorate released 1,600 warnings to employers, and have also punished some of them. The maximum punishment is €35,000, even though this has not yet been applied to any company or organisation (Kosova Press, 2016). Based on the Kosovo Report 2015, the Labour Inspectorate should focus more on the informal part of the

construction sector and the need to increase the number of inspectors to more efficiently cover the wide sector (European Commission, 2016b).

Similar problems with employment relationships have also been identified in the cases filed with the Ombudsperson, as well as in public records. The Ombudsperson of Kosovo sees the violation of employment rights in the private sector mostly because of the informalities in the labour market and the fact that many workers are not registered with the Tax Administration or Pension Trust. The Ombudsperson suggests that the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare should ensure effective implementation of labour law through its agencies and law enforcement bodies. The Ombudsperson has highlighted the need of the Labour Inspectorate to increase its human resources to ‘manage fully supervision of employment relationships, including discrimination’ (Republic of Kosovo-Ombudsperson, 2016, para.23). The Ombudsperson has also suggested that the legal system should be respected by the judiciary and that delays would influence procrastination and financial losses. It was further suggested that the signatory parties of the collective agreement in Kosovo should be fully engaged with the agreements’ implementation in practice. Finally, an important suggestion was made to increase awareness of the rights that result from the employment relationship.

Another problem identified in the labour market in Kosovo has been the privatisation process that, as many political movements believe, has increased unemployment. In 2016, 95 employees in Kosovo were made redundant from their jobs with Kosova Electricity Distribution and Supply Company (KEDS). Another 75 employees were made redundant in May, and another 160 employees in the beginning of 2016 making

a total of 330 employees being sacked from work. This happened due to the privatisation of KEDS by a Turkish company, 'Limak'. The company justified this action by pointing to the economic and technical problems that could have influenced the closure of the department of projects, thus resulting in employees being made redundant. This incident led to many debates in media in Kosovo and beyond. The representatives of the trade union of this company were very frustrated and believed that this chaotic situation was created as a result of KEDS not respecting the Collective Agreement, by pretending that they are not part of the American Chamber of Kosovo. However, the trade union argues that every company in Kosovo is obliged to follow the collective agreement irrespective of their membership to different organisations or institutions.

The fact that these employees were dismissed without consultation, as well as without a chance to compete for the newly created jobs, shows that this important institution has violated labour law, and hence labour rights. The trade union members of this institution protested and committed themselves to involving the employees in these protests if their rights were not respected. However, thus far nothing further has happened in this regard, and it seems that their requests have been ignored by the government/institutions. This situation led to dissatisfaction and strong reactions among the political parties. One example is the Movement for Self-Determination that perceives privatisation as a harmful process for the economy and society, as it does not have any legal base or consideration for the rights of workers (Vetevendosje, 2016 and Kosova Post, 2016).

Publications in Kosovo's media criticise the way in which employees are treated as slaves in their workplace in Kosovo (RTK Live, 2014). Critiques are primarily directed towards the private sector, where mostly employees are not treated fairly. This includes, not paying salaries on time, not providing annual leave and sick days, and contravening all the possible welfare regulations in Kosovo.

A Chief Inspector in the Work Inspectorate in Kosovo claims that in 2014, they delivered 8,000 inspections, and of those, they gave 1,330 warnings. They administered 133 punishments to companies as a result of not respecting the Welfare Law and violating the rights of employees. This is very low compared to the registered active businesses in Kosovo, being 53,335 (European Commission Staff, 2014). He also said that it is not only the private sector that is guilty of discrimination, but it is also the public sector. More recent data shows that 'in 2016 and 2017, the Labour Inspectorate conducted 7,285 and 8,128 inspections and found 1,340 and 1,750 persons engaged in undeclared work respectively' (Gashi and Williams, 2018, p.25). In 2017, the Inspectorate issued 1,198 warnings and 233 fines (Inspektorati i Punes, 2017). As we can see, the number of inspections has increased, but compared to the number of businesses registered, it has not been sufficient.

Ukaj and Dragusha (2013) used a survey conducted by Kosovo Business Alliance with 2500 enterprises in 2012 on labour market needs. By using the findings from these interviews, they explained that 'from the total number of employees in these companies, 61% [had] a written contract between the employer and the employee, 10.7% had oral contracts, and 24% had no contracts at all' (p. 127).

Similar comments have been made about the situation of the employment market in Kosovo by Hoti (2011). He argues that the rights of employees and the standards in the private and public sector in practice did not correspond to the international standards and conventions, even though in theory, the Kosovo Labour law is mostly in compliance with International Labour Organisation standards. Though, it has missed some specific considerations such as the special protection for pregnant employees and social insurance rights.

Kosovo is lagging behind in these standards, because in 2011 of 400, 000 employees in Kosovo, around 30% were part of the informal economy, where, as mentioned previously in the chapter, they did not have contracts, did not have rights of break during the day, no rights of annual leave, no compensation for overtime, and did not have work insurance (Hoti, 2011). Hence, many of the employees did not enjoy the rights entitled to them by the Labour Law. Many private groups did not register their businesses and/or employees in order to avoid paying taxes and pension contributions, which they were legally obliged to pay (The Institute for Advanced Studies GAP, 2012).

All this is a result of an extremely complex situation with the legislation system and its implementation. Inspectorates play a very important role with regards to the inspections that need to be made, however it lacks the staffing and budget to monitor the implementation of labour law in the full range of companies and organisations (United States Department of State, 2019).

Hoti (2011) recommends that laws should be more detailed and well distributed, and implementation should be made accordingly to ensure that the rights of employees are respected. He gives examples of a construction company and the promise of the manager to re-employ 236 of 420 employees. However, the manager only employed 84 employees, and this created a lot of dissatisfaction among the employees, who then protested. They were then abused by the police during the protest march. What is even worse is that the manager threatened the employees and stated that he would fire those who protest.

Another case was that of the employees of the Student's Centre in Prishtina. They protested in October 2014, asking for an increase in salary from €200 to 250, payment of meals and health insurance, signing of personal contracts, and better treatment in the workplace. One of the employees of the Centre who worked there for 15 years said that she was dissatisfied with the way she was treated by her employer, just because she requested two weeks off, she was dismissed from work and was only re-employed after 17 months. She was even punished by the employer for several months and was made to pay €50 per month, and she did not know the reason for this (Zëri, 2014). She also complained about the contract, as she signed the contract but was never given a copy of it.

Another important concern in the workplace remains the sexual harassment of female employees. The president of the Council for Protection of Human Rights and Freedom in Kosovo, Behxhet Shala said that most violations of employee's rights are perpetrated against females. The same was mentioned by the Kosovo police, who said

that they had complaints mostly from female employees who were sexually harassed by their employers (Albinfo, 2011).

To recap this section, the facts described above show that treatment at work in Kosovo is experiencing difficult times. This relevant debate has been taken up in the media in Kosovo and among many institutions. Employers possess a lot of autonomy, especially in the private sector. Many employees do not even enjoy the most basic rights, such as a lunch break and off-days when they are sick (RTK, 2014). They are demotivated by the situation and protest quite often. There are cases where employees do not even dare to complain, or if they complain they want to remain anonymous. Even though there are existing laws and regulations, such as the employment law and the law on how to organise a trade union, they are not well-implemented or enforced. This is because many of the employees and employers are not well informed about the law, private and public companies do not comply with national regulation on how to respect and protect employee's rights, there is low institutional monitoring and evaluation of employment policies, and there are low number of inspectors who are unable to do their jobs adequately and lack financial resources. This shows that the employees' voice at the workplace is not respected, and that the employer holds power over them. Power is not shared, and decisions are not taken collectively, and this results in the rights of employees not being placed at the centre of decision-making.

Cases of violations of employment rights will be explored further and details of the work of the Labour Inspectorate will be provided below. I conducted an interview with a labour inspector to understand and reflect on their experiences when delivering different inspections in companies and institutions in Kosovo. ■■■ ■■■■

from the period after the war to the year 2015. He shared significant experiences and details regarding cases of the violation of employment rights and is discontented with the nepotism, bribery and political interferences related to them. He said that the chaotic situation and the demolished foundations for effective labour law implementation started soon after the war and continue into the present. He said:

In 2001, the employees were abused and this continues even nowadays in the institutions and from people that you expect the least, from academic people and in the institutions that should give a good example but they give the opposite because there are political clans who employ their people and through these people they control everything.

He also added that this has led to dissatisfaction not only among those who are unemployed, but also among the employed, because they do not feel safe at work and ‘their work depends on the manager who is politically driven’. He added that the same and even worse happens in the private sector with the mistreatment of employees from those who get the tenders from the state. Considering that the funding is very limited, the employees are those who suffer from the shortages of resources. The tenders are appointed by corrupted people and the inspector principally sees this as a cause and effect process.

An abuse of employment rights mentioned by the inspector is the lack of provision of health insurance by companies to older employees. As he suggests, this may be happening because the probability of older employees becoming sick is higher and causes expenses which employers must pay. Other abuses mentioned are preventing employees from taking sick leave or the holidays to which they are entitled by law, the lack of supportive tools and equipment in the workplace, and employees not daring

to go to the hospital or reporting that they have been injured at work. Many companies decrease the number of employees to reduce their labour expenses, and as a result increase the working hours.

Another abuse denounced by the inspector is with the minimum wage decided from the triangle cooperation between the government, the representatives of employees and representatives of employers. They decided that the minimum wage for employees between the ages of 18 to 35 is €130, whereas the minimum wage for employees over 30 years old is €170. This is a record of low minimal salary in Kosovo. According to the Kosovo Agency of Statistics (2019), the net wage in Kosovo in 2012 was €384 and it increased to €498 in 2018, €114 more or 29.8%. The inspector argued that this automatically discriminates against employees over 30 years of age, and demotivates them because they have more family obligations than those who are younger. However, even for young employees, the minimum salary of €130, after tax deductions, is not sufficient. With this low salary, without health insurance and the opportunity to strengthen their professional skills, they would hesitate to create a family, hence they would have the tendency to migrate. All this situation is in favour of the employer because he/she pays less for the labour force, but the employees are the ones who suffer.

When I asked the inspector [REDACTED] about the procedures relating to inspections, decisions and court cases, he said:

There are two levels of administration in the Inspectorate: the inspector is the first level in taking the decision. Always the inspector takes the decision after going to see the situation, prepares the report and based on the report and the

things that the employer did not follow required by law, takes the decision in writing and decides on the punishment. Then in the second level the institution/business has the right to complain. There is a commission that checks the complaints and takes the decision. After the second level, the case can go to the court if the employer is not happy again with the second decision. The court is overwhelmed with complaints and have problems with selecting the cases because the number of complaints is much higher than those that are solved. Therefore, it takes years until a case is solved and there are different pressures to paralyse the administrative process. The pressure comes mainly from employers. The employees while at work they never complain, but thereafter they complain.

This means that when an inspector visits the companies and institutions, the workers feel that they cannot freely express their problems and views due to the fear of being fired, whereas when talking to them intimately, they express all their anger. In those cases where the employees are fired, they only complain after being fired about the ways in which they were discriminated against at work.

The inspector added that the employers on the other hand, are 'well covered' because they have documents about how to eliminate risks at work, some have contracts, documents that show that they deliver training, among others. However, the inspector believed that this was a 'good' deception or camouflage, but he said that an experienced inspector would know that those policies were not implemented in practice.

When asked about how the Inspectorate is supporting employees and inspecting the violation of employment rights, [REDACTED] said the following:

In the beginning the Inspectorate's policy was not to punish the employers but to give them some space to develop, in the public and private sector. However, the effect has not been a good one, as the abuses of employees' rights have been high. We knew that there will be violations, but we did not expect it would be at this level. There are many registered institutions that we do not know their function and some of them do not work at all. This institutional interconnectedness is not harmonised, and we do not know which institution is active and which is passive, how much is being worked and how much not.

The inspector said that the cases of violation of employment rights are difficult to inspect, because of the lack of resources in the Inspectorate such as inspectors, computers, and other necessary resources that would enable the inspection of all the areas in Kosovo. Thus, the number of institutions and companies inspected is limited. He said that all the cases inspected are recorded in hard copy because the Inspectorate does not yet possess a database on the computer to input these cases. However, in 2016 an information system was designed to make the work of the Labour Inspectorate easier to both collect and process the data from the field. This project was financed by the EU and supported by a management consulting company, Management Development Associates. The latter has designed software that can keep the Inspectorate up to date with the number of registered workers, taxes paid by businesses, and other data to enable the Inspectorate to complete the audits more quickly (MDA, 2016).

The same realities have been claimed by the Centre for Policies and Advocacy in Kosovo, in their analysis and policy monitoring project. Based on the analysis provided by the Centre, the ‘Labour Law passed by the Kosovo Assembly on [2010] laid the foundation of a legal framework that would regulate the field of employee rights. [However], delays in developing the by-laws have made [its implementation] difficult’ (Center for Policies and Advocacy, 2014, p.5). The Centre comprehended that the lack of capacities of the Labour Inspectorate to protect the rights of employees and the lack of engagement of trade unions have allowed employee rights to be continuously violated.

Below are some court cases that I collected from [REDACTED] in order to better understand the nature of complaints. They provide a closer look at the realities developed in the labour market in Kosovo. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] to develop a closer understanding on how the complaints on discrimination at work are handled.

The table below illustrates the court cases that I have collected, followed by a few cases that I have elaborated more extensively.

Table 9 Court Cases

Case no.	Type of complaint	Nature of complaint	Solution
Case 1	Violation of employment rights	Maternity leave was not applied to a pregnant employee in 2014 by her employer, private company	██████ after several inspections concluded that the employer has violated the labour law and fined the company
Case 2	Violation of employment rights	Another pregnant employee from the same private company whose contract was terminated without her consent during the time she was on maternity leave	Same solution with this employee as per above
Case 3	Injuries at work	An employee in 2012 who worked in a private company was injured at work as the company failed to ensure employees do not work without equipment, such as helmets	██████ ██████ decided in favour of the employee based on the law for Safety at Work
Case 4	Dismissal from work	In 2012, a doctor was dismissed from work	██████ concluded that there was a violation of rights and subjectivism in dismissing the doctor from work

Source: ██████ October 2015

6.4.1.1 Court case 1

Court cases of two pregnant women that were processed in 2014, show that maternity leave is not applied in practice in many instances, especially in the private sector in Kosovo. Even though, by law, ‘an employee's employment contract shall not be considered as interruption of employment relationship, in the following cases: after annual leave, sick leave or maternity leave or any other leave taken in accordance with [the] Law’, yet their rights are violated. The first court case is of a pregnant woman whose rights of using the maternity leave of 12 months have been violated by the private institution where she worked.

The other court case was brought against the same private institution by another pregnant woman whose contract was terminated without her consent during the time she was on maternity leave. These cases happened in 2014. Both employees made a complaint at the [REDACTED], in response to which the latter started the inspection of the cases and prepared official reports. The [REDACTED] found out that the employer had not implemented section 49, 53, and 71 of the Law on Labour 03L/2012. It gave 8-day notice to the private institution about the case, but the notice was neglected. Therefore, the [REDACTED] carried out another inspection and concluded that the institution had not implemented the sections above. The institution issued a counter complaint, but was rejected by the court on the basis of violating certain sections of employment law where as a result the institution was penalised [REDACTED]. The sum of the penalty was not specified in the court case.

The inspector [REDACTED] whom I interviewed in 2015 gave an elaboration of the financial entitlement of women employees while on maternity leave. He said:

A big problem is with female employees who need the maternity leave because we do not yet have a fund that would cover the expenses of women employees during the maternity leave. Legally, a part of the maternity leave is to be paid by the employer, another part by the government and another part by the employee, but not the full wage. In the first six months, the employee is paid 70% of the salary by the employer; for additional three months, the employee is paid 50% of the salary by the government, and if the employee wants to continue for three other months, she will not get paid.

He also mentioned the reality of employers hesitating to employ female employees because according to him:

The employer in the moment that he/she sees himself/herself as damaged and pressurised, then he/she wants to escape from employing females who are potentially to deliver a baby. They want to employ only those females who have finished their family planning. The [REDACTED] has always tried to have as few problems as possible with this category, but for the labour inspector it is almost impossible to understand the accurate situation in practice such as what is happening because always this data is hidden; these problems are hidden and manipulated to pretend like everything is fine. We are unable to find a solution to protect this category, so there is discrimination. We are those who need to protect our natality because this rapport at work influences the natality. Every female should be free, confident and safe as a mother to create the family, but if she doesn't have that then why would she start creating the family when she cannot educate and raise the kids in the way that she thinks is the best! Here is a disadvantage: our society is lagging behind in treating the females fairly.

The inspector highlighted some other interesting factors with discrimination at work in Kosovo, such as if the woman is not beautiful, she will not 'get the job'. He added that these forms of discrimination increase the risks of abuse and trafficking of women, and are leading the society to degenerate. We see here the cultural and social inequalities at the workplace that are gender-based. These inequalities put the woman at the centre of the discrimination generated by many institutional challenges in the workplace. As stated by the interviewee, inequality in the workplace in Kosovo comprises different forms of discrimination towards women, including wage discrimination, denial of the right to work post maternity leave, or if they started a family, they would have fewer chances of employment, or would lack opportunities for promotion. Interviewees did not state directly how these forms of discrimination impact on women decisions to migrate from Kosovo, however they stated that especially in the private sector, women could easily be fired and left to seek other employment opportunities if they are pregnant or go on maternity leave.

The above cases show what is practically happening in the labour market and show that the policies laid out by the Labour Law and the European Social Charter that specify employees should be notified well in advance and valid reasons should be disclosed before terminating the contract have deteriorated badly in Kosovo (Hoti, 2011).

6.4.1.2 Court case 2

Another interesting court case is that related to injuries at work. This court case was raised in 2012 by an employee who worked in a private company and was injured at work while carrying tiles. The employee was obliged to use protective equipment and

a helmet, and according to the employer the employee, was warned to use them while carrying tiles. During an inspection carried out by the [REDACTED], it was concluded that the employee was injured at work as a result of not using the protective equipment and helmet. [REDACTED] has punished the company with a sum of €600 for violating the rights of an employee to be protected from injuries at work. The company then brought a legal complaint to the Ministry and asked if the decision for punishment could be waived because it does not have proof that the company was responsible for the employee's injury.

The court considered the claims of both entities and concluded that the claim of the employer was without evidence and that the employer was obliged to undertake protective measures by ensuring that employees do not work without equipment, especially without helmets. Therefore, the court decided to refuse the claim made by the private company, and confirmed the ruling made by the labour inspectors [REDACTED] [REDACTED]. This decision was made in conformity with the law for Safety at Work, Health Protection of Employees and Work Environment no. 2003/19, article 2.1 that states that it is an employer's responsibility to ensure safety at work, and to protect the health and working environment of the employees [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED].

In private companies many employees do not get any protection in terms of any injury, even though, according to the labour law, 'the employer is obliged to provide all employees covered [by the labour law] with insurance against injuries and related illnesses sustained in the course of performing work or services for the employer in compliance with this Law' (*Law on Labour*, 2010, p.28). The collective agreement

specifies that especially in cases of fire, smoke, water, high temperatures, dust, explosions, wetness, noise, and work in darkness, the employees are entitled to additional funding. Not only is this not happening in Kosovo, but there are cases when employees may not possess the elementary tools or equipment to work in these environments. This has been mostly the case in the construction sector. Working in an unsafe environment where essential health and safety rules are not effectively implemented may cause persistent fear and insecurity among the employees on a daily basis. While they have little choice when it comes to changing jobs, they may allow themselves unwillingly to get exposed to such threats and insecurities unless, for some, looking for jobs abroad is a way of avoiding the causes of insecurity.

According to the labour inspector [REDACTED]:

Legally, every employer should have trainings to empower its employees professionally so that they know the present risks at the workplace, know how to use the equipment, how to give first aid and how to evacuate in case of risk. However, these trainings usually are delivered temporarily because they are introduced just for the sake of saying we have done this and that, with the hope that nothing will happen. Then when the danger happens, the employees do not know how to give the first aid.

Legally the employment rights are regulated well, and the employee should listen to the employer, undertake advice and can create trade unions that will represent them, but in practice they do not function as they should. This may be because we do not understand enough the rights that we have, or maybe we do not have the civil courage because of the situation created that is now you

found a job but next time you won't be able to find one. So, there is the fear always that you will be fired.

As stated by the inspector, even though the Labour Law entitles the employees to the right to submit an appeal to [REDACTED] in cases where they feel their rights are violated, employees in Kosovo remain fearful of expressing their views and do not complain due to their concern with losing their jobs. In Kosovo it is very difficult to find a job, and this constitutes a form of insecurity that leads individuals to look for opportunities to find a job outside Kosovo so that they could live well and take care of their family. In this case, insecurity does not pose a physical threat, but it is driven by economic motives. Some may see migration as a way of achieving security and stability by being exposed to more employment opportunities and better wages. Furthermore, staying in a job against one's will, can cause discomfort and difficulties that could trigger one to find access to opportunities to improve one's wellbeing. Certainly, these decisions and destination choices lie upon the individuals and are facilitated by their characteristics, such as their cultural and social capital.

6.4.1.3 Court case 3

The third case occurred in a public institution in Kosovo in 2012. An employee working as the head of a department in a hospital in Kosovo filed a complaint at the [REDACTED] regarding his dismissal from work. He asked the [REDACTED] to take legal action to protect his employment rights. He provided his permanent employment contract, the decision that was issued to him for the dismissal from work, the complaint form and the decision from the Basic Court in Pristina.

When filing the complaint, the [REDACTED] reviewed all the documents and carried out an inspection at the hospital. Based on the evidence collected, the [REDACTED] decided to accept the complaint from the employee as truthful. It realised that the employer, the hospital, did not foresee the change of position in the employment contract, nor did the employer have internal policies to regulate the employment relationship. Based on this, the [REDACTED] concluded that there was a violation of rights and subjectivism in dismissing the doctor from work. The doctor was in the same position until 2012, and after that date his contract was extended up until 2015. With the decision from the Basic Court in Pristina to return the doctor in the same position, the doctor was provided with an indefinite contract in the same position. However, 5 days after restarting his job, the doctor was dismissed from work again.

Based on the observations and inspections at the workplace, [REDACTED] concluded that the employer had dismissed the doctor from work without any reason and without any legal base. Furthermore, [REDACTED] found that the doctor had high responsibility and was committed to raising discipline at the department. [REDACTED] decided to punish the employer, but there were no specifics of punishment provided [REDACTED]).

From this court case and the others outlined above, the experiences of the inspector and media reports on this topic, we can understand that Labour Law is theoretically established to conform to international standards, and reads well in different aspects of employment rights, however, its implementation lacks execution of legal entitlements and obligations in the workplace. Further illustrations of experiences at

the workplace are provided in section 6.5 below. Different interviews with job seekers and workers provide a more extensive understanding of the challenges in looking for jobs and confrontations in the workplace.

6.5 Interviews with workers and job seekers

This section provides analysis of experiences at work, and migration experiences where relevant, of different employees and job seekers whom I interviewed in Kosovo in 2015-2016. Their experiences provided insight into the nature of the daily work relationship and make it possible to assess how far employers are respecting their employment rights. Considering the existence of the Labour Law and Collective Agreement explained above, these experiences provide an understanding of the level of application of employment law in working environments in Kosovo.

I asked the employees and job seekers general questions about the situation of employment in Kosovo, and the situation of treatment at work, and also asked more personal questions, such as the employment agreement they possess, training they have undertaken, security at work, the effectiveness of implementation of employment law in their organisation/institution, plans, and membership in the trade unions (A full set of questions for each group of interviewees can be found in Appendix 2).

Their experiences at work varied, depending on the institution in which the respondents worked. Some of them worked in public institutions and some in private companies, and there were some return migrants who worked in international organisations.

I interviewed three return migrants who returned to Kosovo from Germany in the same year that I conducted the interviews, in 2016. They migrated to Germany with the recent flux of migration in 2014-2015. It was therefore important to interview these individuals to understand how they connected their recent migration to their employment strands.

For the purposes of analysis, I grouped the interviews in two categories: return migrant workers and jobs seekers, and non-migrant job seekers and employees. This enables an easier analysis of responses in each cluster and makes it possible to compare, when necessary, across the clusters.

6.5.1 Return migrant workers and job seekers

I interviewed eight return migrants in Kosovo over a span of one year to understand how they came to the decision to migrate in light of their employment experience. There were very interesting and emotional cases where I could see in the respondent's eyes, their striving for a better life while, as expressed by some of them, being trapped like a 'bird in a cage' where they could do nothing to change their situation. As idiomatically expressed, the employment situation surrounding them seemed to not allow them to enjoy the employment rights and opportunities.

In the paragraphs below, I will present short trajectories of employment and migration experiences of three return migrants, two of them working and one looking for a job. I have chosen to present these three cases even though the drivers behind migration are similar to all the cases with return migrants interviewed, but the three respondents below provided extensive information on their employment and migration trajectories

that enable a clear understanding of what happened in 2014/2015 with the migration exodus from Kosovo.

6.5.1.1 Returnee from Germany now working in a family business

Migration experience

I interviewed a return migrant, ■■■■, in July 2016 in Kosovo. He migrated from Kosovo to Germany in 2015 with his wife but was returned to Kosovo by the relevant German authorities. At the time of the interview he was living in Kosovo and was working in a fast food restaurant. Generally, during the interview the respondent showed a lot of pessimism towards his future career, and uncertainty in relation to income and standard of life in Kosovo. He was influenced by the many fellow migrants who were then leaving Kosovo, with the hope of creating a better future for themselves and their families. The interviewee was a young man with an aspiring imagination and vision of his future. However, his aspirations did not seem to be fulfilled as a result of the situation in Kosovo. He said:

‘I left Kosovo due to the lack of living standards, inappropriate health system, unemployment, lack of human rights’

He also added:

‘we left for a better life, to find a better job, to have a better health system, to have a happier life.’

His employment situation

He found the job at the restaurant with the help of his brother. He worked at the same workplace even before migrating to Germany. In his job, he was receiving a standard salary of a maximum of €250 per month. The restaurant where he was working

belonged to [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] were working there, too. Even though the restaurant was [REDACTED], he did not feel safe at work. He said:

‘The boss can send you a text message and say I do not need you anymore, so do not come.’

[REDACTED] was very unhappy with the corruption generated by private businesses, including his workplace. He said there is a lot of corruption, ‘they don’t provide fiscal coupon, they don’t register you as an employee, they do not provide insurance, and then of course the government is corrupted and that’s why Kosovo does not prosper.’ He believes that nowadays the private sector in Kosovo is all about family businesses where you can find a job only if you know someone, otherwise you can work very low paid jobs, such as working as a security guard for €150 per month. He felt that the employment situation in Kosovo was shattering, and said, ‘we who do not have or know any person in power will remain in the same devastating situation while we have these government officials in power who employ their family and relatives. The situation is catastrophic for the youth; our youth should do something, such as a protest or revolutionise.’

The respondent had mixed feelings about the whole situation in Kosovo. Sometimes he was very pessimistic, and sometimes he tried to be hopeful, he said: ‘otherwise to stop and think I need to kill myself, or need to lose somewhere, or seek asylum somewhere, but maybe there will be better days.’

He was generally unhappy with his job and when asked if there was anything he liked about it, he said:

Here I don’t like anything, here only because I don’t have a choice. First, I don’t have a contract and if you get injured or sick you don’t get paid and you

don't get the salary on time. Even though it's [REDACTED], he can send me home whenever he wants. Simply I do this job just because I don't have any other choice; you must work to get a salary to survive and now I am also married...

He also mentioned the lack of safety at his job considering that the restaurant works 24 hours and there were cases of gunfire between the customers, use of knives, and jealousy between staff members.

Another reason [REDACTED] was demotivated to work at the restaurant was the fact that he was close to finishing a university degree. He said that [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED], found a job for himself at the Ministry through a politician he knew. The respondent tried to find a job through his [REDACTED] and the politician who helped the latter one, but he could not because the connection he had with the politician was not close enough to secure him a job.

Finally, the respondent returned to Kosovo from Germany because he received an official order to leave Germany, otherwise he would not have returned to Kosovo. He said: 'sometimes I see a dream about Germany, and sometimes I stop and think 'why have I returned?' I wish I could go again, there are better life conditions, people are quiet, everyone minds his/her own business, people have prospered there, they are a state long time before us.'

6.5.1.2 Returnee from Germany now working in the private construction sector

Migration experience

Similar views about the situation of employment in Kosovo were shared by another return migrant, [REDACTED] who I interviewed and who also migrated to Germany but was

deported. He had migrated to Germany similarly, during the latest exodus of Kosovans fleeing Kosovo for better life.

■■■ left Kosovo and migrated to Germany because the construction company only worked during the summer, hence he remained without a job during winter and could not find jobs elsewhere. Together with his wife they migrated to Germany illegally and paid smugglers to help them migrate. They faced many challenges on the road to Germany but were very happy when they reached Germany and the way they were treated there. They were provided with social benefits every month to cover the living expenses. This financial help was sufficient, and they could even save. Now that they are back in Kosovo, his plans were to migrate again and the only way to migrate he thought was illegally. ■■■ was disappointed by the high unemployment in Kosovo and the inappropriate treatment in some workplaces, therefore he saw migration as an opportunity for a better life.

His employment situation

At the time of the interview, he was working in a private construction company in Kosovo. He started there as an intern for three years and later was employed. He found that job through his aunt, and generally he liked the job. He claimed that he was exceptionally well treated at his work and could express his thoughts and concerns freely to the manager. The job he had before this was in a supermarket and after 5 years the ex-employer still owed him two salaries, in total €600.

■■■ was disappointed with the employment situation in Kosovo and said:

It is catastrophic, only if you know someone, otherwise it is problematic. Even though I found the job in the same way, still it is catastrophic. Only better and

transparent politics can change the situation as the current politicians think only of themselves, not the population.

Despite his satisfaction with the job, he did not possess an employment contract. However, he claimed to feel safe and this might have been potentially due to his great relationship and trust built with the manager. He said: 'If I get injured at work, the employer will make me an insurance, even though I do not possess one now.' According to him no one else in the company had a contract as the business was not registered. His working schedule was from 7am to 6 pm, where from 11am to 12pm he had his lunch break and he could get short breaks often.

6.5.1.3 Returnee from Germany looking for work

Pre-migration work experience

Another return migrant, ■■■■, who I interviewed in April 2016, had returned from Germany that year as well. She migrated to Germany with her husband, and her son and was pregnant when migrated. When I interviewed her, she was unemployed and looking for a job. Prior to migrating to Germany, she was working in a clothing shop. She worked in different shops for 6 months to a maximum of 1 and a half years. This was because during the time ■■■■ was pregnant with her first son, her employer did not allow her to keep her job. She said: 'during pregnancy, the private sector does not keep you, the employer dismisses you from work and I had to leave.' In different private shops in which she worked, she had good employers, but she also had employers who pressured her to stay on her feet and this caused her stress.

When I asked ■■■■ how she found her last job at the clothing shop, she said:

In Kosovo, there aren't employment agencies that would help to find a job, therefore I went myself in different clothing shops and food supermarkets to

look for jobs. In my last job, they did not ask for my CV or anything else, they said you need to do a trial for 1 week or 2 weeks so that we can see what you know and what you don't. Hence, that was kind of a CV and kind of an internship.

████████████████████ and could not find a job in her profession. She said:

It is very difficult if you don't have someone who can help you, because here it is only if you know someone, otherwise you can't find a job. If you don't have a relative who works in a hospital or dental surgery, you can't find a job.

She added:

It is very difficult because there are so many people who are unemployed, not only me. There are people with higher education degree and cannot find a job. Therefore, for those who have a lower education degree it is problematic, such as with secondary school, or only with undergraduate degree. This is because those who have a Master's degree and PhD have advantages, but there are also those who even with PhDs stay at home. Us as a population, we think that the problem is at the government and leaders, it is problematic if they don't give us opportunities to continue, to do internships or take longer working experiences; and we do not have training opportunities. The trainings that I should have undertaken during my secondary school, I undertook after finishing secondary school. That should have been parallel, learning and practicing, and it took me 1 or 2 years after I finished secondary school to find some connections to start the internship in a surgery or hospital, otherwise it would have been problematic.

She finished two internships, one at a private dental surgery and one at the hospital. She received certificates and said that these trainings helped her a lot, 'but it is nothing if you are not working, because things can be forgotten', she said.

In the last job that ■■■ worked, as a clothing shop assistant, she was not secure in the job because she said:

we did not have contracts, only oral agreement and of course when you don't have a contract you don't benefit anything, you don't have health insurance or physical insurance. For general reasons, you are not insured on anything, whatever happens nobody takes responsibility.

However, in general she said that she could express her opinions and concerns to the manager and had a good relationship.

Migration experience

■■■ felt that she had to leave Kosovo and try her luck in Germany because both she and her husband were without jobs. Therefore, they migrated to Germany to have a better life and to obtain a better education for their children. They paid smugglers to help them migrate illegally. It cost them around €2,500-2,600 in total to migrate. They had to borrow the money from family and relatives. While migrating to Germany, they suffered a lot, as they had to walk kilometres in very cold weather, as they migrated during winter. When they arrived in Germany, they were sheltered in different places including camps, where they did not have good living conditions, until they were sent to an apartment and were given social benefits. They were not allowed to work.

While they were in Germany, ■■■ gave birth to her second son. Consistently, they were told that they were going to be deported to Kosovo, until one morning when it

really happened, they were deported without warning and by force. All the money they had was taken from them and not given back. Their flight back to Kosovo was paid by the German government.

Return to Kosovo and her employment situation

When they returned to Kosovo, they had mixed feelings. On the one hand, they were happy to see the family, but on the other hand they were also sad because they had to start everything from scratch. She said that she and her husband were looking for jobs, but she was hopeless that they would find anything soon. They were living in her in-law's house, and her father-in-law was helping them financially, otherwise it would have been extremely difficult to live with two kids without any income.

She did not want to go back to Germany because they did not have good migration experience there. However, she wanted to go either to America or the UK. 'We went to Germany because we had some relatives, and from what we have seen on the TV, in France and Austria there were worse living conditions than in Germany, that is why we decided to go there' she said.

Finally, her plans were to look for jobs in her profession. However, she was willing to take jobs even if they were not at her professional level, because they needed income to raise their children and to live.

To summarise, the interviews above generated an extended understanding of migrants' experiences in the workplace and the factors that influenced them to migrate. Three of the migrants had left Kosovo in the hope of finding a better future elsewhere that

would secure them a better job, higher earnings and quality of life. Based on their reflections of why they chose Germany, they said that was the country of destination for many of the Kosovan migrants during the 2014/15 exodus and they had relatives there. It seems that they followed a similar trend of migration by seeing other fellow Kosovans migrating. This shows that social networks play an important role in the choice of destination countries. Social relations increase the ability of individuals to migrate because connections in the destination country can provide information and assist with integration.

The migrants used insecure, illegal, and expensive smugglers to migrate, while in some cases relatives supported the migration of their family members financially. This may have been with the aim of increasing their socio-economic status later on, through remittances. All of the interviewees mentioned similar reasons for migration, such as the lack of job opportunities, high levels of nepotism and favouritism involved in securing a job, low living standards such as poor health and education, and low salaries.

They perceived migration, in this case to Germany, as a dream come true because they could see more life opportunities there. All of them acknowledged that they would have never returned to Kosovo, but were deported by the German authorities. They felt emotionally down with the employment situation in Kosovo. The two return migrants whose stories are discussed above who were working, did not possess a working contract and were not provided health insurance by their employers. The issue of not having a contract at work was also the case with other return migrants interviewed who worked in the private sector. However, one of the interviewees whose

experiences are described above, did not see this as a major issue because his belief in job security seemed to have been nurtured by positive communication with the manager. Furthermore, the employment relationship seemed to have been built on trust and confidentiality that reassured him that any medical problem arising from the job or other issues would be resolved by the employer. The accounts of the experiences of the two migrants described above reveal that they sought stability and security in the workplace abroad, something that they did not have in their jobs in Kosovo. Migration was triggered by the need to fulfil what they were lacking at home and was built upon the multifaceted insecurities they had experienced in the home country, such as unstable jobs, inequalities at work, financial instability, an insecure future and wellbeing, and unequal access to resources in the labour market.

The first return migrant whose account is included above, disclosed negative revelations relating to his work conditions, even though he worked in a family business. The overwhelming working environment and the general employment situation in Kosovo disappointed him so much that he considered self-harm or somehow finding a way to make the impossible possible – to migrate. However, hope remained his last resort.

Two of the returned migrants were either close to finishing their undergraduate degrees or had a professional diploma, so they felt that they were overqualified, or that their professional skills were slimming down because they were either working in a low skilled job or not working at all. They felt that the lack of training, employment opportunities, and lack of transparency in the labour market in Kosovo undermined

their skills and opportunities. They felt that they could contribute to society by working and as a result, could also increase their earnings and enrich their lives.

Finally, from an analysis of these three cases, we can understand that their migration decisions were primarily influenced by their low quality of life, lack of jobs, low salary, inequality at work, such as the lack of training opportunities and internships, and lack of transparency in job appointments and selection. Even though not mentioned in the same terms, the responses of interviewees imply that there is a high presence of nepotism and favouritism in the labour market in Kosovo. As such, these phenomena are perceived as contributing to the degradation of employee rights in Kosovo. As the respondents said, corruption, nepotism and favouritism resulted in a ‘catastrophic’ labour market, where their professional dignity was humiliated and their hopes for a better future suppressed.

6.5.2 Non-migrant job seekers

In addition to interviews with return migrants, I also conducted 4 interviews with non-migrant job seekers to understand their job-hunting experience and/or work experience and through these, to understand migration incentives, if any. Many of them have worked before and shared how they were treated at their workplace, as well as the challenges they faced when they were searching for jobs. I have chosen the two cases below in order to provide an extended illustration of the above understandings.

6.5.2.1 An electrical engineering student looking for a job

The job intentions

At the time of my interview with her, [REDACTED] was studying electrical engineering and had been looking for a job since 2011. She was teaching maths classes privately, but only worked enough hours to just make a living. She wanted to find a professional job and was preparing to take her last exam in order to graduate. Her intention was to find a job as an Engineer, or any other job that would benefit her professionally. Being a student, [REDACTED] was not happy with the education system in Kosovo. She said:

We have a lot of theory and very little practice. Even that practice that we have is not distributed fairly because favouritism plays a huge role. Connections may be everywhere in the world, but here are more expressed. If you are not given equal opportunities, it will always take more time to finish studies, to find a job, etc.

Job search sources and support

She looked for jobs through work portals, newspapers, and television advertisements, and was informed of open vacancies by family and friends. She continuously attended different training programmes, such as CISKO, internships at the university, and at the post and telecommunications agency. The majority of these trainings were very beneficial for her career advancement. The training she received helped her to understand what working life is like, and how to behave in a working environment, however, according to her these programmes did not have any influence with assisting her to find a job because she was still unemployed. She said:

I have been looking for jobs for a long time. It is true that I do not have the diploma, but that does not make a difference because for two years now I have only one

exam left. I applied in many jobs, including in a telecommunication company and they didn't care that I have only one exam left. I was offered the job, but they had some internal problems and I could not start. Sometimes I have the impression that I have not been given the opportunity yet. Everybody has their difficulties in life for jobs and now that we are a post war country, with a lot of challenges, the legal aspects of the state do not function properly, we are improving but that needs time. Normally, these things influence the employment market. We have some sort of economic crisis with high unemployment. Interests of people in power to accommodate only their people is obvious, this means we are not equal in opportunities. If I knew someone or had a family member in power in an institution, I believe I would have had a job. In the absence of having a family relative or knowing someone in power, I had to do all the applications in my own capabilities, and obviously, I found it difficult and faced a lot of challenges.

Her last job

Her last job experience was an internship in 2011/2012 [REDACTED] at the University of Prishtina. [REDACTED] saw the announcement at the University and applied. After being accepted, people kept asking her questions such as, "Who brought you here?" and "Who employed you?" She replied to them by saying that she performed well in the interview and that she was lucky because on the interview panel there was a professor who knew her and her capabilities. Therefore, that was her advantage. She explained that the experience was very good, and she was given the possibility to express her opinions and concerns to the manager. Overall, she said that she was treated very well and associated it with her hard work.

Treatment of employees in Kosovo

Due to the fact that [REDACTED] was not working, when I asked her about the way employees are treated in Kosovo, she based her responses on the experiences of her friends and family. She said that usually in the private sector the employees do not have lots of rights. However, she was optimistic that there was a good start at some private companies to offer health insurance. She added:

The Employment law has enabled many employees to not work on Saturdays. However, there are companies where employees work on Saturday and they need to be paid overtime. The Employment law is not being respected fully, but it is better nowadays because the employees have more rights. However, in some places, mistreatments happen.

Future plans

[REDACTED] had applied for many jobs, some that did not even have contracts, and was very disappointed when she was not lucky enough to get any. She was planning to continue her postgraduate studies and she said:

If I cannot find a job here as an engineer, if I am not given any opportunity at all to have a normal job as other people of my age do, because I am at a life phase that I can contribute, I think to migrate somewhere. Considering my professional background, in German speaking countries there are good education opportunities, so I thought to go and complete my Master's degree and find a job there because I heard that there is a need for engineers and doctors.

This shows that ■■■ had thought of the options she might have if she could not find a job in Kosovo. Her intended country of destination in case of migration seemed to have been carefully selected, matching her cultural and socio-economic background. Furthermore, she looked for countries that were welcoming to migrants and that needed a skilled labour force, so that her chances of employment abroad would be high.

She also added:

It is not really that I thought [to migrate] now, but if I had a scholarship, or if I could finance myself and if your effort is not rewarded here then obviously, you think to migrate. I always wanted to go abroad to study, but to study and return to Kosovo and contribute. Maybe I will go abroad and maybe I will see that there is nothing in Kosovo and I will remain abroad, but without finishing this last exam I cannot make plans.

Her intentions seemed to be to migrate temporarily, and only for educational purposes. However, she did not exclude from her plans the fact that she might remain in the country of destination if the situation in Kosovo did not improve in terms of job opportunities.

6.5.2.2 A dentist looking for a job

His last job

This is another interesting case exploring the career experiences of a job seeker, who is a qualified dentist, ■■■, who finished university in 2009 and has been unemployed since 2010, except for two practical experiences, one at the Medical Family Centre and the other at a private dental centre. As much as these two work experiences may

have looked like good opportunities, ■■■ was not happy with the treatment he received, the income he received, and the professional services delivered. He did not have a contract in his last job at the private dental centre. He was assisting a dentist who was also the owner. He said:

In private centres, they do not offer trainings, they try and use you at maximum for other jobs. It happened that I even cleaned there and took care of the centre. The doctor who was the owner and with whom I worked, he worked in a public centre, too during the day. In the evening, he worked in his own private centre. His aim was for me to take care of his private centre, not really for me to learn.

Job search sources and support

■■■ left the job at the private centre and looked for other jobs continuously in different private dental centres, but was not accepted. He also followed job publications in the public dental centres, but he said:

It is more problematic to get a job there because it goes by knowing someone, those who have relatives or friends in the municipality can find a job, otherwise it is impossible. They do not look at the grades you had at the university, or the professional qualification. These criteria are not considered, but only if you have someone that can help you to get the job and which means through nepotism.

He had interviews in the public dental centres, but he was not invited to any interviews in the private dental centres. He believed that in the public centres they invite you to an interview as a camouflage, but there is ‘no transparency’. He had many cases when he was invited to a test but was never allowed to see the results.

Apart from the non-transparency in the recruitment process, ■■■ also thought that there was a small number of vacancies, where for example 200-300 people applied for two vacancies. According to him, the government did not conduct research on how many dentists were needed, and therefore there was a surplus of dentists in the labour market. For the dentists who worked, there were no sufficient equipment and the patients' needs were not met, as they needed to wait in long queues.

Future plans

Based on the situation of employment, ■■■ was pessimistic, and said that he would migrate because he didn't have a job. Even if he were to find employment, he was doubtful that the salary would be good. His wife had the same problem of not being able to find a job. He said that if he does not find a job in Kosovo, he was thinking to migrate with his family to Austria or Germany. He believed that there were better opportunities and that he could obtain the help of relatives who lived there with his migration process. However, ■■■ was aware of the challenges that he could potentially face if migrating, such as the fact that Kosovo was not part of the EU, and did not have visa liberalisation. As a result, Kosovan citizens may not be allowed to work in other countries such as Germany, and can also face language barriers.

■■■ suggested the following for the employment support/services in Kosovo:

To open new vacancies, invest in education, medicine, and to open factories. There should be higher criteria to accept students so that when they graduate, they are professional. Otherwise, like this, it is difficult to find a job. In Kosovo, everyone wants to go to university, however not everyone has the potential for university, hence it can be oriented to vocational education. There

may be some professions that do not need university and that are not developed in Kosovo.

He thought that employees in the public sector in Kosovo had better treatment due to less pressure, shorter working schedules, and the entitlement to long holidays. However, for those employed in the private sector, he believed that they did not have the right to official holidays and in many cases, they were obliged to work 6 days a week.

Finally, his plans included 3 or 4 options. The first option was to open a private dental centre, but it would cost a lot, and he needed support from someone. The second option was to apply for more jobs in private or public clinics, and the third option was to migrate abroad. This is because he did not believe that there was a future for his children in Kosovo. He believed that his children would face similar challenges to the ones he had. He said:

Kosovo is a poor country and corruption is high. In other countries, there is corruption, but the state is strong and rich. Whereas, here powerful people do not invest in education, or employment, but in constructing roads and other unnecessary stuff.

To summarise the two interviews above, we could see similar experiences of two professional people who were unemployed and were on a mission to find a job. They both thought that the education system in Kosovo was weak and related it to the fact that many graduates did not possess the skills they required and were not professionally ready for the labour market. This shows that education has not been adapted to match the skills demanded by the labour market. It does not necessarily

mean that graduates remain unemployed because there are no jobs, but they could remain unemployed because they are not appropriately qualified for the jobs available. Furthermore, this could indicate that the study programmes lacked practical elements that could have trained them and prepared them for work.

The interviewees whose accounts are included above also mentioned that the employment situation in Kosovo resulted from high levels of nepotism and favouritism that excludes many professional job seekers from equal opportunities. This was also mentioned by the other two job seekers, the architect and the dental technician, whose narratives not presented here, but who thought similarly, and also expressed their belief that the chaotic and non-transparent employment situation in Kosovo is a result of nepotism. Although the two job seekers whose accounts I have analysed above found some of the training they undertook to increase their skills helpful, they found these trainings were not influential in increasing their chances of employment due to the two phenomena mentioned above. Another issue in the labour market in Kosovo that they identified was the lack of generation of new vacancies as a result of the failure to invest in areas that have potential. However, they were pessimistic and expressed the view that even if they found a job, their salary would be very low and not sufficient to provide them with an adequate standard of living.

One of the job seekers had been unhappy in his previous job, as he was not treated as a professional and had to perform duties that did not make use of his skills as a dentist, such as cleaning the centre where he worked. This was so demotivating for him that he resigned from the position he held there. Hence, he believed that the employers in the private sector violate the rights of employees, whereas in the public sector he

thought the situation is much better as employees enjoy more rights. However, when it came to recruitment, the interviewees emphasised that they thought that this was disrupted by nepotism and favouritism, and the recruitment process was a form of ‘camouflage’ – nothing more than a pretence of transparency. The employer used their power to utilise the employees’ time and effort in a manner that was inadequate and unlawful. This creates unequal power relations between the employee and the employer and discourages the latter from work. Here we also see interference from phenomena, such as nepotism, favouritism and bribery that utilise power and position to reach personal interests on the shoulders of those who seek employment.

Because neither of the people I interviewed had been able to find a job for an extended period of time, they both considered the option of migrating abroad to enhance their future career development and quality of life. They relied on network migration because they were aware of several challenges to migrate, such as language, obtaining working visas, and the fact that Kosovo did not form part of the EU. The barriers to migrate could be cultural and political and could result in many employees and job seekers in Kosovo hesitating to undertake a decision to migrate. Those who decide to migrate despite these barriers, would choose illegal channels due to the lack of legal routes.

It was very interesting to hear in these interviews that migration incentives were driven by the desire to not allow history to be repeated for future generations, such as the case of the father whom I interviewed who did not want his children to experience what he experienced in his education and professional career in Kosovo. This shows how emotion can affect the desire to migrate, particularly in cases where people have

families to take care of. It also reveals that the household balances family against self-interest to provide opportunities for their children. Families with young children use migration as a way of covering immediate expenses that arise from raising the children, especially investing in their education.

I will provide accounts of additional experiences in the section below that offer further insights drawn from interviews I conducted with employees in Kosovo. These focus primarily on what it is like to work in Kosovo and provides different perspectives on incentives to migrate.

6.5.3 The non-migrant employees

I interviewed three employees in Kosovo in 2015/2016. They worked in public institutions, such as at the Ministry [REDACTED] [REDACTED] and in a primary school. Two of the respondents were Kosovans, and one was Serb. Amongst these interviews, the Serb respondent was of particular interest due to the fact that she was a minority national and I wanted to understand her perspective on employment in Kosovo, and how well she was treated at her workplace. The aim in this section is to analyse experiences at work in the public sector in Kosovo. Through the interviewees' accounts of their experiences, I could also understand whether they had any plans to migrate, and if so, what triggered the thinking behind it.

Employment situation in Kosovo

I asked each person I interviewed different questions, including some general ones such as, questions relating to the situation of employment in Kosovo. Their perception

was generally unsatisfactory with the labour market as they first thought that there is high unemployment and were not sure of the balance of demand and supply in the labour market. They highlighted the fact that there was a gap in researching the skills needed in the labour market. They were disappointed that many people graduate but remain without a job. They said:

Based on the news, there is huge unemployment. Research should be conducted to understand the needs of the labour market. 50,000 students are enrolled in the University of Pristina and in private universities, and many of them are in political science and economics. I don't think that they can find themselves well in the labour market and it would be nice to have research showing the skills needed in the labour market. This disappoints the young people because they finish university and can't find a job (██████████ Employee at Ministry ██████████).

The situation of employment is very catastrophic. I can see this through the job that we do as [REDACTED] There is no respect for the job, no transparency from the employer, employees, and law makers ([REDACTED] [REDACTED]).

Employment situation in Kosovo in general is not that good. There are workplaces, but not enough for all. Maybe the offer is high or the demand is high, or there is misbalance between the two (█████ Employee in a primary school).

On the other hand, the three employees were happy with the fact that they had permanent contracts, even though they still did not feel safe at the workplace because

as they said, there was no guarantee that their jobs were secure. One of the employees interviewed said that this depends on how well you deliver the job.

Despite having a permanent contract, another employee, [REDACTED], was not happy with the salary, and was therefore thinking about migrating abroad. She said:

I feel insecure, even though I have the contract, the salary does not offer that much, we work a lot. I always think to go abroad and have a better salary and job, for example in Canada, UK, or France. I tried many times through different applications but was not successful. In the future, I intend to migrate to Canada for a better future and for my kids. Better future in terms of legal rights and income because we do not possess these in Kosovo compared to countries in the region.

As we can see from the quote above, like the respondents in the previous category, the employees linked their migration incentives to securing a better future for their descendants. They wanted to have stable finances and a better quality of life; therefore, they sought to fulfil these aspirations abroad. In this category of respondents who had a job and a permanent contract, their low salaries seemed to be their main complaint as it failed to offer them life security and wellbeing. This also seemed to be one of the main triggering factors of migration.

Treatment in the workplace

I also asked the interviewees for their opinions about how well employees were treated at work in Kosovo, and they generally had a more positive opinion about the way employees were treated in public-sector organisations/institutions and also raised the issue of discrimination. The Serb employee reported that she did not feel discriminated against at all at the workplace, and according to a trade union member of the same

institution, the employees of different nationalities were treated positively in the workplace. However, the trade union member mentioned that discrimination was evident in other areas in the institution, especially when people were appointed to positions without the vacancy being opened, and without the necessary criteria being filled. There were also other cases of discrimination, such as the manager being less educated than the staff, because he/she was not employed through standard procedures, and hence being under-skilled for certain tasks that they were required to perform. This is not the only issue to be encountered, but is also the consequence of having under-skilled labour at the workplace. It does not only show defects in the recruitment process, but can also affect the functioning of an institution or the overall growth prospects of a company. Overall, this could have a negative impact on the economy of the country as progress requires adequate professional and entrepreneurial skills. Adequate skills are important in stimulating innovation, adaptation to change, and economic growth.

However, with regards to the private sector, the three employees stated that they rarely heard of instances of employees who were treated well. I will present an interview I conducted with a migrant woman, [REDACTED] in London in November 2015, to illustrate this point. The respondent was working in a private hairdressing salon prior to migrating to London. She had a very different experience at work compared to the employees in the public sector. She did not feel respected at work. She was told to not lean on the wall, to not sit, to eat her lunch more quickly and to buy lunch for the manager. She was threatened that if she leaned against the wall, her salary would be reduced by 5%.

■■■■ was very disappointed with the way she was treated and many times she thought of leaving her job. Very often she worked overtime, but was not paid extra. She felt that her salary was very low compared to the amount of work she was doing. The salon was not paying taxes to the government and she said:

When the inspection came, the boss said to employees to go outside or take off the company shirts so that the inspector does not see that you are employees of this salon in order to not pay taxes.

The only advantage ■■■■ had at her work was that the manager helped and supported her when she needed help or advice about how to do cutting or blow drying. However, when she wanted to express her views on some things, if her request was in the favour of the manager, it was considered, but not if it was in her favour.

She was not entitled to any sick days off and if someone was sick, they had to substitute that day with their free day. They did not have contracts, therefore ■■■■ said that the manager could fire them anytime.

This interview was a unique learning experience and an example of what it is like to work in a private company or organisation in Kosovo. As we can see from this practical example in the private sector, a lot of employees are employed in an informal way, and are not registered with the Tax Administration of Kosovo, and hence do not pay tax. Private sector employees suffer the most discrimination at work where even essential rights are not respected, such as lunch breaks. The employer seems to dominate the employees and if the latter wants to remain in the job, he/she has to follow the rules set by the employer.

Nevertheless, discrimination does not only exist in the workplace in Kosovo, but based on the interviews with job seekers, we have seen that even those who are not employed and are looking for a job experience discrimination. The fact that to find a job in Kosovo you must know someone, automatically shows that job seekers experience discrimination.

When I asked the employee respondents in the public sector about how helpful the trade unions were, they expressed the belief that trade unions did not protect the rights of employees as they thought they were politicised. One of the respondents, [REDACTED] said:

No, I don't think there is any trade union in the ministry here. Nobody took initiative, they work for their interest and to promote themselves. I don't know, but what I heard from people is that those leading the trade unions use their position to achieve personal benefits.

They generally thought that the leaders of trade unions have come to get their bread and butter and were motivated by personal gain. Despite the fact that trade unions should be the ones to protect employees from corruption, discrimination, and inequalities at the workplace, they themselves are driven by material interests.

When I asked them about their thoughts on the implementation of Labour Law in the organisation/institution at which they work, they were generally not satisfied. They said:

Some parts of the law remain to be implemented later. I didn't analyse the law and do not remember it entirely. The law exists but the administrative advice has not been released on how to implement it ([REDACTED]).

The law exists in social services and reaches the European standards, but the problem is its implementation. The law is not effective. The cases when the law is not implemented are not penalised (■■■■).

Laws exist but are not implemented 100%, and there is no support from trade unions or protection. The main reason is the way the state is formed, the ministry and other institutions (■■■■).

From what the respondents said above, a major problem remains the lack of effectiveness of labour law implementation that would regulate the function of the whole system. Based on what they said, the law remains present theoretically, without any guidance being provided on how to implement it. Thus, the violation of employment rights is evident, and is not penalised.

Future plans

Finally, the respondents revealed their plans associated with changing their jobs, or potentially migrating. As previously stated, the low salaries they earn remains their main trigger to migrate and as one of the respondents, ■■■■ said:

I would like to migrate anywhere because of the small salary, and I don't have a boyfriend. I haven't thought about how to migrate, but I would like to migrate. I came from Serbia to live in Kosovo 8 years ago for a better job. We enjoy life here in Kosovo, but the salary is low. I would never leave Kosovo if they would have increased my salary.

To summarise, the employees interviewed who work in public institutions in Kosovo have shown a drive to improve their quality and conditions of life. Furthermore, their motivation and performance at work seems to be directly related to their low income,

where they perceive that their outputs at work were not equal with how much input they provided at their workplace. Therefore, they were hugely unstimulated and hindered in their thinking of better options to maximise their outputs for the job they do. Migration has been perceived as a possible option where they could potentially create a better future for themselves and their families.

They perceive the problem of the labour market in Kosovo to be directly related to the lack of implementation of labour regulations and to the lack of guidance needed to administer their implementation. They think that this presents an urgent need for more effective and efficient implementation of employment law, and a need for more extensive inspections of the institutions and companies.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter was divided into two parts, the Institutional Framework and Empirical Results. The aim was to analyse employment regulations in Kosovo, such as the employment law and understand how well these regulations have been implemented. Furthermore, it discusses how these regulations comply with EU standards. To analyse these, secondary research has been conducted, as well as interviews with a labour inspector, return migrants, job seekers, employees, court cases and media representations.

The results reveal that the law for organising trade unions has been in existence since 2011, and regulates the right to organise in trade unions in the public and private sector. The coverage of trade unions in the public sector is relatively good, whereas in the private sector it is almost non-existent. There are issues within the trade unions

that prevent them from working effectively and efficiently, such as the fragmentation of some of the trade unions due to political interference, accusations between the unions about presenting fake members, and limited financial capacities. Similar issues have been present with the employer organisations, and even though the Economic and Social Council is operational in Kosovo, there is weak communication between the government, employees and employer's organisations.

Since the end of the war, collective bargaining has been at the national rather than at company or organisation level and has lacked implementation of agreements and contracts. The public sector is entirely covered by this agreement, but because the latter is not implemented, this sector remains unrepresented. In the private sector, the collective agreement is not implemented at all.

The rights of employees are regulated by the labour law which was approved in 2010. This law regulates all aspects of rights at work, and addresses similar aspects of employment rights with that of the European Directives on employment. However, the labour law has not been adequately implemented, and is found wanting in comparison with EU standards because it does not address entitlement to health insurance, insolvency of the employer, collective redundancies, special protection of women in case of maternity, and social security measures. The number of labour inspectors remains low and human and financial resources need to be increased to be able to deliver the job effectively. The number of inspections is low when compared to the number of businesses registered.

The media in Kosovo has identified several issues with the labour market in Kosovo, mainly unemployment, informality, and the privatisation process. The high rate of unemployment has made it difficult for employees to change jobs due to their fear of not finding a different job. This does not only reveal that there is insecurity at work, but also that there is a high risk of being left without a job. As people are not able to live without an income, many seek to migrate to secure financial security and to attain stability at work, which includes feeling comfortable and safe at work. The violation of employment rights occurs mainly in the private sector, where employees do not have trade unions to protect them. Another issue is the informality that characterises the labour market in Kosovo. This is predominant in the construction and agriculture sectors. Many employees do not possess contracts despite the fact that they need to follow all the employment rules. Some of the employees are not registered with the Tax Administration or Pension Trust.

The court cases that are analysed here, show that there is a huge gap between what is happening in reality and the Labour Law, and the European Social Charter. An example of this was the case of maternity leave not being paid, and the right to take maternity leave being diminished. There were other forms of discrimination at work, such as if a woman is not beautiful, she will not be able to get the job. This shows that there is gender-based discrimination, especially against women in the private sector. Furthermore, in many private companies, employees are not protected in case of injuries, and even though these forms of discriminations do occur, some of employees hesitate to submit an appeal due to their fear of losing their jobs. The management style in some workplaces in Kosovo is autocratic and the power lies with the employers, which in turn weakens the relationship between management and staff.

This impacts on the rights of employees and deprives them from involvement in the decision-making processes in the institutions/companies.

The interviews with return migrants, job seekers and employees, reveal that many people chose particular destination countries as a result of networking, knowing that other Kosovan migrants had relocated there, or because they themselves had relatives there who could help with information, finances, and integration. Others also chose specific countries to migrate that matched their cultural and social background and the skills they possess. In other cases, the mismatch of cultural and social background with the country of destination could be a barrier to migration. The reasons for migration were the lack of job opportunities; high levels of nepotism and favouritism in securing a job; inadequate living standards, such as poor health care and education systems, and low salaries. They saw migration as a way of increasing and improving their life opportunities. Even though some of them worked in Kosovo, they did not have contracts and they felt that the lack of training, employment opportunities and lack of transparency in the labour market have undermined their ability to achieve a good life. Their answers also implied that nepotism and favouritism have degraded employee rights in Kosovo. Due to the lack of training and inadequate qualifications for the jobs that are available, there are numerous examples of skills mismatch in the labour market in Kosovo, with some workers being overqualified for their jobs and others under-skilled.

There were those who also stated that they thought that the education system in Kosovo is weak and does not produce skilled graduates who are ready for the labour market. At the same time, there were cases of highly skilled employees or job seekers

who were not given equal opportunities, but were given low skilled jobs or paid very low salaries. Some of the interviewees revealed that among their reasons for migration is not letting history repeat itself, for example not wanting their children to experience what they themselves experienced during their education and professional career in Kosovo. Some other interviewees revealed that they were not treated well in the workplace and there were cases where essential rights were not respected, such as lunch breaks. Interviewees who had been or were job seekers in Kosovo related how they had to know someone in power in order to obtain employment, and this reflects the fact that they were subject to discrimination. They did not believe in the help of the trade unions as they thought they were politicised.

Finally, the inadequate implementation of the labour law has been one of the main employment issues in Kosovo. Effective and efficient implementation of the law is needed to ensure the process of employment works smoothly. Furthermore, investment is required to generate jobs and increase salaries in order to create an attractive labour market for the workforce in Kosovo and to boost economic development.

Chapter 7 Democracy at work

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides analysis of the support provided by trade unions in Kosovo, such as, how active they are in supporting employees' rights and the degree to which employees engage with them. The analysis in this chapter will build on the insights drawn from the discussion in Chapter 6 on the lack of respect for employment rights in Kosovo, evidence of which was provided through both interviews and legal cases. I have explored, on the one hand, the existing legal framework in the country and on the other, the practical implementation of the law. I have analysed information from different secondary sources, such as the media, journal articles, reports, and experiences and opinions of those I interviewed, including a trade union member, employees, employers, a political analyst and a political adviser. I conducted these interviews in 2015/16 in Prishtina, Kosovo. The experiences of the interviewees and their knowledge about the trade unions provided an understanding of their awareness of the trade unions, their role, willingness or reluctance to join a trade union, trust in the trade unions, and their experience, if any, with the trade unions. These narratives provide evidence about levels of democracy at work and the level of freedom to unionise in Kosovo, freedom of expression in the workplace, the degree to which collective rights are enforced, and the general situation of trade unions in Kosovo.

The chapter is organised in 4 sections. In the first section, I provide an analysis of the trade union landscape in Kosovo, along with a discussion of the legislation regarding the right to join trade unions. The interviews that I conducted with employees in the public sector provide practical examples of the challenges they face in joining a trade union, and their overall experiences with regards to trust and engagement.

The second section examines the existing legal provisions of freedom of expression with reference to the right to protest and to strike, as well as their practical applications through an analysis of legal documents and interviews that I conducted with some employers from both the private and public sector.

In section three, I provide brief information about the trade union representation in key government institutions, and mainly focus on the interviews that I conducted with the political adviser and the analyst. In the interview analysis, I explore the opinions of interviewees regarding the role of trade unions in Kosovo, and government support for the labour market, considering that both of those I interviewed were engaged with government institutions at some point during their professional career. Both interviewees provided a general understanding of the situation of the employment market in Kosovo, focusing on trade unionism and collective bargaining. They talked about support from trade unions, the phenomena of corruption and nepotism, the mismatch of skills, the failure of the legal system and the political structure in Kosovo.

Finally, section four talks about how far the labour inspectors are able to intervene when collective rights are not respected, how they cooperate with trade unions, and how the justice system in Kosovo helps to ensure the enforcement of collective rights. I consider how far the Labour Inspectorate has managed to investigate and issue fines to companies/institutions that have violated employment law. These analyses allow for an understanding of the arguments and debates that relate to the challenges with labour law implementation, and of the communication between the trade unions, labour inspectorate and government authorities.

7.2 Freedom to unionise and trade union landscape

This section is divided in two sub-sections. In the first sub-section, entitled, Legal Framework, I provide an analysis of the legal provisions in terms of the freedom to unionise, and evaluate information on the trade union landscape, such as the types of trade unions and the sectors in which they are present, as well as the challenges that employees face in joining a union. The theoretical summary explains the laws regarding organising trade unions, and provides analyses of what the rights and entitlements are to establish and organise a trade union, and the degree to which there is freedom of expression.

In the second sub-section, I present the experiences of interviewees with trade unions, along with the legal rights. Furthermore, I explore the challenges of employees in both sectors, private and public, with establishing and joining a trade union and/or organising strikes, or other ways of fighting the violation of employment rights and addressing discrimination. The discussion focuses on the level of awareness of trade unions, and on trust and engagement with the trade unions. These analyses make it possible to understand the extent to which it is possible for employees in Kosovo to combat discrimination at work, and what support they receive from trade unions to maintain their wellbeing at work.

7.2.1 Trade union membership – what is the legal framework?

Kosovo has one trade union confederation, the UITUK (International Business Publications, 2016). This union has existed for more than 20 years. It started its mission by protecting the rights and freedom of ethnic Albanians from the former Yugoslavia. After the war, it continued to protect the rights of workers. This

confederation has 19 trade union federations in the public and private sector, such as in the fields of education, science and culture, healthcare, energy, the judiciary, independent administration, municipal housing, metal workers, construction workers, pensioners and invalid workers (UITUK, 2018). The movement of trade unions in Kosovo has shown a decline from 2000 to 2014, however they were revitalised in 2016. The trade unions' coverage in the public sector is around 90% (there are around 60,000 trade union members, and the total estimated number of public servants is 70,000, excluding teachers and health practitioners, because two of the biggest federations, Healthcare and Education, disengaged from the confederation), whereas in the private sector the coverage remains less than 1%, as there is very little activity.

Two new initiatives, in banking and in the arts sector have been undertaken in 2016 to establish trade unions that cover the private sector, however, there is insufficient evidence to measure the outcomes of these two initiatives. This is claimed to be due to the high level of unemployment and job insecurity in Kosovo, where there is lack of organisational capacity in the trade unions (Eurofund, 2012 and Shaipi, 2017). The absence of trade unions in the private sector has made employees in this sector 'powerless to improve the situation, resulting with an increase in the violation of workers' rights in the private sector' (International Business Publications, 2016, p.155).

In addition, what has exacerbated the problem is the ongoing privatisation of former state-owned institutions, which has also led to a drop in trade union memberships in the public sector, as members of the unions were against the privatisation of these institutions. In the last decade, trade unions concentrated their activities in the public

sector and on the privatisation process. It is not known if the Law on Trade Union organisation will result in changes in the situation of trade unions in the private sector, because of 38,000 registered enterprises in Kosovo, 93.1% are micro enterprises, with less than 10 employees (OECD, 2019). The structural obstacles which result from the small size of these companies can also be an influencing factor in the non-presence of trade unions in the private sector.

Even though UITUK exists, it has not been effective in protecting the rights of employees due to lack of 'organisational capabilities and efficiency – structural, organisational and functional' (Hoti, 2011, p.14). Many internal problems exist, such as the constant arguments between the leaders and members of different trade unions. There are some groups created within the unions that are politicised and have personal interests within trade union leadership. As a result, trust among members is lost and therefore some of them even leave the union (Zogjani and Marku, 2017). Also, the members in the trade unions are underrepresented, especially females and young people. Another weakness of the trade unions in Kosovo is the lack of cooperation with trade unions in Albania and other European countries, and they seem to be lacking in knowledge about how trade unions in other countries protect employee's rights (Bajrami, 2013b). This shows that even in the institutions that are supposed to promote equality, there is discrimination based on age and gender. Furthermore, personal interests seem to override collective interests and shape the performance of the trade unions so that they do not have much impact in protecting the rights of employees. This also demonstrates how social relations and institutional culture, domination based on material and political interests, and the loss of trust between employees and employers, are created and maintained within institutions in Kosovo.

Many strikes by trade unions are ineffective due to internal fragmentation. This became especially evident with the process of privatisation in Kosovo mentioned earlier. The unions have only been capable of organising some strikes to fight for the rights of employees, and this did not improve the situation. The lack of employment rights and the absence of democratic practices in the workplace in Kosovo provides evidence of the ineffectiveness of the trade unions. According to Behxhet Shala from the Council for Protection of Human Rights and Freedom, trade unions are politicised, and employees do not trust them. Trade Unions are managed by leaders who remain in the same position for 10 years, who have high salaries and benefits, and do not represent the rights of employees. He also argued that trade unions have made many threats and strikes but they failed to protect the rights of employees (Bota Sot, 2013). On the other hand, Mursel Zymberi, the current President of the Trade Union of Administrative workers of Kosovo, suggests that the right of organising a trade union in practice is undermined, even though the law in organising trade unions exists. This failure to organise trade unions may have been because of a lack of protection from the courts and due to high anti-union pressure from employers. Also, many workers are afraid to join a trade union or to report the violation of their rights (Bertelsmann Stiftung BTI, 2014).

In December 2014, trade unions warned the then new leader of Kosovo's government, Isa Mustafa, over the pay rise promised by the previous leader, Hashim Thaci, a 25% increase in wages per year over the next four years. Considering the fact that the new leader of Kosovo's government argues that this increase would be impossible to deliver, and it will rise in line with economic development, the UITUK warned of protests and other actions (Bytyci, 2014). Following this dissatisfaction, the education

sector workers went on strike – a decision that was taken by education trade unions. These strikes impacted the education system as many classes were cut (RTK, 2015). The pay rise was rejected by the government for budgetary reasons, hence wages could not be increased.

Kosovo has the ‘legal framework [that] guarantees the right to form and join trade unions’ (Freedom House, 2016, para.32). The law for organising a trade union in Kosovo was approved in 2011 and ‘aims to regulate and determine the rights and freedom of the employees to establish free and volunteer organising in the Trade Union organizations in the public and private sector, with the aim of the representation and protection of economic interests, social and professional workers from work and work relation’ (Law for the Organizing Trade Union in Kosovo, 2011, p.1). However, the impact that this law has had in the labour market seems minimal.

7.2.2 Experiences of interviewees with trade unions

As previously stated, a challenge for employees who wish to join or form a trade union remains their reluctance to report any discrimination due to the fear of revenge by the employer. The creation of trade unions requires bravery on the part of the employees. This seems to be the case mostly in the private sector. According to employee representatives, trade unions in the private sector have not yet been formed because private employers see the trade unions as rivals, not as partners with which to cooperate (KOHAnet, 2017).

The fear is the result of the high unemployment rate in Kosovo, and of employees not wanting to risk losing their jobs, and from the ‘anti-union pressure from employers

and inefficient court protection’ (Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI, 2016, p.15). Employers do not encourage the formation of trade unions because trade unions have legal power to protect the employees, such as through strikes. They even have the right to stop the companies/businesses from operating until the rights of employees are fully respected. Trade unions also have the right to approach the courts in cases where employees’ rights are violated. However, the widespread informal economy in Kosovo also ‘constrains the worker organisation into unions’ (Visoka, 2013, p.35).

The Labour Inspectorate did not report having received any ‘formal complaints of discrimination against employees who tried to join unions during’ 2013 (U.S. Department of State Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labour, 2015, para.161).

A citizen of Prishtina told the press that she worked in many private companies and when she worked in a shopping centre, she said:

we were around 20 employees who worked and always discussed to form a trade union, but practically nobody did anything because we were afraid of losing our jobs (Ahmeti, 2017, para.4).

Cases of people losing their job as a result of joining a trade union were reported by Basri Ibrahim, Chief inspector in the Labour Inspectorate, for Evropa e Lire (an organisation that broadcasts and reports news, information and analysis), as per the following:

it is true that in the private sector there isn’t any trade union. Organising in trade unions is voluntary, it is not obligatory. However, even though it is

voluntary, the employer does not have the right to stop the employees organising in trade unions. In cases when the employer interrupts employees to organise in trade unions, we then sanction it (Ahmeti, 2017, para. 11).

Even though Ibrahimimi focused on rights, the statement presumes that violations in the private sector were common. The right to join a trade union is part of the law and should be respected in the same way as other rights guaranteed by law.

On the other hand, there were some opinions that collective actions and union formations are discouraged by the government. For example, the head of Kosovo's Independent Trade Union of the Private Sector, claims that the government tries to avoid and divide the trade unions so that can reach its objectives more easily. He believes that the collective agreement has been formed for electoral benefits. He based this argument on the non-implementation of the labour law where institutions try 'to hide behind laws when success is not achieved, claiming that those laws were not adequate and trying to generate more laws' (Avdyli, 2017, para.17). He mentioned that the union that he led felt manipulated and ignored, and there were cases where they were threatened physically by people representing different companies. He believes that there is a strong connection between the companies and certain political leaders.

While employees in the private sector have been prevented from joining trade unions by their employers, and while participation in trade unions seems to be affected by fear and political interference, I also conducted interviews with people working in the public sector who offer different views relating to trade union activity. I interviewed several employees who worked in different ministries in Kosovo, in an [REDACTED] office,

and in a school. For the purposes of this chapter, I have analysed their answers on the questions I asked about trade unions to reflect in summary their perception of the role of trade unions and their effectiveness in the labour market in Kosovo. I asked them questions such as, whether or not they were a member of a trade union and how they engaged and communicated when they faced violation of their employment rights.

From these interviews, the following outcomes emerged: there seemed to be lack of awareness about the trade unions, hence some did not join. And there were those who seemed to not trust the trade unions and lacked engagement with them.

When I asked if they were a member of a trade union, some were sceptical in their answer and stated that they were not sure whether or not one existed in the institution they work for or which union they could join. This showed that either they were not interested in joining a trade union, or there was lack of communication and awareness regarding trade unions both within and outside of the institutions where they worked. The quote below which is drawn from an interview with [REDACTED] an employee who worked in one of the ministries in Kosovo reflects this:

No, I don't think there is any trade union in the ministry here. Nobody took initiative, they work for their interest, more to be promoted themselves. I don't know but what I heard from people is that those in the head of trade union use the trade union to achieve something more for themselves.

In cases where those I interviewed do not have direct knowledge about the workings of the trade unions, there is still information they hear from others about them. The dominant belief is that there is lack of initiative amongst employees in Kosovo to organise themselves in trade unions and that they do not trust that trade unions will offer them support. Trade unions had only 20.6% trust as of 2011 by the citizens when

looking of the level of trust in civil society institutions (Kosovar Civil Society Foundation KCSF, 2011).

Even according to those who were members of trade unions and who had more direct knowledge of the role they play, the perception is that they do not offer members sufficient support. The support gained is seen to be more symbolic rather than solid, such as organising different trips and being given presents for Mother's Day, as stated below by one of the employees, [REDACTED] who worked in the [REDACTED]:

Yes, I am a member. No, directly I have not been offered support, I never claimed any help. I am a member of the trade union of the institution. The trade union gave us presents for international women's day. We had travelled with the trade union, but didn't have any help, nothing concrete.

A similar opinion was shared by an employee in a primary school in Prishtina, [REDACTED], who said the following:

Yes, I am a member of the Union of Education, Science and Culture of Kosova. I pay 5% from my salary toward the trade union, they try to help but I don't know how much they can support the rights of employees, I suspect because I don't think that the rights are protected. The support is the last thing! Lately trade union's support has been successful in implementing the minor increase in salary such as €20-30. The request for daily meals and travel allowance has not been fully implemented. Half of the request has been implemented and half not, and the cases of threat to be dismissed and stuff like that has not been supported by trade unions. I do not believe 100% in the trade union that I am a member of and other trade unions. I didn't have any case when I needed their

support, and I don't think that they would support me in terms of my employment rights.

This case shows that there is no trust in any trade union in Kosovo, but there are still those who sacrifice a percentage of their salary to be a member of a trade union. There seems to still be some hidden hope behind the reasons for membership, despite the dissatisfaction those I interviewed expressed. This may be the hope for a better salary, or for other essential expenses to be covered, that would make a financial difference.

To summarise, as per the quotes above, some of the employees thought that public-sector employees are treated in a better way compared to those in the private sector. They believed that trade unions cannot influence the situation much, and some said that they don't see how they can help the private sector, as there is no will and motivation. Everything is politicised, starting from those who head the trade unions and who focus on their interest and not the employees. Another conclusion that can be drawn is that there are trade unions in the public sector and in addition to social activities, they also engage, at least sometimes, in collective bargaining with partial success.

Finally, the politicising of the labour market can also be seen with regards to labour support. Not only can it be seen in the recruitment processes and in treatment at work, where favouritism and nepotism are involved, but it is also seen to affect collective bargaining and unionism, that in fact are entitled and obliged to fight all these phenomena in the workplace.

7.3 Freedom of expression and rights to strike

7.3.1 Legal provision to strike

Kosovo has the legal provision of the rights to strike. This law was approved in 2010 by the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo. The law regulates and ‘guarantees [the] freedom and rights related to organisation and participation of Kosovo employees on strike under international standards. With this law [are] regulated and defined the rights of employees on strike, conditions and ways of organising the strike and also the rights and obligations of employees and employers while being on strike’ (*Law on Labour*, 2010, para. 1 and 2).

The legal provisions to strike are also regulated by the law for organising trade union activities in Kosovo. This law entitles trade unions to ‘undertake actions such as protests and employee strikes in accordance with international conventions, applicable laws and Trade Union Statute in order to exercise pressure for the fulfilment of a Trade Union’s requirement’ (International Comparative Legal Guides, 2017, para.9). However, despite the legal provisions existing, the effort of trade unions in organising protests and strikes has been limited. In 2010, there were 10 strikes in total, whereas for later years, evidence shows that several strikes were organised, however the total number of strikes is unknown. These strikes were mostly in sectors such as, education, healthcare, police, civil service, judiciary, telecommunication, and meat processing. As a result, the majority of strikes and protests in the public sector have been to increase salaries, and against the privatisation process, such as the protest by ‘Post and Telecommunication of Kosovo employees against the privatisation process of this company’ (Eurofund, 2012, p.4).

Nevertheless, the trade unions in public sector did not focus on issues relating to discrimination (Gashi, 2016). The trade unions have blamed each other for not organising employees, for example in the private sector, employees were left out of the social dialogue in Kosovo, even though they make up a significant part of the overall base of the employed. Therefore, it is uncertain whether the Law on Trade Union Organisation can improve the presence of trade unions in the private sector considering that over 90 per cent of Kosovo's firms are micro enterprises with 1 to 9 employees (Cojocaru, 2017).

The UITUK has suggested that the rights to form and join a union are generally respected by the government and by employers in the public sector in Kosovo. However, it claims that political interference is high when it comes to trade union organisations and the rights of individual workers. According to union officials, there are many private employers who do not respect the laws governing the private sector at all, nor do they respect the rights of employees to join unions. There are also reports of employers interfering in worker's associations and unions to prevent the formation of unions, especially in sectors such as banking, construction, and hotels (United States Department of State-Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, 2016). The culture and values that dominate in the workplace and the absence of respect for the rule of law allow for political interference and creates inequalities in the workplace in Kosovo. This also proves that social action in many places in Kosovo is driven by material interest, institutional behaviour that has become a habit that is deeply rooted in the private sector. The media has reported many cases like this, such as the example of the construction company, Bechtel, that dismissed employees who wanted to unionise. UITUK has been called many times 'to speak against violations of the right

to unionise, among other freedoms, and against workplace discrimination’ (Habdank-Kolaczowska and Csaky, 2015, p.324). However, these awareness campaigns seem not to have had much influence as there were no substantial changes to the situation in the labour market. As also stated by the World Bank, the impact of trade unions in Kosovo has been minimal (Gashi, 2016).

According to UITUK, employees usually discuss any work-related issues with the employer informally, and therefore do not undertake any actions outside the organisation/company. Not much is known about how these discussions are resolved. However, in some cases in the public sector, and in response to workplace discrimination or dissatisfaction with the working conditions, employees, such as doctors and teachers, have gone on strike to demand better and more inclusive implementation of collective bargaining, and through this, to attain better working conditions. However, very often, their demands are not taken into consideration, and do not result in any solutions. The widespread belief is that trade unions are ‘poorly organised and ineffective in mobilising workers and protecting their rights. On several occasions they have organized demonstrations, but their impact has not been significant’ (Visoka, 2013, p.35).

7.3.2 Implementation of legal provisions to strike

A recent strike was organised in May 2017, on International Worker’s Day in Prishtina. This time, the strike was organised by the private sector trade union to inform the public about the difficult working conditions employees experience and to fight to improve the situation. The strike was supported by UITUK, however UITUK’s branches did not participate in the strike due to the low participation levels of

employees previously. According to an interview conducted by a journalist of Epoka e Re newspaper in 2017, with the leader of the private trade union, 'there is low level of maturity of the employees to take part in strikes; the private union does not have the budget to offer the transport to employees to participate in strikes in different cities, and also the minimum salary of €120-130 does not allow many employees to participate.' However, he said that this strike is being organised to raise awareness about the difficulties in the private labour market, such as non-application of the labour law and collective bargaining, delays in payment of salary, among others. The trade union had the following requirements during the strike: an increased minimum salary of €300, the formation of a labour court, and prevention of death at the workplace (Gazeta inFokus, 2017).

The journalists' trade unions activism has been in the spotlight of the media and public debate. The following issues, such as the trade union's position across the sectors and the lack of encouragement for journalists to organise in unions, emerged in the media and public debates in 2016:

Firstly, trade unions, as organisations that negotiate on behalf and advocate for workers' rights were described as weak socio-economic concepts in the country, generally absent across sectors. Secondly, the fear factor, such as of losing their jobs or lack of belief in institutional help, discourages journalists from organizing in unions. And thirdly, lack of encouraging examples in society deters them from establishing or believing that trade unions can serve as a platform for collective bargaining' (Kosovo 2.0, Cohu, Press Council of Kosovo, 2016, p.28).

An example of this occurred in 2015, when the Independent Union of Radio Television of Kosova (RTK):

held a protest against the appointment of new editors in chief on the alleged basis that the two appointed names had exercised pressure and censorship. The Union supported the protests, and moreover asked for an investigation to be launched into the spending of public money for RTK's senior management; they also requested from the Assembly to discharge the responsible managers. However, RTK instead decided to discharge the president and vice-president of the Union, which in return stirred protests supported by the newsroom editors and journalists. Despite the fact that this case was shortly seen as a possible change, both within RTK and the role of the Union, the case was quietly shut down – the union leaders were reinstated and the editor-in-chiefs continue to hold their positions (Kosovo 2.0, Cohu, Press Council of Kosovo, 2016, p.29).

Therefore, there is a lack of support from the trade unions in advocating and supporting the employment rights of journalists.

Despite organising strikes, the success of trade union activism seems to depend a lot on the will and participation levels of employees. Participation levels are, in many cases, dependent on the budget of individuals, even though the incentive to participate is high. The phenomena of corruption and nepotism also affect the work of trade unions and there are also issues with poor organisation of strikes and with employees doubting their efficacy.

7.3.3 Experiences of employers and employees with trade unions in the public and private sector

The layout of trade unions differs from public to private institutions. I conducted interviews with employers in both sectors, and this enabled me to understand how much knowledge and activism there is, if at all, of trade unions in each sector. The employers I interviewed were from different institutions and companies, such as the owner of a restaurant, the owner of a private translation agency, and the Director of a division at the [REDACTED].

I asked them questions such as: what is the relationship between employees and employers/management in the organisation/company; how far government, trade unions and employers try to improve employment support to job seekers and employment rights, including employees' opportunities to express their views; and the extent to which these views are taken into consideration by the management; their opinions about the role of trade unions; and how they address trade union reactions towards particular issues.

The employers in the public sector said that employees have the possibility to organise in trade unions and they usually organise in two or more within the institution, because of conflicts in thinking. This is perceived as raising difficulties in communication and as making it difficult to reach agreements with the trade union/s. As the Director in a division in [REDACTED] said:

It is always much easier to talk to one trade union rather than 2-3 trade unions. Everybody should respect their work dictated by the contract; we as management need to control and manage employees. We have cases when employees violate their tasks and we open legal procedures.

He added, ‘if they have any problem, they can address their complaints to the trade unions such as for transport and food.’ █████ claimed to have had good cooperation with trade unions and to have implemented, in advance, some of the requirements in the last national collective agreement. He said that the creation of many trade unions can cause problems at the national level, as the agreement reached with one trade union, does not necessarily mean it will be accepted by the other trade union. The employers also have to respect those agreements. The way his division in the institution addresses the reactions of trade unions towards an issue is through the creation of a special fund to address the requests of employees, such as for salary increases. All these requirements are discussed with the management and the board.

All these are arranged differently in the private sector, and this will be reflected in the analysis of interviews with employers in private sector.

Similar to the findings drawn from different reports and media, the interviewees’ perspective shows that there seems to be a lack of engagement with the trade unions in the private sector on the part of both the employers and employees. Based on the responses of █████, the owner of a private translation company, the initiative to engage with employers and employees should come from the trade unions. There is hesitation on the part of employees to contact trade unions and those he employed never mentioned or thought to contact or join a trade union and ask information about their employment rights. He saw this as a reality that must be lived with, however disappointing it may be. There is lack of engagement from the government to provide employment support and increase the human capital, and to protect employment

rights. ■■■ believed that government does things just to ‘show-off’ on TV, pretending that they are doing decent work, where in fact he believed this is not true.

The lack of knowledge about the trade unions and trust regarding their effectiveness was also mentioned by an employer who is the owner of a restaurant, ■■■ who said that he did not have any idea about the trade unions, but from what he heard from others, politics influenced every sphere of employment.

He said:

I never had an employee who was a member of a trade union. I don’t know what to say but considering what happens here and how much the trade unions react here is very little. I see the head of the trade union, he does not deserve to be there because I think he is very politically influenced. For that reason, the trade unions do not work as they should. The employers in general, I do not think behave well with employees.

■■■ thought that employees in the private sector are not encouraged to express themselves or to claim their rights, and that power lies entirely with the manager who suppresses the opinions of staff and in this way, does not allow them room for complaints. This displays an autocratic management style by means of which the manager controls and dominates the employees and does not allow room for their voice to be heard and their rights entitled by law to be respected.

In summary, as we have seen from employers in both sectors, there are several issues related to trade unions. While in the public-sector employees seem to have the right to organise in trade unions, the fragmentation of the unions does not allow for easy

bargaining and membership. The complexity and conflict in opinions, and power issues, influences this fragmentation, creating a barrier for those employees who may wish to join the union. Whereas in the private sector, this seems to be a new topic where in some cases employees don't even mention or think about it. Even the employers seem to know little about collective bargaining, and their opinions are based on those of others. We saw perceptions that trade unions form part of political clans, and the lack of trust in their role and effectiveness seem to be consistent with what was said by interviewees and discussed in earlier sections of this thesis. This reinstates the role of political culture in the economic culture of the country and demonstrates how it imposes barriers that prevent the development of good relationships in the workplace and mistrust in the institutions of the country. This atmosphere in the labour market can demotivate employees and can prevent them from even attempting to fight for their rights because they are aware that their attempts will not be successful.

Finally, from these interviews, we can understand that practical aspects of the application of unionism in Kosovo coincide with what has been said in media debates and reports. There seems much that is wanted and much that employees are still waiting with regards to the proper protection of employment rights and stronger collective bargaining.

7.4 Trade union representation in key government institutions

Since trade union representation is at the central and sectoral level, federations of different sectors cover corresponding institutions, such as the federation of healthcare, which covers all the healthcare institutions in Kosovo.

The work of trade unions in general has been covered in other sections, hence in this section I will provide summaries of the interviews that I conducted with an analyst and a political adviser, in order to understand their perspectives from a more neutral angle. Both of them were engaged with government institutions, and while they were unable to personalise their opinions with experiences related to trade unions, they provide insightful reflections of the general situation of the activities of trade unions in Kosovo.

The political adviser, [REDACTED] works in one of the Ministries of Kosovo. He was a migrant himself a long time before, and had lived in Switzerland for seven years. He finished his studies in Zagreb in 1991 and graduated from the military academy and was then employed as a driving instructor in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1991, when the crisis began in Yugoslavia, and the war began in Bosnia, he migrated to Switzerland to save his life. He returned to Kosovo in 1998 before the war with Serbia started there. Because he lived in Kosovo before the war, he was able to explain the differences between how Kosovo was before and after the war, and how it is nowadays. The adviser talked about the implementation of employment law, its effectiveness, freedom of expression at work, trade unions, transparency of recruitment, and migration.

On the other hand, the Analyst whom I interviewed, [REDACTED], was a professor in one of the private Universities in Kosovo and provided general analysis of the political, education and economic system of Kosovo. Prior to becoming a professor, he was advisor to the Prime Minister, and held several other political positions. He talked

about the level of employment support in Kosovo, trade unions, corruption, and ways of improving the situation.

The interview with [REDACTED] the political adviser, yielded the reflection that the implementation of employment law in Kosovo is relative, and depends on the institution. He believes that employees are sufficiently free to express their views and suggests that 'employees are required to advance their work and take initiatives. However, in cases of the protection of employees by trade unions, [REDACTED] was sceptical of their support because he believes that trade unions 'are politicised more than they protect the rights of employees.' Being unsure of how much the government has been able to address the requirements of employees, he said:

they only managed to address some requirements of employees, but I don't know how much the government could address them, such as increasing the salary. There is the problem of the heads of trade unions benefiting something for themselves rather than protecting the rights of employees. The heads of trade unions were serving more the politics rather than the employees.

Similar to the adviser's opinion about the trade unions, was that of the Analyst, [REDACTED] who thought that trade unions after the independence of Kosovo failed totally as 'realistically [they] became part of the government [and] they lost the support of those for whom they were created.' He added:

mostly they function as a reason of political making of the government. The government in different ways has supported financially the trade unions, and it has appointed the leaders of trade unions in different boards pretending that they represent the dissatisfaction of employees. Though, the employees are in

a difficult situation, even the journalists do not have contracts and are in a difficult medical and social protection.

■■■■ thought the employers are the clientele of politics and believes that this is the way of governing in Kosovo, and the perspective of doing business. ‘This relation makes possible the activities of the trade unions’, he said.

He added that the main problem in the making of the political sphere in Kosovo after the war is the creation of an ‘abusive’ connection between the citizen and the government and elaborated this rapport as per the following:

This means if you return in Kosovo, you will not be able to find a job if you do not corrupt someone. In Kosovo when you go in the hospital you won’t be able to have treatment without corrupting someone. Same when registering your child at kindergarten, to secure a place you have to bribe the directors. If you want to achieve something, you have to show that you have beautiful legs. This is the abusive connection, when you go to the police, you have to find someone you know, and same when you go in the court. The legal system is the main problem of the failure of the state. It is the most important pillar, if the trust does not exist that you can have your legal rights, then all other trusts are contested because those who are employed to respect your rights and give you rights, those are the ones who violate your rights.

This is an interesting point where the interviewee connected several dots, such as the failure of the legal system in Kosovo resulting from corruption, favouritism and nepotism. ■■■■ showed how his argument applied to all sectors that are influenced by these phenomena, including the employment relationship, where as a result we see the distrust created with the governing system in Kosovo and all the functions of the state.

I can relate this argument to the experiences of the migrants explored in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, and their incentives to migrate. There are also connections and similarities between the opinions of analysts and advisers with those of migrants and return migrants about the entire employment situation and the push factors of migration.

The analyst believed in good rapport in the workplace. However, he thought that in Kosovo the employees are the servants and the owners are the emperors. This was elaborated through his own experience at the private University where he was working at the time of the interview. ■■■ had been ■■■ of that University, and despite that, members of staff were employed without his consent or awareness. He felt that this was not right as he needed to choose the staff that he was responsible for. He considered this authoritarianism, and left that position, and only remained at the University as a professor.

He believed that ‘good rapport should be created, but not saying do this and do that. I want to create good rapport with students, not apply my authority in grades’, he said. The staff he had were all good, but they were all fired by the Dean that year, because ‘nowadays in Kosovo nobody asks you to work how you should, but how they ask you to work. In this case the problem is that if you want to return to Kosovo and you want to make a change you will have serious problems. And if this change will not happen, the state is failing, I do not see improvements. You got the progress report that points out that Kosovo is the most corrupted in the region. I am telling you this is the main problem’ he added. Another belief that ■■■ had and that he thought is crucial to improving the situation, are the changes required in the political sphere and

of those who shape the political landscape. He believes there is ‘potential, but political will, either the international or national one, does not exist.’

As has been demonstrated on many occasions by the interviewees, especially those who are migrants, one of the reasons they do not plan to return is the lack of equal access to resources and opportunities due to corruption in Kosovo. They also could not accept the idea of having to return with their children to Kosovo without the prospect of secure education, jobs, and a stable income. They are also aware of ill-treatment at work, as the case of a return migrant whose daughter had to migrate again as she claimed that her husband was not treated equally at work and was not promoted for the hard work he was doing.

7.5 Enforcement of collective rights

I begin this section by providing information about the authorities that are in place to ensure the enforcement of collective and labour rights. The section offers analysis mainly of the role of the labour inspectorate, its internal challenges, and how far it manages to cover inspections in the companies. The section then provides discussions about the collaboration between the labour inspectorate, trade unions and government. There is a compliance office established by the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare competent in ensuring that the employers are implementing the labour law. There is also an International Labour Organisation office in Kosovo, however this office is limited to projects and does not have advising responsibilities regarding national law nor with regards to ensuring international labour standards.

The Labour Inspectorate mainly focuses on dealing with labour rights. Its role has been in ensuring that labour rights are respected as entitled by law. It conducts investigations and issues fines and penalties, depending on the level of transgressions of the law. The investigation and prosecution of labour law is also made by the judicial system. The ‘administrative and judicial procedures [are] circuitous and subject to lengthy delays or appeals’ (United States Department of State-Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, 2016, p.39). The difficulty with gaining access to courts, the long waiting time for court cases to be processed and resolved, and unpredictable decisions, seem to make the whole legal implementation of the collective agreement difficult. The courts ‘have received more than 130,000 labour related cases [between 2008 and 2012], but have solved only around 14,000’ (ITUC CSI IGB, 2012, para.2). This has discouraged workers from trying to enforce their labour rights through the legal system. Also, workers fear to make complaints because of potential punishments from employers, or they may also be unaware of the legal options available to them to issue complaints.

The Labour Inspectorate has financial and staffing limitations. The small number of inspectors employed cannot monitor both the informal and formal sectors effectively. The Labour Inspectorate has conducted 7,285 inspections in 2016 and this was 2,000 less compared to 2015 (Center for Policies and Advocacy, 2017, para.5).

As of November 2013, the ‘Labour Inspectorate issued [120] fines ranging from non-monetary penalty to 35,000 Euros (\$43,750). [The UITUK and Inspectorate] described these fines as insufficient to deter violations. [The Labour Inspectorate said that] it would need 150 inspectors to be able to monitor employers adequately or have a

measurable impact on labour problems’ (United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, 2014, p.40). The symbolic fines issued by the Inspectorate have been criticised very often and are perceived as showing the inefficacy of the institution and its inability to do its job in the terrain of ensuring that labour rights are protected. Despite the compliance office being established by the Ministry, UITUK reported that employers do not follow the employment law and the collective agreement. According to the country report on Human Rights Practices for 2016, the purpose of the collective ‘agreement was to reduce the size of the informal economy by [issuing penalties to] employers who do not register employees’ (United States Department of State-Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, 2016, p.43). Furthermore, the collective agreement provides for the employers to pay the lunch for employees during working hours, increase salaries based on years of experience, and provide health insurance, but these unfortunately have remained unimplemented.

According to the head of Kosovo’s Independent Trade Union of the Private Sector, there may also be political interference in the Labour Inspectorate before enforcing a decision or a fine. However, he argues that part of the blame falls on both the unions and workers, as ‘they are not properly organised and do not have the determination to reach their goals’ (Avdyli, 2017, para.13).

There is lack of communication between the trade unions and the government authorities, and this has been mentioned in the European Commission report for Kosovo, 2015. According to the report, the lack of implementation of the General Collective Agreement has resulted in many protests in different sectors. There is lack of communication between the authorities and the strike organisers, and as a result

there is lack of implementation of the law on strikes. Furthermore, the majority of trade unions challenge the representation of employees within SEC, and the law on SEC needs to make clear the procedures and criteria. One of the reasons for the lack of implementation of the collective agreement, labour law and inspections legislation is the insufficient budget, including lack of funding in the employment services and in employing sufficient inspectors to cover the implementation of the labour law and on health and safety at work. The social dialogue in Kosovo is dependent on the implementation of the collective agreement. The council needs to improve the quality of the social dialogue; the bi-partite social dialogue is hardly existent (European Commission, 2015).

Finally, we have seen that the lack of enforcement of collective rights in Kosovo has been mainly a result of lack of human and financial resources. This includes a lack of capacities in the responsible authorities to enforce collective rights, but also the absence of workers' and trade unions' initiative to organise and protect employment rights. The communication that is missing between the trade unions and government has challenged the implementation of the labour and inspection legislation. Even the judicial system is subject to lengthy delays and processes, and discourages individuals from issuing claims to protecting their rights. The small fines issued by the Labour Inspectorate have not been an effective way to incentivise enforcement of collective rights and employment law. Perhaps there should be amendments in the value of fines issued so that they become more effective and inclusive of the enforcement of employment law.

As with other areas in Kosovo, in the area of law enforcement, there are reservations that political interference may have occurred in cases before a fine is issued or a decision is made.

7.6 Conclusion

In summary, there are legal provisions in Kosovo on labour law, the collective agreement, organising in trade unions and laws relating to strikes. However, despite the existence of these legal provisions, the situation with regards to trade union activism and the support employees receive from them, remain a challenge. This has especially been the case with the private sector, where the trade union presence has been almost non-existent. In the public sector, the focus of trade unions has been mostly on public wages rather than discrimination issues. Their work has been fragmented due to internal conflicts, political interference, and ineffectiveness. The work of trade unions takes the form of self-interest instead of collective interest, and this can also be seen in the institutions where work relations and institutional culture are based on domination, and political and material interests. Even when strikes and protests have been organised, the requirements were not taken into consideration in many cases by the authorities. This resulted in the violation of employment rights and in the absence of democratic practices in the workplace, more notably in the private sector. Examples of actions taken by workers in protest against unfair working practices are the strike organised in May 2017 by the private sector trade union to raise awareness of the difficulties in the private sector; and the protest by the independent trade union of RTK against the appointment of new editors, among others.

There is low awareness and a lack of courage among employees in protecting their employment rights as a result of lack of information, lack of trust and the fear of losing their jobs. The fear results from the high unemployment rates in Kosovo, and the lack of opportunities; hence, employees tend to discuss work-related issues with the employer informally. Even if an employee was to handle his/her employment issue legally, by taking court action, the dispute would take a long time to be processed and resolved. Hence, this proved very discouraging for employees to handle their disputes through legal channels. The number of inspectors remains too low to provide inclusive coverage of the cases and the fines they do issue are perceived to be low, therefore, enforcement results are insufficient. This situation gives power to the employers, expressly in the private sector. There are cases where employees were dismissed from work without causing any violation of the law, and they could not do anything to challenge that decision. The private sector does not follow labour law and does not respect the rights of employees to join trade unions. This situation in the labour market has demotivated many employees and reduced their will to fight for their rights. This has led many individuals to look abroad for better opportunities.

Finally, despite the good labour laws in Kosovo, that are comparable with those of UK, and in spite of some cases of support for the rights of employees, the failure to enforce the law generally remains a key issue in both the public and private sectors. Hence, many migrants hesitate to return to their country of origin, especially since they could not perceive a prosperous future for their children in Kosovo.

Chapter 8 Conclusions and policy recommendations

8.1 Revisiting the research questions

I started this PhD once I had returned to UK after having tried to settle in Kosovo in 2014. In Kosovo, I struggled to find a job or even reach the interview stage, despite having completed a postgraduate degree and having worked for several years in the UK. The economic and political situation in Kosovo was not stable and I was struggling to get help to enter the labour market. Considering that I was unemployed for several months, I decided to return to the UK and embark on my PhD in order to examine the labour market mechanisms in Kosovo and their role in the migration decision. I wanted to understand whether others in Kosovo, particularly returnees, were facing similar issues with finding suitable jobs. I aimed to examine how experiences of looking for jobs, developing human capital, and undemocratic workplace practices in Kosovo could serve as influencing factors in the decision-making processes of migrants from Kosovo.

Migration from Kosovo has taken place in various phases and for different reasons. This thesis does not focus on only one factor that may cause migration from Kosovo, but builds upon earlier work on the push and pull factors of migration, to construct a comprehensive model of how individuals make decisions to migrate that considers the effects of politics, economy, culture, employment opportunities, and insecurity.

Between 1969 and 2011, people emigrated from Kosovo for family reunification reasons; and in 1999 many Kosovans migrated to flee the war between Kosovo and Serbia. The period after 1999 mainly consisted of migration for study or work arrangements, while migration during 2014 and 2015 was related to the economy and

factors such as poverty, unemployment, low salaries, and loss of hope. However, my hypothesis was that there were also other factors that were related to skills development and lack of support in the workplace that may have influenced migration from Kosovo. Statistics have shown that almost a third of the total population was active, but unemployed, giving an indication that there is a significant relation between unemployment and migration.

Considering this, the central research question was designed to investigate the nexus between employment skills support and democracy at work and how their presence or absence can incentivise migration from Kosovo, or can encourage migrants to return.

Other research questions focused on the following:

- What was the life and work experience pre-migration of those who migrated from Kosovo? This research question focused on understanding the migration process of migrants who migrated from Kosovo. In this context, the thesis examined the reasons for their migration, what made them feel that they would improve their situation by emigrating, how much they felt they have improved their work life after emigration, and under which conditions they would accept returning to Kosovo. This was analytically examined in Chapter 4.
- To what extent do employers and state institutions try to improve employment support to job seekers? This question was designed in order to understand the provision of employment skills support programmes, and entailed an analysis of employment law, and the extent to which the employers' and institutions' actions prove to be efficient. This was elaborated in Chapter 5.

- What are the factors that influence inequalities at work and lead to the violation of employee's rights? This question focused on assessing how employees are treated at work and was discussed in Chapter 6, and considered the role played by trade unions in improving employment rights, which I engaged with in Chapter 7.

To address these questions, I conducted thirty-one semi-structured face-to-face interviews with migrants, return migrants, employees and employers in the private and public sector, trade union members, labour inspectors, economic and political analysts and government representatives. Some court cases have also been examined to provide a practical understanding of the different employment related claims, and how they have been handled, such as discrimination cases. I interviewed migrants from different destination countries to gain an understanding of various migration experiences, migration settings and conditions, and the role of various push and pull factors that intertwine to motivate migration or return.

8.2 Restating the contribution – originality of the research and contribution to knowledge

The migration patterns from Kosovo have been studied by several scholars in Kosovo, especially with regards to how migration can enhance human capital, such as education or through remittances. Also, there are numerous studies worldwide that look at the impact of migration in different countries or the influence of low wages on migration. However, this research brings new elements to the empirical knowledge. Firstly, through the interviews I conducted in Kosovo with a wide range of respondents, this thesis presents insights into unique and comprehensive migration experiences that cast light on the factors that influence migration from Kosovo, such as the outcome of the state's failure to support workers to access the labour market

and to implement labour law. Secondly, it shows how the lack of respect for human rights and the failure to invest in human capital development, and the resulting lack of skills, can enhance migration. The study also offers interesting insights into the influence on migration of other factors, such as corruption, nepotism and favouritism, that not only make human capital development impossible, but also diminish the human rights factor in Kosovo. These factors have emerged while looking at the economic and political push and pull factors of migration in Kosovo that reveal many issues with employment, such as political interferences or corruption and nepotism when appointing candidates to their jobs.

The literature review provides the viewpoints of different migration theorists, describes their different insights, and builds on these to add new elements to understandings of the decision to migrate. These theories have been developed and reviewed by notable authors, such as Ravenstein (1885), Weber (1864-1920), Dahl (1956), Sjaastad (1962), Lee (1966), Bourdieu (1970-1980), Sirkeci (2009), Ahmed (2017), Cohen and Sirkeci (2011), Baser and Ozturk (2020), and De Haas (2021). Many of these theories are partially applicable in explaining the reasons for migration from Kosovo, such as Karl Marx's theory of capitalism and how that is translated in the modern world. Other theories such as dual labour market, world system theory, etc. have explained only specific factors rather than a set of factors that can capture the migration trends from Kosovo more comprehensively. The push and pull models of neoclassical theory have helped to explain most closely the migration decisions from Kosovo. This is because this model includes many push and pull factors, and considering Kosovo's case, it encapsulates the complexity of factors influencing migration from Kosovo. It includes push factors such as the lack of employment

support; corruption and nepotism; unemployment; the failure to implement employment law; discrimination at work; lack of prosperity and loss of hope; low salary; war/insecurity; family reunification; culture; mismatch of skills, among others. The pull factors coming from more developed countries, such as higher income; better education and health system; better welfare benefits; and higher standards of living, attracted migration from Kosovo. As explained in Lee's version of push and pull factors, and as revealed by the interviews with migrants conducted for this study, unemployed young people in Kosovo are drawn to job opportunities and the higher income they can earn abroad, rather than being drawn by the education system. The education system in the country of destination is more of a pulling factor for the families with children (King, 2012). However, there are also many cases of young Kosovans who migrate for education purposes.

The push and pull factors that influence migration from Kosovo are a redefined version of Lee's migration model, since migration from Kosovo did not happen only because one was forced to move, but due to many socio-economic factors. Hence, the application of this model in Kosovo's case brings fresh and more recent reflections of analysis of this model and how this is applied in the contemporary era. Weber (1920) reveals that social action is driven by material interests and that individuals consciously perform rational actions to undertake what is in their interest. He argues that modern societies are more concerned with efficiency than ethical considerations. In the case of Kosovo, it has been interesting to see how material interests have driven people to navigate their outcomes in the labour market in the pre-employment process and during employment. We have seen the role of corruption, favouritism, and nepotism in the recruitment processes and in the treatment of employees at work.

However, the push and pull model has its disadvantages in explaining migration from Kosovo. It does not explain the human capital development factor, including aspects relating to motivation and opportunities, nor does it account for the lack of employment rights at home; and it does not account for social constraints, such as whether or not people have equal access to resources. This assumes that people are homogeneous, and they respond in linear ways to social changes and influences. Cohen and Sirkeci (2016) and Stark (1991) explain the push and pull models as simple but instrumental and centred on the individual as the decision maker. They argue that migration is not only the decision of the individual, but it should be considered as a decision that is made by the individual as part of a family, a household, and as a member of certain ethnic or religious groups.

This thesis also sheds light on the use of labour in Kosovo by many private companies, that, as explained in Karl Marx' theory of capitalism, the saving is made through the use of the labour market. In Kosovo's case, maybe not by force as explained in this theory, but in a softer way, through the imposition of factors such as not being paid for working overtime. Early studies of democracy at work by Dahl (1956) suggest that market-oriented capitalist systems require practices to keep political institutions democratic. He calls for a corporate world that places the rights of employees at the centre of decision making, and suggests that power be shared equally.

Cultural aspects, networking and social labelling as explained by cumulative causation theory have proven important for those who migrate from Kosovo. Having relatives abroad has helped Kosovans in choosing a specific country to migrate to, as the support from some of these family members have been high in settlement and

integration processes. Furthermore, social labelling has had significance for Kosovan households where income distribution was seen as it should be of the same level or higher from the reference group. This means that it is more likely that Kosovans would migrate because they do not want to have a bad income reputation compared to others in the family or neighbourhood. According to Sirkeci et al. (2012), the more migrants earned in the destination, the more remittances they would send to their country of origin. In Kosovo's case, remittances have been one of the main sources of revenue and have played a crucial role in reducing poverty in the country.

The role of migrant networks in migration decision-making processes has been extensively studied by numerous scholars, most notably Bourdieu in 1970s and early 1980s, Cohen and Sirkeci (2011), Baser and Ozturk (2020), Putnam (1995), and Dago and Barussaud (2020). This thesis also looks at networking and how it helps to facilitate or create barriers to migration. It examines migration as a form of movement that can be shaped by a plethora of factors, acting in tandem to generate the process of migration; it also explores the process of how people connected with others and interacted with institutions in the country of destination and the connections they had with people left behind in the origin country.

In terms of the cultural aspects of migration, Cohen and Sirkeci (2011) suggest that people migrate to other countries not only for economic reasons, but also because of a lack of security in the country of origin. In the case of Kosovo, we have seen that in certain periods of time, and especially during the conflict between Serbs and Kosovans in 1999, migration from Kosovo was predominantly for security reasons and to flee persecution.

Bourdieu (1986) analyses the culture factor in the context of cultural capital and power relations between the institutions and individuals. This thesis explores the role of power relations between employers and employees in Kosovo, as well as the legal employment entitlements, the inequalities and treatment at the workplace and the ways these have impacted migration decision-making. It also focuses on the job seeker or the employee accessing the resources that could help to develop their skills.

De Haas (2021) and Schewel (2020), look at migration within the immobility and the aspiration-capability framework. This thesis does not look at migration from the perspective of immobility, however further studies could look at the factors that could encourage immobility as opposed to migration.

Finally, this study shows that migration from Kosovo cannot be studied through an isolated theoretical approach. This is considering that the reasons for migration from Kosovo are embedded in structural conditions in different time periods, and hence are very diverse and complex. A more interdisciplinary approach has made it possible to build on the different theories in order to bring new, original and comprehensive insights about the reasons for migration, an approach that takes into account the labour market, economic and political conditions at home, as well as the socio-cultural and human capital development aspects.

8.3 Summary of the Methodology

To explore the dynamics and migration trajectories, a qualitative methodological approach has been applied. This approach brought rich data sources that helped to understand the motivations for migration in greater depth. The study began with secondary research to understand the background and contextual information on

migration trends from Kosovo. This included knowledge about employment law, migration theories, the different phases of migration, and the different reasons for migration. I looked at various country reports about Kosovo; migration and employment statistics; articles on the mismatch of skills; trade union activities; the point of view of the media and institutions about the implementation of labour law; journals that focus on the effects of migration on poverty and inequality in Kosovo; EU directives regarding labour rights; and the role of strikes in the protection of labour rights, among others. The statistics that I extracted by conducting secondary research were about the numbers of the employed, those seeking employment, the number of job seekers who have been offered employment support, and the number of those who migrated.

The in-depth understanding of migration experiences and reasons behind these choices were explored through the primary research I conducted, which took the form of 31 face-to-face, semi-structured interviews. The semi-structured interviews were conducted with migrants, return migrants, job seekers, employees and employers in the private and public sector, political and economic analysts and advisers, trade union members, and with a labour inspector. These interviews helped to answer the research questions about the life and work experiences of those who migrated from Kosovo; the treatment of employees at work in Kosovo; what it is like to look for jobs in Kosovo; the forms of employment support that are provided; the support of trade unions; the implementation of employment law; and the political and economic situation in Kosovo.

The approach used in this research is interpretivist because it is based on philosophical assumptions. I allowed the interviewees to express themselves freely and to speak openly about their employment and migration experiences. Hence, this approach allowed me to look at the migration issue through the participants' views, experiences, and backgrounds.

In combination with the primary and secondary approaches, was the collection and analysis of several court cases in order to understand the nature of discrimination at the workplace, and the ways these cases are handled more closely. These three sources of information have been used, and the data has been triangulated in order to reach a comprehensive understanding of the issues around migration and migration incentives from Kosovo.

Considering that the samples were non-probability samples and provisional of the entire population, as the financial and human resources to conduct the research were limited, the results do not allow for generalisations on the topic, but rather provide a good in-depth understanding of the influence of employment support and inequalities at work and other factors on migration, which is the primary aim of this study.

Based on the sample size and the feasibility limitations in conducting this study, convenience and snowball sampling techniques were used. Social networks have played a huge role in accessing the interviewees. While these techniques may be perceived as biased, and do not allow for generalisations, the references from informants in accessing new interviewees not only proved successful, but it would have been impossible to access the migrants, return migrants and job seekers otherwise, because such information is not available online. This methodological

approach also contributed to the diversity of samples that enriched the research even further by adding significant and interesting insights. Apart from using convenience and snowball sampling techniques, access to some officials in the Ministries was found online by searching for the different institutions and departments on Google, and then contacting them directly. In cases where the information was not found online, I went to the institutions in-person and arranged with the receptionists to contact the interviewees.

To analyse the data that I have collected, I used the method of thematic analysis. This method helped me to find the themes within my qualitative data. I reviewed all the data, generated codes from them, searched for themes within the codes, defined the themes, and named them. I used an Excel spreadsheet (available in Appendix 8) where, after highlighting the codes, I transferred the corresponding paragraphs. Thereafter, I looked for basic themes that represent something interesting about the data, checked if they reoccur and grouped them in a Word document. Finally, I defined, rearranged, and grouped the basic themes into major themes that tell a story and provide answers to the research questions.

In this chapter I also provided reflective notes on how I began my PhD journey and discussed the reflexivity approach that assisted me in understanding my positionality in the research. I had some pre-conceptions about the situation in Kosovo, particularly of the labour market, based on my personal experience, however, through conducting this research I wanted to understand if my beliefs were true and applicable to others and if the lack of human capital development and the lack of democracy at work had indeed influenced migration from Kosovo. I have achieved objectivity by detaching

myself from my own experience as I put open-ended questions to the interviewees and allowed them to freely relay their experiences, without me leading any questions, thus avoiding biased responses. The only connection I had with some of the interviewees and the data gathered was that I was empathetic, and some of the stories echoed my own experience. However, every experience of the interviewees was unique and added great depth to the study.

8.4 Empirical findings

The analysis of the primary and secondary research shows that the motivations shaping migration from Kosovo have been related to many push and pull factors.

8.4.1 Migration from Kosovo: push and pull factors

Regarding the reasons for migration of those who migrated from Kosovo, those I interviewed perceived migration as a gateway to finding better employment opportunities, and as a result to enable them to earn a higher income and to have a more prosperous future. Social networks played an important role in the choices of destination countries because of established information channels, and assistance with finances and integration processes. Some countries of destination matched migrant socio-economic backgrounds, while others were preferred for the demand for skilled labour. Even with the existence of networks in the destination, there were interviewees who did not materialise their aspirations to migrate because of family and social affinity, despite the need and capability to do so. There were also examples of individuals whose aspirations to migrate changed over time dependant on the access to various economic, social, and cultural resources. The aspirations to migrate differed between interviewees even if they faced similar push and pull factors. Migration plans

and decisions to remain in the country of destination have been incentivised by the desire to create a family abroad, since many people migrate for family reunification purposes and to offer a better education and health care system to the future/younger generations, their children. They do not always take migration decisions on their own, but are influenced by their families and by financial insecurity at home, or to fulfil social and traditional beliefs that when one migrates, others should migrate too. The migrants I interviewed have deep emotional attachments to Kosovo, as they have relatives there, it is their country, and they want to protect family and traditional values among the younger generation by regularly visiting Kosovo, so that they do not forget their country, language and tradition. However, they are dissuaded from returning due to the lack of employment prospects in Kosovo, the presence of corruption and nepotism that makes the reintegration into the home country more difficult, the poor education and health system and social security measures that make the living standards undesirable for the migrants.

8.4.2 Looking for and finding work in Kosovo

In terms of employment in Kosovo and support with finding a job, the analysis I have conducted reveals that finding a job in Kosovo is very difficult and, in many cases, impossible. There is low investment in generating sufficient businesses and jobs. The education system has been focused and biased in producing graduates with economic diplomas, that in turn exhaust the labour market and shrink the opportunities for all. This also limits the opportunities abroad for these graduates as many of the private universities in Kosovo do not provide diplomas that are internationally recognised. As a result, there is a surplus of graduates and a deficit of jobs, as the skills produced through the education system in Kosovo do not match the needs of the labour market.

Hence, there are many graduates who have a degree and do not have a job. Long periods of unemployment contribute to the depreciation of skills. Under-skilled employees who have been employed impact the performance of the institution/company and levels of progress on the economy of the country. The interviewees recommended that education should not only be focused on universities, but also on non-academic and vocational professions. This would create a more diverse labour market and would encourage innovation and initiatives. Furthermore, this would help to develop the human capital needed to match the labour market demands in Kosovo. Also, research could contribute towards the identification of areas that require higher skills to fill existing gaps in the labour market, thus reducing overqualification or underqualification. Professional qualifications and national policies play a significant role in the acquisition of the right skills set.

Finding a job in Kosovo is also difficult because of nepotism and favouritism. This seems to be the easiest channel to get into the labour market. There are many jobs that are advertised for the sake of 'transparency', but where the employees are appointed in advance. This unfairness discourages job seekers and motivates them to look for opportunities to migrate and find a job abroad. It deploys a labour market that is not shaped by quality, but by unfair socio-cultural privileges afforded to those who do not deserve to be there, who might not even have the necessary qualifications to do the job. This reflects that social action in Kosovo is mainly driven by material and familial interests.

Some of the employers that I interviewed revealed that the quality of CVs they considered as part of job applications, show that job seekers do not receive

employment support. This seems to be due to employment agencies providing limited help, and not being very active. The employment support programmes are not accessible to everyone and create an unequal distribution of human capital; hence help with trainings, CVs, search for jobs, and assistance with interview preparation is needed. Even if these provisions were made available in Kosovo, they may not make much of a difference considering that CVs and the quality of candidates are not even considered in some job vacancies. The government has tried to introduce some measures such as salary subventions, self-employment, and internships, however, these seem to have been limited, too. Many interviewees said that apprenticeships are limited in Kosovo, and it would have helped a lot if there were more in place to increase the skills required to prepare candidates for real workplace challenges. Furthermore, the graduates would have had a good practical experience of what they have learnt at the university and as a result, increase their employment skills and employability chances. However, apprenticeships do not seem to be a priority or even a necessity in the labour market in Kosovo as politics plays a significant role in structural inequalities in the labour market in Kosovo. Some of those in power in Kosovo employ only their own people, and in this way, disqualify others from having equal access to opportunities.

8.4.3 Working in Kosovo and democracy at work

Regarding inequalities at work and the violation of employee's rights, the empirical findings show that the employment rights of many of those who are employed in Kosovo are violated, and that they lack the protections that are meant to be offered by the trade unions. For many interviewees, the perception has been that trade unions are also politicised, and members use their membership as an opportunity to gain personal

benefits. Although employment law exists and does conform to European standards and regulations, it is not adequately implemented. This poses the need for a more effective implementation of the law and for more comprehensive inspections of the institutions, and for higher fines to be issued in the case of transgressions of the law.

Many of the employees in the private sector do not possess contracts and work overtime unwillingly. Some of them also work without the equipment that ensures safety at work, and are not provided with training to prepare and protect themselves from harm at work. Furthermore, health insurance is not provided to many employees, and this risks their wellbeing. In order to keep their jobs, they allow themselves to be exposed to such threats and discomfort, unless they plan to migrate. These decisions are dependent on the individuals and the cultural and social capital characteristics that they possess, and these factors also play a role when choosing the country of destination.

In some private organisations or companies, women are not entitled to maternity leave and would lose their jobs if they were to go on maternity leave. This shows that gender-based cultural and social inequalities are prevalent in workplaces in Kosovo. Some employees in private companies are also forced to do other jobs in addition to the job they are hired for, such as cleaning or buying lunches for the manager. Many of the interviewees felt intimidated and distressed by this situation, and they saw no future for themselves in Kosovo. Many feared being fired by their employers, and hence do not fight for their rights at the workplace. They do not want to lose their jobs, even if they are not happy with them because they know that it will be extremely difficult or impossible to find another job, hence they would even tolerate discrimination at work.

They are aware that they can be fired at any time because the law does not function properly, and as a result, employers are not prevented from easily firing their employees. The shortage of jobs in Kosovo creates a sense of insecurity amongst jobseekers as well as for those who are employed. Lack of income is a threat to wellbeing of many families and they seek economic, social, and cultural security, which often necessitates moving abroad to achieve what they lack at home.

Many of the employers do not register their employees with the tax administration as they want to avoid paying taxes to the government. Therefore, many of the employees are not even registered as employees. The management style in many companies and organisations is reflected as autocratic where employees' voices are disregarded, and internal politics is in favour of those who are in charge. The employees have to follow the rules of those who hold power if they want to remain in the job, and democracy in some workplaces in Kosovo is non-existent, especially in the private sector.

Employees in Kosovo also have some other concerns. They have the pressure and challenge of performing, adapting to change and competing priorities, and the simultaneous challenge of keeping their contract rolling. The stimulation at the workplace is low and chances for promotion limited. This lack of democracy in the workplace narrows down the pool of opportunities for career development in Kosovo. They also have a continuous battle to have an affordable life with the low salaries they receive. They feel that they could get much more income abroad for performing the same job, or even for a lower skilled job. Hence, they are tempted to look for migration possibilities so that they can have a higher salary and secure a better quality of life for themselves and their families.

8.5 Limitation and outlook

While this study offers significant insights and makes a valuable contribution to the study of the factors that have affected migration from Kosovo, it is limited in that it does not offer generalisable findings. As previously mentioned, the sample size is not large enough nor is it sufficiently representative to test the assumptions that underpin the study in a robust manner, and a non-probability sampling strategy has been adopted that does not allow for generalisations to be made about the population. However, qualitative methodology has been used, as the aim of this research has been to understand experiences and this methodology makes it possible to attain rich empirical data and in-depth contextual information about migration journeys that reveal a great deal about the different factors that have influenced migration from Kosovo. While it would have been beneficial to use a mixed method approach, combining qualitative and quantitative data and providing extra depth of understanding, the aim of this study was to understand certain experiences, rather than to test hypotheses and examine the existence of significant relationships between different factors in migration decisions. This is the reason I have used the qualitative and not the quantitative approach or a combination of the two. However, the topic guide includes some quantifiable questions, such as age, gender and education that are not part of the core questions but are used to understand the sample specifications and diversification. This study may inform the development of future research that can focus more on quantifiable findings and can work with larger samples that can be developed for a survey-based research study.

This study provides the migration stories of around 15 people, and so for this reason, it does not provide information regarding all possible circumstances for migration.

However, these stories are indicative of the diversity of migration experiences, and cover most of the main migration trends. Reasons for migration have been explored, initially through secondary research, and then enriched by means of primary research stories. Nevertheless, these migration stories reveal much more than what can be found in the secondary research, that there are many more factors that divulge the complexity of migration decisions from Kosovo, such as loss of hope, lack of employment support, discrimination at work, corruption, nepotism and favouritism, and low salaries.

As it currently stands, migration remains an aspiration for many Kosovans, as a result of the political-economic turmoil in Kosovo, however migration is still very limited due to the lack of visa liberalisation. Therefore, many Kosovans who would attempt to migrate are unable to do so, unless they migrate for purposes of family reunification or education abroad, but even migration for these reasons is dependent on attaining visas. Based on this, it is unclear how the future political and economic developments will influence the development of migration from Kosovo, nor of what its effects will be on those who were interviewed as part of this research.

Some of those interviewed for this study had already tried their luck and attempted to migrate during 2014, but they were returned by the host country. Some of them said during the interview, that if they had the opportunity they would migrate again, and some return migrants said that they would return to the host country. While the situation with corruption, nepotism and favouritism remains the same and job opportunities remain limited, and while there is an ongoing failure to implement employment law, many of the interviewees would still want to migrate. Indeed, some

may have already done so, such as return migrants, who still have ties with the country of destination.

Finally, migrants from Kosovo will most likely continue to construct their migration experiences based on different factors that can be socio-economic, political, as well as their own personal decisions to pursue their aspirations.

8.6 Recommendations

The primary and secondary research I conducted provides conclusive findings about the different factors that influence migration from Kosovo, focusing on employment support and inequalities at work. They reveal that there is a mismatch of skills with the labour market needs, resulting in a surplus of graduates and a deficit of jobs for those professions. Laws governing employment are inadequately implemented, and as a result there is greater inefficiency and manipulation of the labour market. The following recommendations can be drawn that provide suggestions about possible solutions to these issues:

Mismatch of skills – the interviews conducted for this study and the secondary research synthesised through this research, show that a mismatch of skills plays a role in the surplus of graduates who remain without jobs in Kosovo. Not only are the number of jobs limited, but the available jobs are also either allocated through nepotism and favouritism, or it is often that case that there are more than 100 people applying for the same job. Despite the existence of these phenomena, there is a need for an extensive study of the labour market in Kosovo, that would explore the supply and demand of skills, in order to determine which areas should be incentivised to

increase the number of jobs, e.g. vocational education rather than university education. This would help to reduce competition in the labour market for areas that are over-supplied with prospective candidates but for which there is limited demand, and will ensure that there are suitable employees for those fields in which there is a demand for labour. This can also potentially reduce incentives for using mechanisms such as nepotism and favouritism to secure a job. Therefore, the intervention that is required to reduce the mismatch of skills should be through education, and a clear direction of the focus of education should be set, in order to yield more profiles to respond to labour market needs.

This would not necessarily solve the problem of unemployment in Kosovo, but would help to diversify profiles in the labour market, and open up new opportunities for innovation and investment.

Investment is another recommendation that is related to the mismatch of skills and also relates to other areas, such as workforce capabilities and the economy more broadly. Investing more in vocational education, in the business sector, and creating internships, would help to prepare graduates and equip them with the skills needed in underdeveloped areas such as agriculture, mining, and production, and will provide prospective employees exposure to the working environment. Increased investment in skills and ideas would boost production, increase the GDP per capita, and lead to an increase in employment opportunities. The government should increase investment, not only in internship programmes, but also for employment support programmes. The government should also invest in advertising these programmes, so that job seekers are made aware of the available support. The government has tried to introduce active

measures, such as subvention of salaries, self-employment and internships. However, these measures seem to have been limited, as many employees have held protests to call for increased pay; internships in companies and organisations have been limited, and have not necessarily focused on preparing graduates for employment, and to have a competitive advantage over others.

However, none of the above recommendations will work unless Kosovo's employment law is implemented. As we have seen from the study, this is a critical area, and, as it stands, the country's legislation does conform to European standards, but practically there is no control of the labour market and its activities. Many employees do not enjoy the rights they are entitled to by law, and those who are seeking employment are not given equal opportunities, or are discouraged by the non-transparency of recruitment processes. One of the fundamental changes needed in the labour market in Kosovo, are mechanisms to ensure the effective functioning of employment law. Employment law could be applied by imposing preventive measures, such as effective penalties and regular and consistent monitoring of the work of different companies and organisations. Of course, to achieve this, investment needs to be made in certain areas, such as increasing the number of inspectors to regularly visit the different organisations and institutions. Furthermore, the increase in fines could potentially help to increase awareness and reduce abuses of the law.

Another area that could help make implementation of the law more effective, could be through imposing measures to control corruption and nepotism. Developing a culture of transparency may not be easy, as this phenomenon seems to be widespread and deeply rooted in Kosovo, however, a change in politics and the strict implementation

of the law can prevent this disease both from being sustained and from spreading even further.

Kosovo is working hard towards EU integration and membership. Its sovereignty has been recognised by many countries, but the recognition process with some countries, such as Serbia, has stagnated. Once its accession to the EU is granted, the potential impact could be massive migration, for the reasons examined above. However, accession to the EU should help to ‘secure Kosovo’s integration into international organisations and open access to international labour markets’ (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2018, para.77). This may enable many young people to pursue their careers abroad, would assist job seekers in finding employment, make it possible for employees to receive a higher income and better treatment at work, help families to secure a better future for their children, increase Kosovo’s cooperation with other countries, and increase investments internally and externally. However, this may result in a brain-drain from Kosovo, which on the one hand, may make the country more vulnerable, or on the other, may boost investment through increased remittances.

Finally, the insights from this study can be beneficial for other research settings in the area of employment and migration, especially when it comes to quantifying the correlation between human capital development and democracy at work on the one hand, and migration on the other. Moreover, this research can inform further research that could be developed to investigate the factors that influence people to stay in Kosovo, by analysing the factors that influence people to leave Kosovo, or vice versa. As Schewel (2020) suggests in her article, ‘Understanding Immobility: Moving Beyond the Mobility Bias in Migration Studies’, decisions to migrate can also be

studied through considering why people decide to stay in their home country. She argues that addressing the question of why people do not migrate is as important as analysing why people migrate, in order to understand decision-making relating to migration. This is when preferences to stay override all the potential factors that can influence one to migrate.

The narratives from the different migrant stories that are included here, provide solid empirical data that not only brings unique and rich stories to life, but can also inspire interventions that would seek to improve the lives of people living in Kosovo by driving innovation and investment. More than this, the migrant stories may be used further in a mixed-methods approach combining qualitative and quantitative research and/or a longitudinal study, which could involve interviewing these same migrants again on the same questions in order to understand more deeply the different reasons for migration and their connection, and how they create a form of movement that goes beyond borders to achieve what could not be achieved in their country of origin.

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[Please note that the website could not be accessed on 25/09/2021 anymore]

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Appendices

Appendix 1 London Met research ethics review form

Postgraduate research students (MPhil, PhD and Professional Doctorate): This form should be completed by all research students in full consultation with their supervisor. All research students must complete a research ethics review form before commencing the research or collecting any data and no later than six months after enrolment.

Staff: This form should be completed by the member of staff responsible for the research project (i.e. Principal Investigator and/or grant-holder) in full consultation with any co-investigators, research students and research staff before commencing the research or collecting any data.

London Met's *Research Ethics Policy and Procedures* and *Code of Good Research Practice*, along with links to research ethics online courses and guidance materials, can be found on the Research & Postgraduate Office Research Ethics webpage:

<http://www.londonmet.ac.uk/research/current-students/research-ethics/>

London Met's Research Framework can be found here:

<http://www.londonmet.ac.uk/research/current-students/research-framework/>

Researcher development sessions can be found here:

<http://www.londonmet.ac.uk/research/current-students/researcher-development-programme/>

This form requires the completion of the following three sections:

SECTION A: APPLICANT DETAILS

SECTION B: THE PROJECT - ETHICAL ISSUES

SECTION C: THE PROJECT - RISKS AND BENEFITS

SECTION A: APPLICANT DETAILS

A1	Background information
	Research project title: The influence of employment skills support and inequalities at work in the incentives to migrate - a case study of Kosovo.
	Date of submission for ethics approval: 04 December, 2014
	Proposed start date for project: Enrolment for MPhil/PhD: 10 October 2014, proposed Field Work: October/November, 2015
	Proposed end date for project: October 2020 (Maximum period)
	Ethics ID # (to be completed by RERP chair):

A2	Applicant details, if for a research student project
	Name: Vlora Berbatovci-Sojeva
	London Met Email address: vlb0044@my.londonmet.ac.uk

A3	Principal Researcher/Lead Supervisor Member of staff at London Metropolitan University who is responsible for the proposed research project either as Principal Investigator/grant-holder or, in the case of postgraduate research student projects, as Lead Supervisor
	Name: Dr Sylvie Contrepolis
	Job title: Reader in European Employment Relations
	London Met Email address: s.contrepolis@londonmet.ac.uk

SECTION B: THE PROJECT - ETHICAL ISSUES

B1	The Research Proposal Please attach a brief summary of the research project including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Background/rationale • Research questions/aims/objectives • Research methodology • Review of key literature in this field & conceptual framework for study • References <p>If you plan to recruit participants, be sure to include information how potential participants in the study will be identified, approached and recruited; how informed consent will be obtained; and what measures will be put in place to ensure confidentiality of personal data.</p>
B2	Research Ethics Please outline any ethical issues that might arise from this study and how they are to be addressed. <i>NB All research projects have ethical considerations. Please complete this section as fully as possible using the following pointers for guidance. Please include any additional information that you think would be helpful.</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does the project involve potentially deceiving participants? <i>Yes/No</i> • Will you be requiring the disclosure of confidential or private information? <i>Yes/No</i> • Is the project likely to lead to the disclosure of illegal activity or incriminating information about participants? <i>Yes/No</i> • Does the project require a Criminal Records Bureau check for the researcher? <i>Yes/No</i> • Is the project likely to expose participants to distress of any nature? <i>Yes/No</i> • Will participants be rewarded for their involvement? <i>Yes/No</i> • Are there any potential conflicts of interest in this project? <i>Yes/No</i> • Are there any other potential concerns? <i>Yes/No</i>
B3	<p>If you answered yes to any of the points above, please explain.</p> <p>The project involves interviewing some of the employers and government officials who may be biased in their answers or hiding the truth such as when it comes to the implementation of employment policies and job support programmes and the discrimination of the job seekers and employees. These situations will be addressed with tact and care by not going beyond the questions</p>

<p>B4</p> <p>B5</p>	<p>planned or avoiding some of the questions if any discomfort is perceived. Furthermore, if I believe that I am not getting truthful answers from the persons mentioned above, as a back-up plan I will do more interviews with people of the same level in order to possibly get more reliability on the information gathered.</p> <p>There can also be some instances when the employees to be interviewed may fear to answer the interview questions as they will answer questions about how they are treated at work. However, they will be informed that their answers will be kept confidential. Another case may be with the job seekers who can be frustrated with the lack of employment support and discrimination during their job-hunting process.</p> <p>These possible cases may lead to possible revelations of confidential or private information. Therefore, through providing a written information sheet and consent form, boundaries of consent will be clarified and explanations will be given that the data use will be in compliance with the data protection legislation. Also, consent will be given about audio - recording of the data.</p> <p>In case of any distress of participants, I shall make clear to the interview participants that it is voluntary if they want to participate and that they can decline to respond to questions if they do not feel comfortable or stop the interview. I can also suggest interrupting the interview. Furthermore, I will prepare some means of support such as contact details of the available employment support programmes and institutions, contact details of the trade unions, list of local counsellors, etc.</p>
	<p>Does the proposed research project involve:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The analysis of existing data, artefacts or performances that are not already in the public domain (i.e. that are published, freely available or available by subscription)? <i>Yes/No</i> • The production and/or analysis of physical data (including computer code, physical entities and/or chemical materials) that might involve potential risks to humans, the researcher(s) or the University? <i>Yes/No</i> • The direct or indirect collection of new data from humans or animals? <i>Yes/No</i> • Sharing of data with other organisations? <i>Yes/No</i> • Export of data outside the EU? <i>Yes/No</i> <p>If you answered yes to any of the points above, please explain.</p> <p>As mentioned above, an informed consent form will be given to participants to be signed. They will also be given a participant information sheet. They will be informed about the reason of the research, their rights, the uses of the data, how the analysis will be reported and disseminated and who to contact if they have any concern.</p> <p>They will be guaranteed confidentiality by providing the information sheet and signing the consent form when agreed before the interview/survey begins. The files containing personal data will be carefully labelled and stored in private computers. They will have pseudonyms or numbers as identifiers. The key to real names will be stored on a different computer.</p>

[illegible]

	<p>I sent an email to University of Prishtina in this address: [REDACTED]</p>
	<p>Does the proposed research involve:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The collection and/or analysis of body tissues or fluids from humans or animals? <i>Yes/No</i> • The administration of any drug, food substance, placebo or invasive procedure to humans or animals? <i>Yes/No</i> • Any participants lacking capacity (as defined by the UK Mental Capacity Act 2005)? <i>Yes/No</i> • Relationships with any external statutory-, voluntary-, or commercial-sector organisation(s) that require(s) research ethics approval to be obtained from an external research ethics committee or the UK National Research Ethics Service (this includes research involving staff, clients, premises, facilities and data from the UK National Health Service (NHS), Social Care organisations and some other statutory public bodies within the UK)? <i>Yes/No</i> <p>If you answered yes to any of the points above, please contact your faculty's RERP chair for further guidance.</p>

SECTION C: THE PROJECT - RISKS AND BENEFITS

C1	<p>Risk Assessment</p> <p>Please outline:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the risks posed by this project to both researcher and research participants <p>The project may pose some risks such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ personal safety when meeting with different participants, such as risk of physical threat or abuse ○ potential fear of participants to give honest answers and thus distorting the research ○ distress of participants ○ unwillingness to cooperate because my research touches on sensitive issues such as revelation of some illegal practices <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the ways in which you intend to mitigate these risks <p>The risks will be mitigated by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • letting my family or friends know with who I have the interview, and the time and place of the interview. I will also offer to meet participants in safe places and during day time
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ensuring consent, confidentiality and anonymity of the participants • suggesting to interrupt the interview if any distress situation may arise • ensuring gradual networking with the company/individual when needed in order to ensure credibility, meaning to demonstrate a clear account of the purpose of my research before the interview starts in case of any dislike that may arise related to me investigating the issue <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the benefits of this project to the applicant, participants and any others <p>The project will offer deep analysis of the influence of employment skills support and inequalities at work in the incentives to migrate. And therefore, this will be an interesting exploration for the applicant where there will be opportunities to learn a lot about the topic and gain different perspectives from people's experiences on the issue.</p> <p>The participants will benefit as they can learn about the job support programmes available and the ways they can prepare for the job market.</p> <p>Some companies may be concerned about the same subject as the one of my research and therefore would be happy to discuss it.</p> <p>The research outcomes of my project will be publicly available via my thesis. Should participants wish to receive research outcomes directly from me, I will forward them an electronic copy of my thesis once it has been accepted and corrected.</p> <p>If required by the job seekers or employees, I can deliver information related to the job support programmes and the ways they can prepare for the job market. If needed, I can suggest a list of employment support programmes available.</p>
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Please ensure that you have completed Sections A, B, and C and attached a Research Proposal before submitting to your Faculty Research Ethics Review Panel (RERP)

Please sign this form and submit it as an email attachment to the Chair of your faculty's Research Ethics Review Panel (RERP) and cc all of the staff and students who will be involved in the proposed research.

<http://www.londonmet.ac.uk/research/current-students/research-ethics/>

Research ethics approval can be granted for a maximum of 4 years or for the duration of the proposed research, whichever is shorter, on the condition that:

- The researcher must inform their faculty's Research Ethics Review Panel (RERP) of any changes to the proposed research that may alter the answers given to the questions in this form or any related research ethics applications

- The researcher must apply for an extension to their ethics approval if the research project continues beyond 4 years.

Declaration

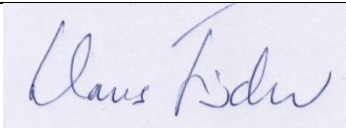
I confirm that I have read London Met's *Research Ethics Policy and Procedures* and *Code of Good Research Practice* and have consulted relevant guidance on ethics in research.

Researcher signature: Vlora Berbatovci-Sojeva

Date: 08/01/2015

Feedback from Ethics Review Panel

	<i>Approved</i>	<i>Feedback where further work required</i>
Section A	x	
Section B	x	<p>Reviewer 1 requests confirmation from Kosovo about research ethics requirements.</p> <p>Reviewer 2: I thought that this project did not raise profound ethical issues and that it covered the issues of risk, consent, confidentiality, data security and anonymity adequately.</p> <p>The response to section B was a bit rambling going well beyond ethical issues into methodological reflections. In B2, bullet 2 the answer should be 'Yes' rather than 'No'.</p>
Section C	x	<p>Reviewer 2: In Section C1 also the points on potential risks also stray well beyond ethical aspects. But the researcher has certainly taken on board risk considerations satisfactorily. It was unclear what is meant on p5 bullet 4 by 'ensuring credibility'.</p>
Date of approval		<p>[Please note that the feedback has been addressed in this resubmission as confirmed by both reviewers.]</p> <p>08/01/15</p>
<p>NB: The Researcher should be notified of decision within <u>two</u> weeks of the submission of the application. A copy should be sent to the Research and Postgraduate Office.</p>		

Signature of RERP chair	
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Appendix 2 Interview questions

Interview Questions/Employee

Employment

1. What is your role at your workplace?
2. What do you think about the current situation of employment in Kosovo?
3. How do you think that this situation could be improved?

Treatment at work

1. How did you find the job?
2. What things do you like most about your workplace?
3. What things do you find difficult about your work?
4. How secure do you feel in your workplace?
5. How effective do you think is the implementation of employment law in the organisation/institution where you work?
6. What would you change or suggest in your workplace?
7. Are you a member of a trade union? If Yes:
8. Did you seek support from the trade union?
9. If Yes, what support you have been offered from the trade union?
10. How effective was the support to help you in improving your employment rights and working conditions?
11. What are your future plans in terms of work?
12. Finally, would you like to say anything else about the topic that has not been included so far?

Factual Questions/Employee

The following questions correspond to specific interview questions above as numbered:

1. How long did it take you to find the job?
2. Can you describe what sources of information you used to find the available job opportunities?
3. Can you please tell if you have used employment support services such as CV check, trainings on different skills, interview tips, etc.? If Yes:
4. What services/programmes were you offered?
5. What were the strengths and weaknesses of the service/programme?
6. Did this service/programme help you to find a job?
7. For how long have you been employed in the current post?
8. What have been your responsibilities and tasks at work?
9. What employment agreement do you have? For how long is that?
10. Do you get any professional training or support from the employer in terms of career development? If yes, what support?
11. What do you think about the current situation of treatment of employees at work in Kosovo and the role of trade unions in Kosovo?
12. Could you please elaborate more what do you mean by..... when you talk about how secure you feel in your workplace?
13. Have you ever had an opportunity to express your views at the workplace?
14. If Yes, through which channel?

15. To what extent are your views taken into account by the employer?

Interview Questions/Employer

General

1. What is your opinion about employment support offered to job seekers in Kosovo?
2. Do the government, trade unions and employers try to improve employment support to job seekers and employment rights, and if so, to what extent?
3. How far do their actions prove to be efficient?
4. What would be your ideas of improving the employment services in Kosovo?

Treatment at work

1. How effectively do you think the employment law is implemented in your organisation/institution?
2. How do you recruit potential employees and how do you address diversity policies while recruiting?
3. Have the employees ever had the opportunity to express their views?
4. If yes, through which channel?
5. To what extent are their views and suggestions taken into account by the management?
6. What opinions in general do you have about treatment at work in Kosovo and the role of trade unions in Kosovo?
7. Are the employees members of any trade union?
8. If yes, what kind of support do they get from the trade union?
9. How do you address trade union's reactions towards a particular issue?
10. Finally, would you like to say anything else about the topic that has not been included so far?

Factual Questions/Employer

1. How many employees work in this institution/organisation?
2. What is the proportion of male and female employees in the institution/organisation?
3. What nationalities/ethnic groups do the employees belong to?
4. Are the employees working on permanent, part-time or contract basis?
5. How do you advertise the new vacancies?
6. What are the selection criteria?
7. Do you encourage applicants from under-represented groups and minority groups?
8. Do you encourage women, do you offer family friendly flexible working patterns?
9. When employing staff, are they provided a working environment free from unlawful harassment on grounds of gender, sexual orientation, marital or civil partnership status, age, disability, race/ethnicity, belief, etc.?
10. Were there any cases of harassment at work?
11. Do the employees in such cases make recourse to the Companies' grievance procedure?

12. Are the employees provided with supportive working environment, facilities, equipment and tools needed to deliver their job successfully?
13. How is their employment agreement regulated?
14. How many off-sick days are the employees entitled to?
15. How many annual leave days are employees entitled to?
16. How long rest break are the employees entitled to during the day?
17. Are the employees offered professional training when needed?
18. If yes, what kind of training?
19. Do you provide training for staff in equal opportunities practice?
20. How many employees leave the job within a year and what are the reasons for their resignation?
21. Have any of the employees migrated to another country and as a result resigned from work?
22. What is the relationship like between employees in the institution/organisation?
23. What is the relationship like between employees and employers/management in the institution/organisation?

The following question is related to question 4 under ‘Treatment at work’:

1. What kind of ideas, views, concerns do usually employees have/raise?

The following questions is related to question 7 under ‘Treatment at work’:

1. If yes, what trade union?

Interview Questions/Job Seekers

General question about your life history

1. Please tell me a brief story of your life, the events and experiences that have been most important to you personally?

Job-seeking experience

1. For how long have you been unemployed and looking for a job?
2. Can you describe what sources of information you have been using to find available job opportunities?
3. Can you please tell me if you have used employment support services such as CV check, trainings on different skills, interview tips, etc.? If yes:
4. What services/programmes you were offered?
5. What were the strengths and weaknesses of the service/programme?
6. How effective was the support in helping you to increase your skills and chances for employment?
7. What do you think about the current situation of employment in Kosovo?
8. What opinions in general do you have about employment support offered to job seekers in Kosovo?
9. What ideas do you have about improving/changing the employment services in Kosovo?

Previous work experience questions

1. Have you worked before?
2. If Yes, what was your job?

3. How did you find this job?
4. What did you like most about your workplace?
5. What did you find difficult about your workplace?
6. Were you a member of a trade union? If Yes:
7. Did you have support from the trade union?
8. How effective/useful was the support?
9. What are your future plans?
10. Finally, would you like to say anything else about the topic that has not been included so far?

Factual and prompting questions/Job Seekers

Job seeking experience-factual question

1. If the employment support was not helpful, what did you do next, or what did you think you should do?

Previous work experience-prompting questions

1. Did you have the opportunity to express your views at the workplace?
2. If Yes, through which channel?
3. Did you get the support you needed at work ex. training, resolution of a concern/problem, etc.?
4. If Yes, how satisfied are you with the support?
5. Did you feel that you were treated equally among the colleagues from the management?
6. Explain the answer please.
7. What do you think about treatment at work in Kosovo in general and the role of trade unions in Kosovo?

Interview Questions/Migrants

General question about your life history

1. Please tell me a brief story of your life, the events and experiences that have been most important to you personally?

Employment support

1. Can you describe how you found the last job/s you held in Kosovo, and what important sources of information you used to find the job opportunities?
2. Can you please state if you used employment support services such as CV check, trainings on different skills, interview tips, etc.? If yes:
3. What were the strengths and weaknesses of the service/programme?
4. How helpful did you find these services/programmes?
5. What do you think about the current situation of employment in Kosovo?
6. What would be your suggestions of improving/changing the employment services in Kosovo?

Treatment at work

1. What things did you like most about your workplace?
2. What things did you find difficult about your work?
3. How secure did you feel in your workplace?
4. Were you a member of a trade union? If Yes:
5. Did you have support from the trade union?
6. If Yes, how useful did you find the support?

Migration experience and future plans

1. How did you develop the idea to migrate?
2. To what extent do you feel that you have improved your working experience and personal life after emigrating?
3. Under which conditions would you accept returning to Kosovo?
4. Would you recommend that your friends to migrate?
5. Finally, would you like to say anything else about the topic that has not been included so far?

Factual Questions/Migrants

The following questions correspond to specific interview questions above as numbered:

1. Did this service/programme help you to find a job?
2. After how many days/months did you seek employment, did you successfully get a job?
3. How motivated and satisfied were you with employment opportunities and support?
4. What opinions in general do you have about employment support offered to job seekers in Kosovo?
5. If the interviewee did not find the employment support service/programme helpful, what did he/she do next to find the job?
6. How do you think that this situation could be improved?
7. What were your responsibilities and tasks at work in Kosovo?
8. For how long did you work?
9. Have you ever had an opportunity to express your views?
10. If Yes, through which channel?
11. How did you migrate?
12. Why did you choose this particular country to migrate to?
13. Did you have support from any institution/person while migrating?
14. If yes, from who?
15. What are your future plans? Are you planning to go back to Kosovo?
16. If yes, why?
17. If not, why not?

Interview Questions /Government officials-employment

Employment Support

1. Can you please talk about the employment law in Kosovo and what the current challenges are in the employment sector in Kosovo?
2. How far do government, trade unions and employers try to improve employment support to job seekers and employment rights?
3. To what extent have their actions proved to be efficient?
4. What opinions do you have about employment support offered to job seekers in Kosovo, and how effective is the support in finding a job?
5. What do you think how motivated and satisfied are the job seekers with employment opportunities and support?

6. What would be your ideas of improving/changing the employment services in Kosovo?

Treatment at work

1. What do you think about treatment at work in Kosovo and the role of trade unions in Kosovo, how active are the trade unions in Kosovo?
2. What do you think, how much is the employment law respected and applied by employers?
3. How effective is the inspection on employment law implementation?
4. What are the common challenges for employers and employees and how are these challenges resolved?
5. Finally, would you like to say anything else about the topic that has not been included so far?

Factual Questions/ Government officials-employment

For the following questions, I will need to ask the interviewee if they have produced data on these topics and if they can provide them to me.

1. How do usually job seekers find the job?
2. How long does it usually take a job seeker to find a job?
3. In the employment support programmes, are the job seekers directly referred to vacant jobs?
4. Do the employment programmes have more effect on men or women, and why do you think so?
5. For which group of people (including disadvantaged) do these trainings seem to work more, adults or youth unemployed?
6. What percent of job seekers find a job after being offered employment support?
7. As part of employment support programmes, are the job seekers offered subsidies for starting a small business?
8. Does the government organise employment fairs, and how effective are they in supporting job seekers to find a job?
9. What proportion of Kosovo's government budget goes to employment support programmes?
10. Does the government possess monitoring measures and conduct evaluations after the support has been provided to the job seekers, such as how does the government know what happened to the job seekers after having attended the programme, what he/she has done, did he/she find a job, etc.?

Interview Questions/ Government officials-migration

1. What do you think about the current situation of migration from Kosovo?
2. How do Kosovans develop the idea to migrate from Kosovo, what makes them think that will improve their situation by migrating?

3. Do you think that the majority of those who migrate are those who were job seekers or unemployed/employed previous to migration?
4. What support are they provided in the country of destination with jobs, finances, quality of life, etc.?
5. How well do they integrate in the country of destination?
6. What changes do they perceive in their life opportunities as a result of migrating?
7. How satisfied are they with their employment opportunities in the host country?
8. Under which conditions would they accept returning to Kosovo?
9. What is the cooperation of the Kosovo's government with the governments of the host countries in the area of migration?
10. Are there many cases of migrants deported from the country of destination, and what are the reasons for deportation?
11. Finally, would you like to say anything else about the topic that has not been included so far?

Factual Questions/ Government officials-migration

The following questions correspond to specific interview questions above as numbered:

1. How do they migrate and is it expensive for them to migrate from Kosovo?
2. What countries do they usually choose to migrate to and why? (There are statistics on the countries they migrate to, but I would like to know the reason for their choice of the country)
3. Do the migrants encounter difficulties in entering the country intended to migrate to?
4. If yes, what difficulties do they face?
5. Do they have support from any institution/person while migrating?
6. If yes, from who?
7. Is there a high proportion of migrants from the minority groups? From which minorities are the migrants usually from?
8. What kind of jobs do the Kosovar migrants usually do when working in the country of destination?

Interview Questions/Trade Union representatives

1. What is your role?
2. What kinds of problems do employees confront in their workplace?
3. How do you support employees if their rights are violated?
4. How effective are your actions to improve employees' rights?
5. In case of violation of employment rights, do the employees leave work?
6. If Yes, what do they choose to do next?
7. Can you please tell me what you think about employment situation in Kosovo?
8. How do you think that this situation could be improved?

9. What do you think about the implementation of employment law?
10. How can the implementation of the law be improved, according to you?
11. What about stress at work and working conditions?
12. What are the causes of stress at work and what is the support from the manager?
13. Finally, would you like to say anything else about the topic that has not been included so far?

Factual Questions/Trade Union representatives

The following questions correspond to specific interview questions above as numbered:

1. What professional and motivational support do employees get in their workplace?
2. Do they work in a safe environment with all the equipment and supplies needed to deliver their work?
3. What activities or actions do you take?
4. What rights have been violated and why?
5. Could you tell some cases of violation of employment rights?
6. Could you tell some cases of discrimination at work and in what basis is the discrimination done?
7. What opinion do you have about employment support offered to job seekers in Kosovo?
8. Do you feel that they are treated equally irrespective of gender, age, nationality, race, political views, faith, etc.?
9. Do the employees possess all the employment rights they are entitled by law such as the right to paid holiday, the right to a written working agreement (contract), the right to getting the wage agreed on the contract, the right to ask for flexible working, etc.?
10. What is the role of inspectorates in the effective implementation of the employment law?
11. How successful is the implementation and what are the challenges?
12. Do employees get a lot of pressure at work?
13. If yes, what stress symptoms do the employees report?
14. How does this effect their performance at work?
15. Do the employees seek support for their work-related stress problems?
16. To whom do they address their concerns and how they are resolved?
17. How far do government, trade unions and employers try to improve employment support to job seekers and employment rights?
18. How far do their actions prove to be effective?

Appendix 3 Profile of interviewees

Category	Gender	Age	Nationality	Profession	Institution	Residence	Interview Date
Official	Male	59	Kosovan	Economist		Prishtina	October 2015
Employer (public sector)	Male	63	Kosovan	Machinery Engineer		Prishtina	October 2015
Job seeker	Female	35	Kosovan	Architect	N/A	Prishtina	November 2015
Employee	Female	30	Kosovan	English Teacher	Primary school	Prishtina	November 2015
Official	Male	32	Kosovan	Politician		Prishtina	November 2015
Trade Union member	Male	31	Kosovan	Economist		Prishtina	October 2015
Employee	Female	33	Serbian	Auditor		Gracanica	October 2015
Employer (private sector)	Male	39	Kosovan	Translator (English)		Prishtina	October 2015
Employee	Male	44	Kosovan	Economist		Prishtina	October 2015
Return migrant	Female	24	Kosovan / New Zealander	Public Policy and Management		Prishtina	October 2015
Return Migrant	Female	30	Kosovan / New Zealander	Marketing Specialist		Prishtina	October 2015
Return migrant	Male	37	Kosovan / British	Banker		Prishtina	October 2015
Work inspector	Male	54	Kosovan	Engineer of Machinery		Prishtina	October 2015

Migrant	Female	28	Kosovan	Hair dresser	Unemployed	London	October 2015
Migrant	Male	32	Kosovan / British	Network Engineer	████████	London	October 2015
Employer (private sector)	Male	44	Kosovan / Swiss	Economist / Owner of a restaurant	Restaurant	Prishtina	April 2016
Return migrant	Male	48	Kosovan / American	Architect	████████	Prishtina	April 2016
Return migrant	Female	47	Kosovan / American	Teacher	██████████	Prishtina	April 2016
Job seeker	Female	28	Kosovan	Engineer	N/A	Prishtina	April 2016
Job seeker	Male	33	Kosovan	Dentist	N/A	Prishtina	April 2016
Return migrant/ Job seeker	Female	26	Kosovan	Dental Technician	N/A	Prishtina	April 2016
Deputy CEO	Female	29	Kosovan	Business Administration, Accounting and Finance	Employment Agency	Prishtina	April 2016
Migrant	Female	46	Kosovan / Italian	Dentist	Unemployed	Italy	April 2016
Political Adviser	Male	57	Kosovan	Master of Traffic	██████████	Prishtina	April 2016
Analyst and Professor	Male	59	Kosovan	Doctor of political science	Public University and Private University	Prishtina	April 2016
Migrant	Male	37	Kosovan / American	Manager / Owner	Restaurant	Oklahoma	July 2016
Migrant	Male	45	Kosovan / Danish	Employee	Manufacture	Denmark	July 2016
Migrant	Female	29	Kosovan	Housewife	N/A	Switzerland	July 2016
Migrant	Female	44	Kosovan	Housewife	N/A	Germany	July 2016
Return Migrant	Male	25	Kosovan	Bartender	████████	Prishtina	July 2016
Return Migrant	Male	26	Kosovan	Builder	Construction Company	Prishtina	July 2016



INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

The study on the Influence of Employment Skills Support and Inequalities at Work in Migration

We would like to invite you to participate in this research study about the influence of employment skills support and inequalities at work on migration. Participation in this interview is voluntary, participants can withdraw at any time without giving reasons. This information sheet informs you why the research is being done and what your participation involves. Please take the time to read the following information carefully, and if anything is unclear you are welcome to ask for further information.

Research Aims

The research aims to assess the process of influence that employment skills support programmes and inequalities at work have on migration.

Who we ask to participate?

The study will collect information from job seekers about their experiences of looking for work. It will also collect information from employees of different organisations about how they are treated at the workplace. Government officials will be interviewed in order to get information about the existing employment policies and their implementation. Representatives of trade unions will also be interviewed in order to see what their role is in protecting the rights of employees. Employers of different organisations/companies will be interviewed as well and will be asked about the selection process of employees; internal human resources regulations; and the ways employees are treated. Finally, migrants will be interviewed in order to understand their migration experiences and what factors influenced them to leave the country.

When and Where Will the Study Take Place?

The study will take place at a location and time that is convenient for you, such as in your office or at your home during your lunch break or after work.

How long will the study last?

The researcher will visit you for 60 minutes.

What you will be asked to do?

You will be asked questions related to your migration experience.

Are there Any Risks Involved in Participating?

The risks involved in participating in this interview are minimal. Some questions may potentially cause you some distress, therefore in that case we may stop the interview.

You are free to not answer those questions or to withdraw from participating.

Are there any benefits involved in participating?

When the project is completed, you will be sent a link where you can have access to read all the findings.

How will your privacy and confidentiality be safeguarded?

All the information you will provide in this interview will not be shared with any organisation/institution outside of London Metropolitan University and will be held in accordance with the Data protection Act.

The files containing personal data will be carefully labelled and stored in private computers. They will have pseudonyms or numbers as identifiers. The key to real names will be stored on a different computer. Only the researcher, the two supervisors of the project and the two examiners of the project will have access to the data. When the project is completed and published, these data will remain in complete anonymity for others. Anonymity will be safeguarded by using pseudonyms or generalisation.

The audio recording that we will do during the interview will be available only to me and my supervisors. These audio files will be stored in locked cabinets or computers.

Who is organising the research?

The study on the Influence of Employment Skills Support and Inequalities at Work in Migration is being organised by the researcher and the two supervisors at London Metropolitan University. The Lead Supervisor is Dr Sylvie Contrepolis from the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities at London Metropolitan University.

Who you can contact in case of any questions or concern?

Please contact Dr Sylvie Contrepolis by email at s.contrepolis@londonmet.ac.uk or Professor Klaus Fischer by email at k.fischer@londonmet.ac.uk, by phone at +44 (0)20 7423 0000, or by post at London Metropolitan University, 166-220 Holloway Road, London, N7 8DB.

It is up to you to decide if you want to take part in this interview or not. If you decide to participate you are free to withdraw any time without giving any reason. In the case

of accepting to participate you will be given this form to keep and sign a consent form. You will also be asked to leave your contact details in case of any future cooperation or interest to participate in other studies.

Fletë Informacioni për pjesëmarrësit

Studimi për Ndikimin e mbështetjes së zhvillimit të aftësive për punësim dhe jobarazive në punë në migracion

Ju ftojme që të merrni pjesë në këtë studim hulumtues rreth ndikimit që mund të ketë mbështetja e zhvillimit të aftësive për punësim dhe jobarazitë në punë në emigrim nga Kosova. Pjesëmarrja në këtë intervistë është vullnetare, pjesëmarrësi/ja mund të heq dorë në çfarëdo kohe pa dhënë arsye. Ky fletë informacion iu informon për arsyen e hulumtimit dhe çka përbën pjesëmarrja juaj. Ju lutem lexoni informatat në vazhdim me kujdes, dhe nëse keni ndonjë paqartësi jeni i/e mirëseardhur të kërkonit informata shtesë.

Qëllimet e hulumtimit

Hulumtimi synon të vlerësojë procesin e ndikimit që mund të kenë programet që mbështesin aftësitë për punësim dhe jobarazitë në punë në emigrim.

Kush do të marrë pjesë?

Studimi do të mbledh informata nga punë-kërkuesit rreth përvojës së tyre gjatë kërkimit për punë. Gjithashtu studimi do të mbledh informata nga punonjësit/et e organizatave të ndryshme lidhur me mënyrën se si trajtohen ata/ato në vendin e punës. Zyrtarët/et e qeverisë do të intervistohen për të marrë informata rreth politikave ekzistuese të punësimit dhe zbatimin e tyre. Gjithashtu përfaqësues të sindikatave do të intervistohen që të kuptojmë cili është roli i tyre për të mbrojtur të drejtat e punëtorëve. Punëdhënësit e organizatave/kompanive të ndryshme do të intervistohen gjithashtu dhe do të pyeten rreth procesit të rekrutimit, rregullave të mbrendshme të burimeve njerëzore dhe mënyrën se si trajtohen punëtorët. Në fund, emigrantët do të intervistohen për të kuptuar përvojën e tyre të emigrimit dhe çfarë faktorë ndikuan që të lëshojnë vendin.

Kur dhe ku do të mbahet intervista?

Intervista do të mbahet në vendin dhe kohën më të përshtatshme për pjesëmarrësin/en, si përshebull në zyrë ose në shtëpinë e pjesëmarrësit/es përgjatë kohës së pushimit ose mbas orarit të punës.

Sa do të zgjasë intervista?

Hulumtuesja do t'ju vizitojë rreth 60 minuta.

Cfarë do të kërkohet të bëni ju?

Ju do të merreni në pyetje lidhur me përvojën tuaj në punë dhe emigrim.

A ka ndonjë rrezik me pjesëmarrjen në intervistë?

Rreziqet e përfshira me pjesëmarrjen në këtë intervistë janë minimale. Disa pyetje potencialisht mund t'ju shkaktojnë disa shqetësime, por në atë rast ne mund të ndërprejmë intervistën. Ju jeni i/e lirë të mos përgjigjeni në ato pyetje ose të hiqni dorë nga pjesëmarrja në intervistë.

A ka ndonjë përfitim nga pjesëmarrja në intervistë?

Kur të përfundojë projekti, ju do të merrni një adresë ku mund të keni çasje të lexoni të gjitha zbulimet dhe rezultatet e studimit.

Si do të ruhen privatësia dhe konfidencialiteti juaj?

Të gjitha informatat që ju do të ofroni në këtë intervistë nuk do të shpalosen me ndonjë organizatë/institucion jashtë London Metropolitan University dhe do të mbahen në përputhje me Aktin e Mbrojtjes së të Dhënave.

Dosjet që përmbajnë të dhëna personale do të etiketohen me kujdes dhe do të ruhen në kompjuterë privatë. Ato do të kenë pseudonime ose numra si identifikues. Çelësi i emrave të vërtetë do të ruhet në një kompjuter tjetër. Vetëm studiuesja, dy mbikëqyrësit e projektit dhe dy ekzaminerët e projektit do të kenë qasje në të dhëna. Kur të përfundojë projekti dhe të publikohet, këto të dhëna do të mbeten në anonimitet të plotë për të tjerët. Anonimiteti do të ruhet duke përdorur pseudonime apo përgjithësim.

Audio-inçizimi që do të bëjmë gjatë intervistës do të jetë në dispozicion vetëm për studiuesin dhe mbikëqyrësit e studimit. Këto inçizime do të ruhen në kabinete të mbyllura apo kompjuterë.

Kush është duke organizaur hulumtimin?

Studimi mbi **Ndikimin e mbështetjes së zhvillimit të aftësive për punësim dhe jobarazive në punë në migracion** është organizuar nga hulumtuesja dhe dy mbikëqyrësit e studimit në London Metropolitan University. Mbikëqyrësja kryesore e studimit është Dr Sylvie Contrepolis nga Fakulteti i Shkencave Shoqërore dhe Njerëzore në London Metropolitan University në Londër.

Kë mund të kontaktoni nëse keni ndonjë pyetje apo shqetësim?

Ju lutem kontaktoni Dr Sylvie Contrepolis me e-mail në s.contrepolis@londonmet.ac.uk ose Profesor Klaus Fischer me e-mail në k.fischer@londonmet.ac.uk, me telefon në +44 (0)20 7423 0000, ose me postë në London Metropolitan University, 166-220 Holloway Road, London, N7 8DB.

Është e juaja që të vendosni nëse dëshironi të merrni pjesë në këtë intervistë apo jo. Nëse vendosni të merrni pjesë ju mund të hiqni dorë në çfarëdo kohe pa dhënë ndonjë arsye. Nëqoftëse vendosni të merrni pjesë juve do t'ju jepet kjo formë ta mbani dhe të nënshkruani Formën e Pëlqimit. Gjithashtu do t'ju kërkohet për të lënë detalet e kontaktit tuaj në rast të ndonjë bashkëpunimi në të ardhmen apo interesimi për të marrur pjesë në studime tjera.

Appendix 5 Consent form



CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project:

The influence of employment skills support and inequalities at work in migration

Name and position of researcher:

Vlora Berbatovci-Sojeva, PhD Student, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, London

Metropolitan University, email: vlb0044@my.londonmet.ac.uk

Lead Supervisor: Dr Sylvie Contrepolis, Reader in European Employment Relations, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, London Metropolitan University, email: s.contrepolis@londonmet.ac.uk

- | | Yes | No |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet of this study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and therefore I am free to withdraw at any time without giving reason. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. I agree to take part in this study. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. I agree to the interview being recorded. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Name of participant:

Date:

Signature:

Name of researcher:

Date:

Signature:



FORMË PËLQIMI

Titulli i projektit hulumtues:

Ndikimi i mbështetjes së zhvillimit të aftësive për punësim dhe jobarazive në punë në migracion

Emri dhe pozita e hulumtueses:

Vlora Bërbatovci-Sojeva, Studente e Doktoraturës, Fakulteti i Shkencave Shoqërore dhe Njerëzore pranë London Metropolitan University në Londër, e-mail: vlb0044@my.londonmet.ac.uk

Mbikëqyrësja kryesore:

Dr Sylvie Contrepolis, Lexuese në Marrëdhëniet Evropiane për Punësim, Fakulteti i Shkencave Shoqërore dhe Njerëzore pranë London Metropolitan University në Londër,
e-mail: s.contrepolis@londonmet.ac.uk

	Po	Jo
1. Unë konfirmoj se kam lexuar dhe kuptuar dokumentin informativ të këtij studimi dhe kam patur mundësinë të bëj pyetje.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Unë kam kuptuar që pjesëmarrja ime është vullnetare dhe jam i/e lirë të heq dorë në çfarëdo kohe pa dhënë arsye.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Unë pajtohem të marr pjesë në këtë studim.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Unë pajtohem që intervista të inçizohet.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Unë pajtohem me përdorimin e citimeve anonime në publikime.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Emri i pjesëmarrësit/es:
Nënshkrimi:

Data:

Emri i hulumtueses:
Nënshkrimi:

Data:

Appendix 6 Migration trends from Kosovo

Old Emigration

The period between the 1960s and 1980s involved migration of people from rural areas with little education, who were forced to migrate because they could not earn sufficient income from agriculture to fill in the needs of the ‘large traditional households’ (Mollers et al., 2017, p.3). They were migrating mostly to Germany and Switzerland as ‘guest workers’ and were sending remittances back home to help their families. The guest worker programme in Europe at the time was about fulfilling the need of growing European economies in 1960s for recruiting and inviting workers from other countries, mainly attracting those from the underdeveloped or developing countries (European Stability Initiative, 2015). This flow decreased in the ‘1970s when new jobs were created in the public sector and socially-owned enterprises in Kosovo’ (UNDP, 2014, p.23).

The migration in the 1980s started as a result of the ethnic conflict between Albanians and Serbians. This was the time when Kosovo’s autonomy was eradicated within Yugoslavia and many Albanians got dismissed from work. The ‘skilled and educated young men from both rural and urban areas migrated to find jobs and to escape from the Yugoslav military service’ (Williams and Krasniqi, 2018, p.309). Before the 1980s, Kosovo, as autonomous province of Serbia, enjoyed the right of forming its own constitution, appointing its own representative, and electing the parliamentarians. However, this autonomy was abolished when Slobodan Milosevic was appointed president of Serbia. He wanted to take control of Kosovo, hence the institutions were taken over by Serbs resulting in an ethnic conflict (Radeljic, 2008). During the 1980s Kosovo’s economy was mainly focused on production of minerals and farm products

and was not very developed. However, with the abolition of Kosovo's autonomy, domestic production decreased and, as mentioned above, unemployment increased (Vathi and Black, 2007).

Migration during 1998-99

The next migration happened during the war in 1998-99. There was large scale destruction of housing, massacres, and economic destruction. Therefore, those who survived felt they had to flee to find a safe place to live. They mostly migrated to Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Albania, United States of America, or Western Europe (UNDP, 2014,).

When the war ended, many Kosovans returned and had to start their life from scratch, from essential necessities, such as securing shelter and food. They had high hopes that the situation would improve. The new institutions were gradually formed, and Kosovo was trying to function normally. It was administered by the UN until 2011, especially in the rule of law areas such as judiciary, police and customs (European Court of Auditors, 2012).

Migration during 2014-15

The migration from Kosovo post-1999 was limited as Kosovans were not recognised as refugees anymore and Kosovo was considered a safe place to live with established political stability. The Western European countries' migration policies were not in favour of Kosovans who wanted to migrate for economic reasons. Hence, migration was mainly for family reunification reasons, study or irregular migration for work of less skilled and educated people. In 2008, Kosovo declared its independence and

migration was driven mainly by economic and family reunification reasons (Williams and Krasniqi, 2018).

After the war, the economy recovered under UNMIK's administration. The GDP had grown by 1.7% annually since 2003, reaching 3% annual growth in 2006. It grew due to the international aid as well as due to remittances from the Kosovan emigrants. This growth was 'mainly in the retail sector, the public administration, and especially in construction, and there [was] no significant improvement in the productivity of Kosovan enterprises' (Vathi and Black, 2007, p. 4). Import continued to increase impacting a trade deficit by 40% of GDP in 2006.

Due to Kosovo's unresolved status of statehood, Kosovo was not attractive to international investors because of the issues with unemployment, education, and infrastructure. When it declared its independence in 2008, its economy was growing as a result of remittances, donor investments and investments in infrastructure. However, this growth has not been sustainable, and export has not increased sufficiently so as to develop the economy. Considering that GDP per capita is low even though it has grown, Kosovo 'is one of the poorest countries in Europe' (The World Bank Group in Kosovo, 2015, p.6). Factors that have contributed to this are high unemployment and the lack of quality jobs, among many other factors. In Kosovo, the economy in many instances is informal (amounted to 31.7% of GDP in 2017) as many businesses operate without complying with laws, such as not registering the employees and the business and offering employment that is not certain (Ministry of Finance, 2019). Businesses that operate in the informal market are usually

the low-skilled and low-productivity ones. This misleads the market and harms the businesses that comply with the laws.

In 2014-15, a vast number of Kosovans, around 100,000, illegally migrated towards various European countries. They were migrating for economic reasons, lack of employment prospects and loss of hope. Though, the chances for many of these migrants to remain in the host countries were zero as Kosovans could not apply and be granted refugee status due to the country being considered politically safe (Mollers et al., 2017). Hence, many of these Kosovan migrants were deported by the host country. The host countries, such as Germany, Hungary, Sweden had other priorities considering that they opened the doors to Middle East refugees (BBC, 2016).

The flow of Kosovan migrants in 2014-15 was triggered also by the smoothened European travel policies for Serbia. Since 2012, Kosovans have been allowed to enter Belgrade with Kosovo issued documents while these documents were rejected before by Serbia as it did not recognise Kosovo as an independent country (Bytyci and Than, 2015). To migrate during this time, Kosovan migrants went through Serbian territory to Hungary and from Hungary to Western European countries. This irregular migration was organised by different smugglers, including 'bus companies, travel agencies, corrupt border police, vocational rental owners, and other involved third parties who "facilitated" the crossing of the border' (Dobruna et al., 2015, p.16). This was very risky and expensive for the migrants who had to pay thousands of euros per person and endangered their own and family's lives.

This latest migration has been perceived as caused by ‘the inability of the local government to create better conditions as well as perspective for Kosova[n]s at home’ (Bajrami, 2015, para.8) and the inability to control and stop this migration. It has also slowed down the visa liberalisation process that in a way could have avoided the irregular migration. Based on Kosovo’s Security Barometer findings ‘the lack of visa liberalization is considered as the highest security concern by citizens of Kosovo’ (Emini, 2015, p.5). This is because it encourages human trafficking and irregular migration. ‘Kosovo is the most isolated country of the region and [was] left outside of signing the visa facilitation agreement, prior to the initiation of the visa liberalization process’ (Qosaj-Mustafa, 2015, p.1). This shows that Kosovans could not freely move into the EU for leisure, employment, education, or other purposes.

Appendix 7 Thematical analysis of interviews

Themes

Basic themes	Organising themes
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Migration as a result of the desire to create family 2. Migration as a gateway to have a better future for next generations 3. Migration opens employment opportunities abroad compared to Kosovo when one finishes a degree and does not have a job 4. Migration until things get better with the idea to return 5. Re-emigration as a commitment to a relationship 6. Migration to a specific country due to family ties there 7. Life improved due to migration 8. Children's future foreseen in the country of destination due to better future prospects 9. Migration incentivised by lack of jobs and income 10. Better living standards as a result of migration 11. Migration intentions due to low salary and influenced by other migrants 12. Better life in the country of destination compared to Kosovo 13. Incentives to migrate for a better job and higher salary to secure a better future for the children 14. Migration due to low living standards including poor health system, unemployment and lack of human rights 15. Lack of perspective in Kosovo influences people's thinking of self-harm or migration 16. Migration plans if the effort is not rewarded in Kosovo and there are scholarship opportunities abroad 	<p style="text-align: center;">Reasons of migration related to creating the family: better employment opportunities, better future for all, specifically children, higher income, and better health system</p>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The decision to return to Kosovo depends on the future of the 	

<p>children for a migrant parent and the difficulty in securing a job in Kosovo</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. The emotional attachment with Kosovo remains high, but return is not seen as an option due to the better future of young generations abroad 3. Return to Kosovo aspired by own language and family ties, but lack of employment and adequate health and social security systems discourage the return 4. Return to Kosovo initiated to protect family and tradition values of the young generation 5. Returning the child to Kosovo improved behaviour and attitude towards people 6. Return to Kosovo disincentivised due to lack of jobs and poor health system 7. Difficult to return children to Kosovo once adopted in the country of destination 8. Desire to return to Kosovo, but when there are good employment opportunities 9. Return not recommended unless good living standards, such as higher security and better health system 10. Return to Kosovo if corruption stops and economic and political situation improve 11. Regrets to have returned to Kosovo If returning to Kosovo and wanting to make a change one will not be able to do so as have to face autocratic management of the employer 	<p>Return to Kosovo aspired due to emotional attachment and the aim to protect family and traditional values among the young generations, however disincentivised due to lack of employment, inadequate health system, education system and social security measures</p>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Return migrants without a degree struggle to find jobs in Kosovo 2. Graduates with higher education degree struggle to find a job in Kosovo unless through nepotism 3. Internship opportunities are not given in Kosovo as a result of favouritism in companies 	

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Labour market in Kosovo limited and there are very few apprenticeships 5. Corrupted government 6. Education should be focused more on non-academic and vocational professions, rather than just Universities 7. Surplus of graduates and deficit of jobs 8. The unqualified find work through nepotism 9. Not enough jobs 10. More employment support trainings needed to help with CV, search for jobs and prepare for jobs 11. Health sector corrupted 12. Difficult to find a job in Kosovo due to lack of jobs, economic underdevelopment and low investment 13. Finding a job in Kosovo only through nepotism and favouritism 14. Unemployment a result of the people employed through nepotism 15. The jobs advertised in Kosovo are announced for the sake of 'transparency' but reserved in advance and this discourages applicants 16. Higher capacity in the labour market compared to the number of jobs available 17. The quality of CVs in job applications shows that job seekers do not receive any employment support 18. Quality is less important in Kosovo and employment is dependent on connections 19. Research needed to identify the profiles that the labour market in Kosovo needs to avoid disappointment of young graduates and increase employment chances 	<p>Finding a job in Kosovo difficult and channelled through favouritism and nepotism, and the advertisement of jobs a manipulation to cover the non-transparency of the recruitment</p>
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<p>20. Employment support in Kosovo is limited</p> <p>21. Even postgraduates who completed their degrees abroad find it difficult to find a job in Kosovo</p> <p>22. Difficult to find a job, but government trying to introduce active measures including salary subvention, self-employment and internships</p> <p>23. Job seekers do not register with the Employment department</p> <p>24. Fighting corruption and organised crime can improve the situation with employment</p> <p>25. Youth should revolutionise as won't be able to prosper as a result of nepotism</p> <p>26. Employment agencies are not supportive and influential, and CVs are not considered in some job vacancies</p> <p>27. One can find a job only if knowing someone who can help to get the job</p> <p>28. Problem remains with the government and leaders and the lack of training opportunities provided to build experience</p> <p>29. Favouritism plays a huge role in unequal distribution of opportunities in Kosovo</p> <p>30. Lack of opportunities and law implementation in Kosovo influences the labour market</p> <p>31. People in power accommodate and employ only their people and, in this way, impose inequality in opportunities</p> <p>32. Kosovo's youth should be oriented not only towards finishing a university degree, but also vocational education</p> <p>33. Kosovo, a poor and corrupted country where investment is focused in construction, rather than education or employment</p> <p>34. To achieve something, you have to corrupt and bribe someone</p>	
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<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Professional recognition higher in Kosovo than in the country of destination 2. Workplace stimulation low and chances for promotion and salary increase, too 3. The challenge to perform to keep the contract and adapt to change 4. Low protection from trade unions 5. Trade unions inactive 6. Low salaries in Kosovo 7. No employment rights 8. Uncertainty if able to work in the country of destination with diploma from Kosovo 9. Inadequate treatment at the workplace 10. Private companies avoid paying taxes to the government 11. Lack of law implementation 12. Overtime unpaid and required despite employee's unwillingness 13. Employees' voices disregarded at the workplace 14. Lack of contract and employment benefits 15. Language needs and raising children two factors to discourage migrant women to work 16. Management style reflected as autocratic 17. Trade unions politically driven, hence their low performance 18. Improvement in Kosovo possible if EU intervenes and invests in mega companies to deploy a culture of work 19. Trade unions' support is limited, hence the trust is low 20. Employees in grievance asking for an increase in the salary 21. Employees are abused in the workplace because political clans employ their people and through this control everything 22. Employers try to pressure the justice system and delay the process of handling complaints 	<p style="text-align: center;">Employee's rights in Kosovo violated in many places and the workplace stimulation low while the protection from the trade unions is limited</p>
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<p>23. The violation of employees' rights is higher than expected</p> <p>24. There is discrimination from employers against female employees who are pregnant</p> <p>25. Employees are not provided with training to prepare and protect themselves from harm at work</p> <p>26. Fear of being fired prevents employees from fighting for their rights in the workplace</p> <p>27. The employer can fire the employee any time</p> <p>28. Employers do not register employees and do not provide insurance, one of the reasons government is corrupted</p> <p>29. Lack of contracts and safety at work raises people's concerns about losing their jobs easily and remaining without jobs</p> <p>30. Better and transparent politics can change the situation</p> <p>31. Health insurance is not provided in many private companies</p> <p>32. Lack of contracts in the workplace and health insurance risks the wellbeing of the employee</p> <p>33. Some private companies and businesses use employees for other jobs such as cleaning</p> <p>34. Employment law exists, but there is no administrative advice on how to implement it</p> <p>35. There is lack of transparency from the employer, employee and the law makers</p> <p>36. The law exists, but is not implemented and those who violates the law is not penalised</p> <p>37. The heads of trade unions benefit themselves rather than protect the employees</p> <p>38. Employees are in a difficult situation, even without contracts, whereas trade unions are a function of political making of the government</p>	
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Appendix 8 Thematical analysis of interviews – Excel spreadsheet

Basic Themes	Quote	Reason for migration + Notes (paraphrasing)	Interviewee	Researcher
Migration as a result of the desire to create family	‘I had very good income and did not need to migrate. Therefore, there wasn’t any economic reason anymore to migrate , but it was the love , creating a family ’	Reason for migration: economic and marriage (family reunification) ████ and his cousin were envious when they saw migrants coming to Kosovo for visits, being that young they thought that it is easy to earn money outside Kosovo and thought those migrants seem to have a good life in the host countries.	████ (migrant)	V.B.
Migration as a gateway to have a better future for next generations	why would I stay in Kosovo, everyone here wants to migrate for a better future , for better education for their children , better health system , so why would I stay here?		████ (migrant)	V.B.
Migration opens employment opportunities abroad compared to Kosovo when one finishes a degree and does not have a job	‘I would regret if I returned my children to Kosovo who would get a university degree and remain without a job . There in America , when you finish university you get a job offer straight away and can live a good life’		████ (migrant)	V.B.
Employment in the past raises nostalgia for migrants who come for visit in Kosovo	for 14 years that I come in Kosovo for visit , it is impossible to not go and see my colleagues , and whenever I go to visit them, I go in the office where I worked. ’	Reasons for migration: marriage She found the job that she was working in Kosovo prior to migration through her brother.	████ (migrant)	V.B.
Employment through favouritism created work flexibilities	‘I had my brother there, if I didn’t understand something I talked to him, it was resolved quickly, I did my job, if I could help someone with the job if they couldn’t manage to do it on time I helped..., the director who now has died was my brother’s friend and I had known him before, I could talk freely to him even	When I asked her if she had any difficulty in her job in Kosovo	████ (migrant)	V.B.

	though he was much older than me, but you could express yourself freely if you had any concern.'			
The decision to return to Kosovo depends on the future of the children for a migrant parent and the difficulty in securing a job in Kosovo	I was safe, and if it wasn't for me to get married and migrate, today I would have been in that job. I asked my colleague who is a manager now if she can secure me a position, but the reason I can't return is the children . I don't have a house, a job , with 4 children where shall I go? Therefore, because of my children I remain in Germany .		■ (migrant)	V.B.
The emotional attachment with Kosovo remains high, but the return is not seen as an option due to the better future of young generations abroad	'only the children have stopped me from returning to Kosovo because after my husband died I would have not stayed in Germany even for a minute. Things there are different, the living conditions are better , but personally for me it would have been easier to be here because I have all my family here . I have all the sadness that I go through due to the loss of my husband and also I feel sad for my children, so if returning to Kosovo I would have had my family to talk to when I needed . But at the moment, I left all my desires behind to return to Kosovo because of my children .	She also explained a bad experience that she had in a hospital in Kosovo while she was there for visit. Her daughter was ill with high fever and she sent her in the hospital. It was 2am when she went to the hospital and all the doors were closed. She looked for a doctor and saw a nurse whom she asked to give her some medicine for the fever. The nurse asked her to bring a spoon and give her the syrup. ■ was shocked and told the nurse that she doesn't have a spoon. The nurse brought the syrup nervously. ■ compared this with the cases when she sought medical support in Germany and the treatment was very adequate where the doctor would even come at home to do the check.	■ (migrant)	V.B.

Integration in the country of destination proves difficult especially in the beginning	I never thought that I would migrate, but you never know. My brother lives abroad , and I thought I would visit them sometime, but not live abroad. When I migrated it was very difficult for me. I migrated in 2002 through a spouse visa . The first two months were terrible , I was crying all the time. It was a very different life, though it was 100 times better than in Kosovo . After the first two months I came back to visit my family in Kosovo and stayed for 4 weeks. When I returned in Germany I started to adapt and was pregnant with my eldest daughter. My job in Kosovo was my last job as I did not work anymore . I did not have childcare for my children. Now I think all the time for my children , they take priority on everything. I leave everything aside, the stress, sadness and tiredness for them.'		█ (migrant)	V.B.
Those with a degree in Kosovo wait for years to find a job	'you finish a degree and wait 10 years for a job , this is not right , it happens only in Kosovo .	when asked the interviewee about her opinions of employment situation in Kosovo	█ (migrant)	V.B.
Employment in Kosovo is done through favouritism and nepotism	if the job advert is open , if they were to get the one who deserves it, the situation wouldn't be as it is now. But, here in Kosovo for many years employment is done through someone who you know ; if you know someone you get the job, if you don't know you don't get the job even if you deserve it.'		█ (migrant)	V.B.

Return to Kosovo aspired by own language and family ties, but lack of employment and adequate health and social security systems discourage the return	It is your place, your language, your family ’ but ‘you don’t have any insurance, not very good health system, no job , otherwise I wouldn’t have stayed in Germany . If and when my kids want to return, I will as well. Even though, they would not return if the situation remains the same in the future. They would come for a visit, but not to return.’		■ (migrant)	V.B.
Education never gets lost even if you don't practice for years due to migration	Sometimes you feel disappointed that you finished your school and for 15 years you could not practice it and you think that you failed for all those years. But the moment you return, and you are given opportunities you realise that education never gets lost	■ found the job by looking at the vacancies in her daughter's school and ■ found the job through a friend	■ (return migrant)	V.B.
Return migrants without a degree struggle to find jobs in Kosovo	‘We know people who returned from America and who had no education degree , they could not find a job in Kosovo ’		■ (return migrant)	V.B.
Integration in the country of destination is difficult and takes years of education	the first 10 years I worked everything , I worked as babysitter , I did the paperwork for a doctor in a private office, I worked in a day-care , then I continued education there and when I received the diploma it took me some time to integrate in the public sector, public schools , but the last 4-5 years I worked mainly in the profession . Nevertheless, I worked also in sales and was very successful.		■ (return migrant)	V.B.

Professional recognition higher in Kosovo than in the country of destination	‘I worked in the building maintenance, managing buildings , but I always focused in my profession, with problems of my profession . When I came back here to Kosovo I got involved immediately in my profession. In the beginning it was difficult because I needed to know the laws . I have been outside of Kosovo for 15 years , I did not know what was required, how things were required from institutions , but now I know		██████████ (return migrant)	V.B.
Graduates with education degree struggle to find a job in Kosovo unless through nepotism	it is a main problem, it is a social problem because people complete their university degrees and what is the worst they do not have hopes for employment . For example, I know someone who finished the ██████████ and did a master’s degree in ██████████, but in fact she started somewhere in an entry position, like a beginner . Even that job she got it through someone she knew and after a year of having graduated. So, I don’t want to even talk for those cases who do not have the adequate education , or those who have an undergraduate or Master’s degree and stay at home...’		██████████ (return migrant)	V.B.
Internship opportunities are not given in Kosovo as a result of favouritism in companies	In a civilised world there are internships that lead you to something because you have the chance to present who you are, what you have learnt and what you know , whereas here in Kosovo you don’t have internships, one finishes the master degree and can finish 13 master degrees but have never worked because the companies would not give the opportunity due to favouritism .		██████████ (return migrant)	V.B.
The jobs advertised in Kosovo are announced for the sake of ‘transparency’ but reserved in advance.	‘There is a job vacancy and in 60-70% of cases especially when we talk about public places , the job is already reserved for someone, but the job announcement is done only pretending that they are transparent . You complete a master’s degree and a PhD , but here you don’t have where to work’		██████████ (return migrant)	V.B.
Workplace stimulation low and chances for	Wherever you work you are not valued , in that moment when you start a job somewhere and you show your skills , you want to be promoted and have your salary increased so that you are		██████████ (return migrant)	V.B.

promotion and salary increase, too	stimulated to do better, but the other one (the employer) would say why would I do all this for you. I realised that it is very important to be valued at the workplace , it is very stimulating .’			
Labour market in Kosovo limited and the apprenticeships, too	‘the labour market in Kosovo is very tight, very limited , everywhere in the world there is training phase ...’		██████ (return migrant)	V.B.
The challenge to perform to keep the contract and adapt to change	I like the nature of my work, mainly I enjoy that I work with children , the progress that I see on them every day, that brings me joy . Regarding how I am treated at my workplace, they treat me very well, with lots of respect . I don’t have any problem except the negative side is the pressure because it is a new school, was built 12 years ago. Whenever the principles change, the mentality changes as well and you need to adapt to it , but sometimes you are missing the main things, all the paperwork and due dates that I have to cover. Other than that, as in every organisation there are changes, and the contract is continued based on performance .		██████ (return migrant)	V.B.

Low protection from trade unions	I didn't hear that there is any in the private sector , even those in public sector don't protect the employees , there are no organisations that support employees .' She also said 'I heard that teachers, for example three months before the end of academic year, get retired because they became 65 years old on the 1 st of May whereas on the 15 th of June the academic year ends, where on the world does this make sense ? Let him/her finish the academic year, or if he/she gets sick and certain amount of time goes on leave when he/she is back loses the job, without a trade union, without a reason just because he/she passed the entitlement of sick days. However, in my case last year, I really appreciate because I had an operation and I was not working for several months, and they kept the job for me.'	This is when I asked the interviewee about the trade unions	██████ (return migrant)	V.B.
Migration until things get better with the idea to return	'that was a temporary migration because the institutions were closed , and we finished the university degrees , so the idea to migrate was until things get better in Kosovo, without knowing that here it will become worse and worse , and our migration would last 15-16 years. However, always with the idea to return .	Reason for migration: institutions were closed, so migrated until things get better in Kosovo	██████ (return migrant)	V.B.

Return to Kosovo initiated to protect family and tradition values of the young generation	<p>So, we returned in Kosovo because we always wanted and all the savings that we made during the time we were in America we invested in Prishtina. A moment came that I was tired from the transitions because we were traveling all the time. The first reason is that I brought my eldest daughter here in Kosovo when she was 14 years old because I thought it is more reasonable for her to be in Kosovo without me, in her country and culture, rather than with me in New York. Raising a teenager in New York was a nightmare for me. She finished the first year of secondary school in New York and I saw that she was growing [REDACTED] [REDACTED], so the family attitude was [REDACTED]. She was at school all day, and when she came back she was in her [REDACTED] and in one moment I said enough, I said to [REDACTED] next summer she will be in Prishtina and nobody believed me. It was entirely my idea, and nobody believed that I will really do that, not even her.</p>		[REDACTED] (return migrant)	V.B.
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Returning [REDACTED] to Kosovo improved behaviour and attitude towards people	You could see the difference [REDACTED] was growing with more respect towards family, different attitude with people, [REDACTED] So, I saw the benefits of [REDACTED] return and I brought my son as well and returned with him. On the other hand, [REDACTED] remained in America for another 2 years to see how the situation was going , so it was a very strategic return because I hear people returned thinking that they will make a nice life with some money , but the money gets spent if you don't have an income. You never dare to compare Kosovo with New York , you cannot compare New York with Balkan and even less with Kosovo, it is completely a different world, so just go with the flow.'		[REDACTED] (return migrant)	V.B.
Re-emigration as a commitment to a relationship	In a way that was a commitment to a relationship '	Their daughter migrated again with her husband to [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] said that his [REDACTED] was not seeing any good perspective in employment in Kosovo because he was a manager but could not progress, because people in levels higher than him did not let him progress. Whereas, in [REDACTED] within 6 months he progressed.	[REDACTED] (return migrant)	V.B.
Migration to a specific country due to family ties there	Migrated to Denmark as my brother was there . He was not able to help me during migration '	Reason for migration: invitation for the military service: wife migrated for family reunification reasons through a spouse visa Chose Denmark to migrate to as the interviewee had his brother living there; [REDACTED]	[REDACTED] (migrants)	V.B.
Securing a job through bribing	Employment is slow in Kosovo. Employees are used in Kosovo and the employment law does not exist . You need to give money to get a job , €2-3000	[REDACTED] worked in a private construction business owned by his father. His father made the laws in the company	[REDACTED] (migrants)	V.B.
Corrupted government	Main problem is corrupted government		[REDACTED] (migrant)	V.B.
Trade unions inactive	Trade unions are not active in Kosovo		[REDACTED] (migrant)	V.B.
Health system in Kosovo underperforming	The health service is catastrophic here in Kosovo		[REDACTED] (migrant)	V.B.

Life improved due to migration	Our life improved drastically in Denmark		■■■■ (migrants)	V.B.
Children's future foreseen in the country of destination due to better future prospects	If returning to Kosovo , you are denying the rights of your children . In Denmark health services are free . Our children's future is in Denmark . I can't recommend anyone to return to Kosovo		■■ (migrant)	V.B.
Return to Kosovo desired, but if things improve	Obviously, I would like to return to Kosovo, everything is better in your country, but if things improve		■■ (migrant)	V.B.
Difficult to find a job in Kosovo due to economic underdevelopment and low investment	It is difficult to find a job in Kosovo. Economy is underdeveloped . There is low investment . Youth should be integrated on things that are worth		■■ (migrant)	V.B.
Education should be focused more on non-academic and vocational professions, rather than just Universities	There should be more professions with crafts as all the orientation is in Universities		■■ (migrant)	V.B.
Surplus of graduates and deficit of jobs	There is a surplus of graduates and there are limited jobs		■■ (migrant)	V.B.
Integration in the country of destination difficult	Beginning in Switzerland was very difficult , but later I improved the language, found the job so I am integrated now in Switzerland. I worked in factories and big supermarkets here in Switzerland	Reason for migration: migrated to Switzerland for family reunification reasons through a spouse visa	■■ (migrant)	V.B.
Return to Kosovo disincentivised due to lack of jobs and poor health system	I wouldn't return to Kosovo because you can't find a job easily , health system is not good , also my kids are at school in Switzerland		■■ (migrant)	V.B.

Difficult to return children to Kosovo once adopted in the country of destination	When kids adapt in Switzerland it will be difficult to return them		■ (migrant)	V.B.
Low salaries in Kosovo	Life in Kosovo is difficult, low salaries of €150. Kosovo's youth are just thinking to finish university, they should work in construction as well, factories, agriculture, trade, etc.		■ (migrant)	V.B.
Kosovars are intelligent, but the technology lacks behind	People in Kosovo are very intelligent , e.g. doctors in Kosovo are much better than in Switzerland , but there the technology is better		■ (migrant)	V.B.
Better perspective for Kosovar children in the country of destination	In Switzerland there is better perspective for my kids		■ (migrant)	V.B.
Migration incentivised by lack of jobs and income	No one would migrate if having a job and can keep the family , if having the standard as in USA, Switzerland, London, etc.		■ (migrant)	V.B.
Integrated in the country of destination, even though learning the language proved difficult	After having migrated started education straight away , found the job. English language was difficult to learn	Reason for migration: migrated during the war in 1999 Chose London as his cousin was living there. He never thought to leave Kosovo	■ (migrant)	V.B.
Highly qualified graduates in Kosovo not given work opportunities	New graduates highly qualified are not given opportunities to work		■ (migrant)	V.B.
The unqualified find work through nepotism	Those without education/unqualified work through nepotism		■ (migrant)	V.B.

Not enough jobs	There are not enough jobs		■■■■ (migrant)	V.B.
More employment support trainings needed to help with CV, search for jobs and prepare for jobs	There should be more trainings and a need is to open a centre where students can go and get help with CV writing, support in how to search for jobs , etc. There isn't a website where students can be referred and ask for help , such as how to do the CV, how to act in an interview, offer work placements outside Kosovo , etc.		■■■■ (migrant)	V.B.
Kosovar migrants should return to contribute in their country	Kosovars should work abroad and return to Kosovo to contribute		■■■■ (migrant)	V.B.
Health sector corrupted	Health sector is corrupted		■■■■ (migrant)	V.B.
No trade unions to complain to	There are no trade unions to complain to if someone fires you		■■■■ (migrant)	V.B.
No employment rights	There are no employment rights		■■■■ (migrant)	V.B.
Desire to return to Kosovo, but when there are good employment opportunities	Would like to live and work in Kosovo rather than stay here in London. Would return to Kosovo if there was a good IT company		■■■■ (migrant)	V.B.
Return not recommended unless good living standards, such as higher security and better health system	Wouldn't recommend anyone to return now to Kosovo unless someone would have great living standards . Security issues are a burden to return . Health is another burden to return		■■■■ (migrant)	V.B.
Difficult to find a job in Kosovo due to lack of jobs, economic	Difficult to find a job in Kosovo, no jobs, no economic development, low investments	Reasons for migration: migrated to Italy due to family reunification through spouse visa. Other reasons of migration were for work purposes, better living standards	■■■■ (migrant)	V.B.

underdevelopment and low investment				
Better functioning of the law	There should be better functioning of the law		█████ (migrant)	V.B.
Higher salaries needed	Higher salaries are needed		█████ (migrant)	V.B.
Terminated the studies due to migration	While living in Italy, studying in Kosovo. Had to stop the studies when migrated . Huge passion for education , started again the studies		█████ (migrant)	V.B.
Uncertainty if able to work in the country of destination with diploma from Kosovo	Aim to work in Italy with the █████ diploma from Kosovo . Not sure though if the diploma will be recognised in Italy		█████ (migrant)	V.B.
Not seeking employment in the country of destination as a result of raising the children	Haven't looked for jobs while in Italy as raised the kids		█████ (migrant)	V.B.
Better living standards as a result of migration	Due to migration I have created the family , have better living standards, studies , etc.		█████ (migrant)	V.B.
Return to Kosovo if economic and political situation improve	Would return when economic and political situation would improve in Kosovo		█████ (migrant)	V.B.
Emigration perceived as personal motivation	Emigration is personal motivation , personal		█████ (migrant)	V.B.

Return to Kosovo disincentivised due to lack of jobs	While there are issues with unemployment in Kosovo, no one will return		██████ (migrant)	V.B.
Training for hair dressing helped to secure a job at a hair dressing saloon	Did trainings for hair dressing . Heard about the training on the local radio . Worked in Kosovo for four years . Tried but couldn't register at the Economic University . When looked for jobs, went to different hair dressing saloons to look for jobs . Found a job at one of the hair dressers and was on probation for two weeks . It took me four months to find the job .		██████ (migrant)	V.B.
Inadequate treatment at the workplace	The manager told me to clean the saloon , can you buy me lunch? , that is not right		██████ (migrant)	V.B.
Completing a University degree in Kosovo can not necessarily secure one a relevant job	My brother completed the ████████ University , speaks English and still works in construction		██████ (migrant)	V.B.
Finding a job in Kosovo only through nepotism	You look for a job and cannot find one ; one says there are no jobs or leave the phone number and I will call you and in the end takes someone they know		██████ (migrant)	V.B.
Private companies avoid paying taxes to the government	'When the inspection came , the boss said to employees to go outside or take off the company shirts so that inspection do not see that you are employees of this saloon in order to not pay taxes		██████ (migrant)	V.B.
Lack of law implementation	Law is not implemented in Kosovo		██████ (migrant)	V.B.
Overtime paid and required despite employees' unwillingness	Overtime was paid based on percentage , but I didn't want to work overtime		██████ (migrant)	V.B.
Low salaries in Kosovo	Salary was low		██████ (migrant)	V.B.
Employees' voice disregarded at the workplace	Communication with the manager was always in manager's favour or asked to leave if not in his favour		██████ (migrant)	V.B.

Lack of contract and employment benefits	There was no contract, no sick leave		█████ (migrant)	V.B.
Migration intentions due to low salary and influenced by other migrants	I always thought to migrate as the job was not paying enough and I was influenced from my clients who lived abroad and who told me that this job pays much more abroad	Reasons for migration: migrated due to family reunification through a spouse visa, but also always thought to migrate due to the low salary and the influence from clients who live abroad	█████ (migrant)	V.B.
Language needs and raising children two factors to discourage migrant women to work	Currently, I am not working , I am learning English and taking care of my children		█████ (migrant)	V.B.
Better life in the country of destination compared to Kosovo	The life is much better here than in Kosovo		█████ (migrant)	V.B.
Taxes abroad paid on time	Taxes here in UK are paid on time		█████ (migrant)	V.B.
Return to Kosovo if corruption stops and economic and political situation improve	I would return to Kosovo if things change , e.g. the government , if the corruption stops , etc.		█████ (migrant)	V.B.
Better education for children abroad	I want my children to be educated here		█████ (migrant)	V.B.

Unemployment a result of the people employed through nepotism	It is ermm... quite problematic to find a job , not because of qualification , but because of people who work in those organisations , ermm public organisations/institutions. Those who interview you or take you in the test aren't professional and are not adequate . If I am an architect and finished the Master's degree, most probably the head of the panel must be with bachelor degree , who will not know how to assess you , and that is a big disadvantage . How it came to this situation is because of the political parties that lead the state, they send their people in important workplaces who are not qualified for that position; this is the reason for unemployment , I think (Interview, November 2015).		██████ (job seeker)	V.B.
The jobs advertised in Kosovo are announced for the sake of 'transparency' but reserved in advance and this discourages applicants.	I knew about different positions through portals , through different portals that are published on internet , and also there are job publications on newspapers but are already filled . Also, in portals these positions are filled because people already work with contracts, and they publish to cover themselves that they published the vacancy because it must be published. They publish the vacancy , but a person works there already , that is it. We have guaranteed information about this, and it became a tradition in Kosovo, and that is, that means it is a bit pointless to apply , and this is that, that simply demoralised people [...]		██████ (job seeker)	V.B.
Management style reflected as autocratic	'It is always much easier to talk to one trade union rather than 2-3 trade unions . Everybody should respect their work dictated by the contract ; we as management need to control and manage employees . We have cases when employees violate their tasks, and we open legal procedures.'		Employer (public sector)	V.B.

Higher capacity in the labour market compared to the number of jobs available	We have the training centre as a company, we had cases that we accepted candidates who just finished their degree and after we accepted them, we have placed them into trainings inside the institution . After the war the EU has helped a lot in creation of professional education, but the employment opportunity is very small , the supply of jobs is small , considering of how much there is capacity to offer in the labour market (Interview, October 2015).		Employer (public sector)	V.B.
Trade unions politically driven, hence their low performance	‘I never had an employee who was a member of a trade union . I don’t know what to say but considering what happens here and how much the trade unions react here is very little . I see the head of the trade union, he does not deserve to be there because I think he is very politically influenced . For that reason, the trade unions do not work as they should . The employers in general, I do not think behave well with employees.’		Employer (private sector) restaurant owner	V.B.
The quality of CVs on the job applications shows that job seekers do not receive any employment support	I have two different approaches; my experience includes public work and private. Most of the people who have applied in our company, the CVs we received were bad ones , this shows they don’t get any support or at least they did not look for that support. Our policy is that based on the CVs you can know what the person is . My impression is that they don’t get support		Employer (private sector) translation agency	V.B.

Quality is less important in Kosovo and employment is dependent on connections	<p>This is my opinion, Kosovo is a young state without tradition including that of management, but also when it comes to professional preparation, and all this brings Kosovo in the situation it is in today. To find a job in Kosovo is difficult, normally connections even in the UK helped a lot, but it is not everything about connections, in the UK I didn't have connections when I was employed [REDACTED]. If you are very good at something, in the UK you don't need connections. Whereas in Kosovo quality at the moment is not important, but important is who you know, the quality is not considered, especially for public institutions. Whereas for the private ones there aren't mega big companies where quality is necessary. Here you have one owner and he/she plays the role of the accountant to the manager, and you as a manager today you do this form of management, tomorrow he/she can say I don't like this, change this completely because I created this firm</p>		[REDACTED] (return migrant)	V.B.
Improvement in Kosovo possible if EU intervenes and invests in mega companies to deploy a culture of work	<p>I believe that without the intervention of the European Union in the state institutions in Kosovo, there cannot be improvement, because we are not at that level capable to manage ourselves. Whereas, in regard to employment, there is hope that companies from abroad will come, but not companies that would employ 100 people, but mega companies that in a way would give us the light of how we should work</p>		[REDACTED] (return migrant)	V.B.

Research needed to identify the profiles that the labour market in Kosovo needs to avoid disappointment of young graduates	Based on the news in newspapers and TV, there is huge unemployment . Research should be conducted to understand what the labour market needs are . There are 50,000 students in University of Pristina and in private universities, and many of them are studying political science and economics , and I don't think they can find themselves well in the labour market. It would be good to conduct research that would be able to tell what professions the labour market in Kosovo needs . This disappoints the young people because they finish university and don't find a job		Employer (public sector)	V.B.
Incentives to migrate for a better job and higher salary to secure a better future for the children	'I feel insecure , even though I have the contract , the salary does not offer that much , we work a lot. I always think to go abroad and have a better salary and job , ex. Canada, UK, or France. I tried many times through different applications but wasn't successful. In the future, I intend to migrate to Canada for a better future and for my kids . Better future in terms of legal aspects and income because we do not possess these in Kosovo compared to countries in the region.'		Employee (public sector; primary school)	V.B.
Misbalance of supply and demand in the labour market	Employment situation in Kosovo in general is not that good . There are workplaces , but not enough for all . Maybe the offer is high , or the demand is high , or there is misbalance between the two .		Employee (public sector; primary school)	V.B.
Laws lack implementation in Kosovo and there is no support from trade unions	' Laws exist but are not implemented 100% , and there is no support from trade unions or protection . The main reason is the way the state is formed , the ministry and other institutions .'		Employee (public sector; primary school)	V.B.

Trade unions' support is limited; hence the trust is low	<p>‘Yes, I am a member of the Union of Education, Science and Culture of Kosova. I pay 5% from my salary toward the trade union, they try to help but I don’t know how much they can support the rights of employees, but I suspect because I don’t think that the rights are protected. The support is the last thing! Lately trade union’s support has been successful in implementing the minor increase in salary such as €20-30. The request for daily meals and travel allowance has not been fully implemented. Half of the request has been implemented and half not, and the cases of threat to be dismissed and stuff like that has not been supported by trade unions. I do not believe 100% in the trade union that I am a member of and other trade unions. I didn’t have any case when I needed their support, and I don’t think that they would support me in terms of my employment rights.’</p>		Employee (public sector; primary school)	V.B.
Employment support in Kosovo is limited, even in the cases that is offered its purpose is deteriorated	<p>I got employment skills while studying at the [REDACTED] and in one of my jobs in a project where I had to interview people for becoming a potential employee... I am not happy with employment support because when I applied for jobs I was invited to a training and instead of learning I had to stack shelves for a week</p>		[REDACTED] (return migrant)	V.B.
Even postgraduates who completed their degrees abroad find it difficult to find a job in Kosovo	<p>Literally that was anything I could do because the job market is very hard here. Right now, I have many friends who finished their Master degree abroad and now stay at home and find it very difficult to find a job. Therefore, it’s one of those, you get lucky you find a job, take it, don’t leave it, take it</p>		[REDACTED] (return migrant)	V.B.
Job ads just a manipulation to cover the non-transparency of the recruitment process	<p>That is just for companies to cover themselves and say I have proof that I have posted the job ad and I have proofs that I invited candidates</p>		[REDACTED] (return migrant)	V.B.

Employment agencies are not supportive and influential	I am looking for a new job and applied at the [redacted] agency , but I am very disappointed with this agency because they don't answer the phone , nor do they reply to my emails . These agencies don't have any influence... There aren't reasonable job-hunting agencies, there aren't agencies that you can ask for help		[redacted] (return migrant)	V.B.
Difficult to find a job, but government trying to introduce active measures including salary subvention, self-employment, and internships	It is difficult to systemize job seekers at work because without knowing someone , you can-not find a job , [but] government is trying to find opportunities for job seekers through active measures such as salary subvention, self-employment, internships , etc. and they are quite effective. This is because government allocates resources for the accomplishment of these [measures]; they have specific funding' and 'this year they offered 40-50 grands for businesses		Employee at the [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]	V.B.
Employees in grievance asking for an increase in the salary	'in grievance because of the low salary and one of the requests in the grievance was to increase the salary , so the employee left because this request was not fulfilled .'		Member of trade union	V.B.
Internal trade unions treat the complaints internally and externally with the institutions they report to if there is a need to escalate	'We get complaints from staff continuously, we meet as trade union members, treat the issue, we meet with the Trade Union Council and they give their opinion about the dissatisfaction of one person or two and we write a complaint or request to management . If this does not function , then we send papers of complain to other institutions that we report , such as Kosovo's parliament .'		Member of trade union	V.B.
Job seekers do not register with the Employment department	There is no good mentality to go and register in the Employment department even though this has been improving recently '		Member of trade union	V.B.

Fighting corruption and organised crime can improve the situation with employment	The situation of employment in Kosovo could improve by fighting corruption and organised crime . If these improve everything else related to employment and other things will improve. There are good laws , and there are institutions that have the system designed similar to that of developed countries , example is the procurement system . This system in England functions very well but here it does not function properly		Employee at the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] member of trade union in this institution	V.B.
Employees get abused at the workplace because political clans employ their people and through this control everything	In 2001, the employees were abused and this continues even nowadays in the institutions and from people that you least expect , from academic people and in the institutions that should give a good example but they give the opposite because there are political clans who employ their people and through these people they control everything		Labour Inspector	V.B.
Employers try to pressure the justice system and delay the process of handling the complaints	The court is overwhelmed with complaints and have problems with selecting the cases because the number of complaints is much higher than of those solved . Therefore, it takes years until a case is solved and there are different pressures to paralyse the administrative process . The pressure comes mainly from employers . The employees while at work they never complain , but thereafter they complain		Labour Inspector	V.B.

The violation of employees' rights higher than expected	In the beginning the Inspectorate's policy was not to punish the employers but to give them some space to develop, in the public and private sector. However, the effect has not been a good one, as the abuses of employees' rights have been high . We knew that there will be violations, but we did not expect it would be at this level . There are many registered institutions that we do not know their function and some of them do not work at all. This institutional interconnectedness is not harmonised , and we do not know which institution is active and which is passive , how much is being worked and how much not		Labour Inspector	V.B.
There is discrimination from the employers of the female employees who are pregnant	The employer in the moment that he/she sees himself/herself as damaged and pressurised , then he/she wants to escape from employing females who are potentially to deliver a baby . They want to employ only those females who have finished their family planning . The Inspectorate has always tried to have as less problems as possible with this category, but for the labour inspector it is almost impossible to understand the accurate situation in practice such as what is happening because always this data is hidden ; these problems are hidden and manipulated to look as everything is fine . We are being unable to find a solution to protect this category , so there is discrimination . We are those who need to protect our natality because this rapport at work influences the natality. Every female should be free, confident and safe as a mother to create the family, but if she doesn't have that then why would she start creating the family when she cannot educate and raise the kids in the way that she thinks is the best! Here is a disadvantage: our society is lagging behind in treating the females fairly		Labour Inspector	V.B.

Employees are not provided trainings to prepare and protect themselves of any harm at work	Legally every employer should have trainings to empower its employees professionally so that they know the present risks at the working place, know how to use the equipment , how to give the first aid and how to evacuate in case of risk . However, these trainings usually are delivered temporarily because they are introduced just for the sake of saying we have done this and that, with the hope that nothing will happen . Then at the moment when the danger happens, the employees do not know how to give the first aid.		Labour Inspector	V.B.
Fear of being fired prevents employees to fight for their rights at the workplace	Legally the employment rights are regulated well, and the employee should listen to the employer , undertake advice and can <i>create trade unions</i> that will represent them, but in practice they do not function as should. This may be because we do not understand enough the rights that we have, or maybe we do not have the civil courage because of the situation created that is now you found a job but next time you won't be able to find one . So, there is the fear always that you will be fired		Labour Inspector	V.B.
Migration due to low living standards including poor health system, unemployment and lack of human rights	I left Kosovo due to the lack of living standards, inappropriate health system, unemployment, lack of human rights, lack of young people's rights		■ (return migrant)	V.B.
Migration for a better life, better health system	We left for a better life , to find a better job , to have a better health system , to have a happier life		■ (return migrant)	V.B.

The employer can fire the employee any time	The boss can send you a text message and say I do not need you anymore, so do not come		■ (return migrant)	V.B.
Employers do not register the employees and do not provide insurance, one of the reasons government is corrupted	They don't provide fiscal coupon , they don't register you as an employee , they do not give insurance , and then of course the government is corrupted and that's why Kosovo does not prosper .		■ (return migrant)	V.B.
Youth should revolutionise as won't be able to prosper in this nepotism	we who do not have or know any person in power will remain in the same devastating situation while we have these government officials in power who employ their family and relatives . The situation is catastrophic for the youth ; our youth should do something , such as a protest or revolutionise .		■ (return migrant)	V.B.
Lack of perspective in Kosovo influences people's thinking of self-harm or migration	to stop and think I need to kill myself , or need to lose somewhere , or seek asylum somewhere , but maybe there will be better days .		■ (return migrant)	V.B.
Lack of contract and safety at work raises people's concern of losing the job easily and remaining without income	Here I don't like anything , here only because I don't have a choice . First, I don't have a contract and if you get injured or sick you don't get paid and you don't get the salary on time. Even though it's ■■■■■■■■■■, he can send me home whenever he wants. Simply I do this job just because I don't have any other choice ; you must work to get a salary to survive and now I am also married, have a wife...'		■ (return migrant)	V.B.
Regrets to have returned to Kosovo	sometimes I see a dream about Germany , and sometimes I stop and think ' why have I returned? '. I wish I could go again, there are better life conditions , people are quiet , everyone minds		■ (return migrant)	V.B.

	his/her own business, people have prospered there, they are a state long time before us.			
Employment possible only through nepotism or favouritism	It is catastrophic , only if you know someone , otherwise it is problematic . Even though I found the job in the same way, still it is catastrophic.		■■■■ (return migrant)	V.B.
Better and transparent politics can change the situation	only better and transparent politics can change the situation as the current politicians think only of themselves , not the population		■■■■ (return migrant)	V.B.
Health insurance is not provided in many private companies	If I get injured at work , the employer will make me an insurance , even though I do not possess one now.		■■■■ (return migrant)	V.B.
Employment agencies are not supportive and influential, and CVs are not considered in some job vacancies	In Kosovo, there aren't employment agencies that would help to find the job; therefore, I went myself in different clothing shops and food supermarkets to look for jobs . In my last job, they did not ask for my CV or anything else, they said you need to do a trial for 1 week or 2 weeks so that we can see what you know and what you don't . Hence, that was kind of a CV and kind of an internship.		■■■■ (return migrant)	V.B.
One can find a job only if knowing someone who can help to get the job	It is very difficult if you don't have someone who can help you, because here it is only if you know someone otherwise you can't find a job . If you don't have a relative who works in hospital or dental surgery, you can't find a job .		■■■■ (return migrant)	V.B.
Difficult to find a job in Kosovo even if one has a university degree	it is very difficult because there are so many people who are unemployed , not only me. There are people with higher degrees of education and cannot find a job . Therefore, for those who have a lower education degree it is problematic , such as with secondary school , or only with undergraduate degree , it is problematic . This is because those who have Master's degree and		■■■■ (return migrant)	V.B.

	PhD have advantages, but there are also those who even with PhDs stay at home.			
Problem remains with the government and leaders and the lack of training opportunities provided to build experience	Us as a population we think that the problem is at the government and leaders , it is problematic if they don't give us opportunities to continue, to do internships or take longer working experiences ; and we do not have the training opportunities . The trainings that I should have undertaken during my secondary school , I undertook after finishing the secondary school. That should have been parallel such as learning and practicing , and that it took me 1 or 2 years after I finished secondary school to find some connections to start the internship in a surgery or hospital , otherwise it would have been problematic.		██████(return migrant)	V.B.
Lack of contract at the workplace and health insurance risks the wellbeing of the employee	we did not have contracts , only oral agreement and of course when you don't have a contract you don't benefit anything , you don't have health insurance or physical insurance and nothing . For general reasons, you are not insured on anything , whatever happens nobody takes responsibility		██████(return migrant)	V.B.
Chose to migrate to Germany because of the relatives living there	'We went to Germany because we had some relatives , and from what we have seen on the TV , in France and Austria there were worse living conditions than in Germany, that is why we decided to go there		██████(return migrant)	V.B.
Favouritism plays a huge role in unequal distribution of opportunities in Kosovo	We have a lot of theory and very little practice . Even that practice that we have is not distributed fairly because favouritism plays a huge role . Connections may be everywhere in the world, but here are more expressed . If you are not given equal opportunities , it will always take more time to finish studies, to find a job , etc. '		Job seeker (Engineer)	V.B.

Lack of opportunities and law implementation in Kosovo influences the labour market	I have been looking for jobs for a long time . It is true that I do not have the diploma, but that does not make a difference because for two years now I have only one exam left. I applied in many jobs, including in a telecommunication company and they didn't care that I have only one exam left. I was offered the job, but they had some internal problems and I could not start. Sometimes I have the impression that I was not given the opportunity until now. Everybody has their difficulties in life for jobs and now that we are a post war country , with a lot of challenges , the legal aspects of the state do not function properly , we are improving but that needs time. Normally, these things influence the labour market.		Job seeker (Engineer)	V.B.
People in power accommodate and employ only their people and by this impose inequality in opportunities	We have some sort of economic crisis with high unemployment . Interests of people in power to accommodate only their people is obvious, this means we are not equal in opportunities . If I knew someone or had a family member in power in an institution, I believe I would have had a job . In absence of having a family relative or knowing someone in power , I had to do all the applications in my own capabilities , and obviously, I found it difficult and faced a lot of challenges .		Job seeker (Engineer)	V.B.
Employment law is not fully implemented, even though nowadays the employees have more rights	The Employment law has enabled many employees to not work on Saturdays . However, there are companies where employees work on Saturday and that they need to be paid the overtime . The Employment law is not being respected fully , but it is better nowadays because the employees have more rights . However, in some places, mistreatments happen .		Job seeker (Engineer)	V.B.
Lack of employment opportunities pushes one to think migration as an option for further education and employment	I also thought that if I cannot find a job here as an engineer , if I am not given any opportunity at all to have a normal job as other people of my age, as a potential employee because I am at a life phase that I can contribute, I thought to migrate somewhere . Considering my professional background, in German speaking countries there are good education opportunities , so I thought to go and complete my Master degree and find a job because I heard that there is a need for engineers and doctors .		Job seeker (Engineer)	V.B.

Migration plans if the effort is not rewarded in Kosovo and there are scholarship opportunities abroad	It is not really that I thought [to migrate] now, but if I had a scholarship , or if I could finance myself and if your effort is not rewarded here then obviously, you think to migrate . I always wanted to go abroad to study , but to study and return to Kosovo and contribute . Maybe I will go abroad and maybe I will see that there is nothing in Kosovo and I will remain abroad , but without finishing this last exam I cannot make plans . It is about time until I finish this exam and I will continue with other plans.		Job seeker (Engineer)	V.B.
Some private companies and businesses use employees for other jobs such as cleaning	In private clinics , they do not offer trainings , they try and use you at maximum for other jobs. It happened that I even cleaned there and took care of the clinique . The doctor who was the owner and with whom I worked, he worked in a public centre too during the day. In the evening, he worked in his own private clinique . His aim was for me to take care of his private clinique , not really for me to learn .		Job seeker (Dentist)	V.B.
Finding a job in Kosovo only through nepotism and the professional qualification is not considered	It is more problematic to get a job there because it goes by knowing someone , those who have relatives or friends in the municipality can find a job, otherwise it is impossible . They do not look at the grades you had at the university , or the professional qualification . These criteria are not considered, but only if you have someone that can help you to get the job ' and which means through nepotism		Job seeker (Dentist)	V.B.
Kosovo's youth should be oriented not only in finishing a University degree, but also vocational education	to open new vacancies, invest in education, medicine, and open manufactures . There should be higher criteria to accept students so that when they graduate , they are professional . Otherwise, like this, it is difficult to find a job . In Kosovo, everyone wants to go to university , however not everyone has the potential for university hence can be oriented to vocational education . There may be some professions that do not need university and that are not developed in Kosovo .		Job seeker (Dentist)	V.B.

Kosovo, a poor and corrupted country where investment is focused in construction, rather than education or employment	‘Kosovo is a poor country and corruption is high . In other countries, there is corruption , but the state is strong and rich . Whereas, here powerful people do not invest in education , or employment , but in constructing roads and other unnecessary stuff		Job seeker (Dentist)	V.B.
Employment law exists, but not the administrative advice on how to implement it	‘Some parts of the law remain to be implemented later . I didn’t analyse the law and do not remember it entirely. The law exists but the administrative advice has not been released on how to implement it. This means that the law is there, but administrative directives are not released on how to implement it.’		Employee ()	V.B.
There is lack of research to understand the labour market needs that in turn would increase employment chances	Based on the news , there is huge unemployment . Research should be undertaken to understand the needs of the labour market . 50,000 students are enrolled in the University of Pristina and in private University and many of them are in political science and economics . I don’t think that they can find themselves well in the labour market and it would be nice to have research showing the skills needed in the labour market . This disappoints the young people because they finish university and don’t find a job .		Employee ()	V.B.
There is lack of transparency from the employer, employee and the law makers	‘The situation of employment is very catastrophic . I can see this through the job that we do as . There is no respect for the job , no transparency from the employer, employees and law makers .’		Employee / (Serb)	V.B.

The law exists, but is not implemented and one who violates the law is not penalised	‘The law exists in social services and reaches the European standards , but the problem is its implementation . The law is not effective . The cases when the law is not implemented are not penalised or punished .’		Employee / ██████ (Serb)	V.B.
Migration incentives due to the small salary	‘I would like to migrate anywhere because of the small salary , and I don’t have a boyfriend . I haven’t thought about how to migrate, but I would like to migrate. I came from Serbia to live in Kosovo 8 years ago for a better job . We enjoy life here in Kosovo, but the salary is low . I would never leave Kosovo if they would have increased my salary .’		Employee / ██████ (Serb)	V.B.
Trade unions support is limited	Yes, I am a member . No, directly I have not been offered support , I never claimed any help and was never offered support . I am a member of the trade union of the institution . The trade union gave us presents for international women’s day . We had travelled with the trade union, but didn’t have any help , nothing concrete.		Employee / ██████ (Serb)	V.B.
Trade unions politically driven and do not protect the rights of employees	trade unions ‘are politicised more than they protect the rights of employees , unfortunately.’		Political Advisor	V.B.
The heads of trade unions benefit themselves rather than protect the employees	‘they only achieved to address some requirements of employees, but I don’t know how much the government could address them , such as increasing the salary , etc. There is the problem of the heads of trade unions benefiting something for themselves rather than protecting the rights of employees . The heads of trade unions were serving more the politics rather than the employees .’		Political Advisor	V.B.

Employees are in a difficult situation, even without contracts, whereas trade unions are a function of political making of the government	trade unions ‘mostly they are in function as a reason of political making of the government . The government in different ways has supported financially the trade unions , and it has appointed the leaders of trade unions in different boards pretending that they represent the dissatisfaction of employees . Though, the employees are in a difficult situation , even the journalists do not have contracts and are in difficult medical and social protection .’		Analyst	V.B.
To achieve something, you have to corrupt and bribe someone	‘This means if you return in Kosovo , you will not be able to find a job if you do not corrupt someone . In Kosovo when you go in the hospital you won’t be able to finish something , to have a treatment without corrupting someone . Same when registering your child at kindergarten , to secure a place you have to bribe the directors . If you want to achieve something , you have to show that you have beautiful legs . This is the abusive connection , when you go at the police you have to find someone you know, and same when you go to the court. The legal system is the main problem of failure of the state . It is the most important pillar , if the trust does not exist that you can have your legal rights, then all other trusts are contested because those who are employed to respect your rights and give your rights , those are the ones who violate your rights .’		Analyst	V.B.
If returning to Kosovo and wanting to make a change one will have serious problems because nobody asks the employee to work as should, but as employer asks to work	‘nowadays in Kosovo nobody asks you to work how you should , but how they ask you to work . In this case the problem is that if you want to return in Kosovo and you want to make a change you will have serious problems . And if this change will not happen , the state is failing , I do not see improvements . You got the progress report that says Kosovo is the most corrupted in the region . I am telling you this is the main problem’		Analyst	V.B.

Appendix 9 Flexicurity in Europe

Flexicurity in Europe

The European Commission has promoted flexicurity for several years now. Flexicurity was first used in ‘Denmark in 1990s [as] a combination of easy hiring and firing providing flexibility for employers, and high benefits for the unemployed providing security for the employees’ (Eurofund, 2013, para. 4). The concept of flexicurity was also promoted by the European Commission in its 1997 Green Paper (defined as discussion paper on a specific policy area published by the Commission) about new ways of organising the work, the modernisation and competitiveness of the workplace and how important flexibility and security is for this change (Arrowsmith and Pulignano, 2013). This was also reflected in the European Social Dialogue Framework Agreement in [1997/90] referring to flexibility and security of workers by providing part-time and fixed-term work (Andersen et al., 2009). In recent years with the globalisation and the need for more and better jobs, EU as a way to respond to these changes decided to renew ‘the Lisbon objectives of more and better jobs and introduce new forms of flexibility and security for individuals and companies. This is especially to modernise the European social models such as flexibility of labour markets, work organisation and labour relations, and security-employment security and social security’ (EUR-Lex, 2007, para.3 and 6).