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**BRAIN DRAIN CAUSES AND TENDENCIES: THE CASE OF
LITHUANIA**

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INTRODUCTION

Rapid globalization processes embrace more and more fields generating many economic, social, cultural, and other changes all over the world. These processes inevitably affect national labour markets, raising increasingly intensive and multidirectional labour movements. Some main tendencies stand out in the contemporary international migrations: first, the share of highly-skilled migrants increased significantly in the global migratory flow; second, though the phenomenon of *brain circulation* has gathered momentum, the problem of *brain drain* increasingly affects less developed countries, as well. This phenomenon is mainly influenced by a rapid progress of science and technology that generates a steady growth of demand for highly-skilled labour force in the international labour market. Negative demographic changes with the ageing population in the advanced economies are other significant reasons to pull immigrant labour.

Importance of labour migration manifests itself primarily in the changes caused in the national labour markets. In the long run it makes an impact on the whole national economy. International labour migration is being interpreted as a positive appearance for the global productivity as it equalizes wage and welfare gaps between different countries. For some countries, however, it may cause contradictory effects.

Lithuanian openness to the global markets is a positive step stimulating economic, financial, intellectual, cultural and social capital exchange, which, in its turn, stipulates the growth of economy. This integration, however, is accompanied by increasingly growing migratory flows. The problem becomes more acute because of dominating one-way migratory flows, which show big overweight of emigrants compared to immigrants. It means that highly-skilled emigrants are not substituted by appropriate immigrants neither in quantitative nor in qualitative context. In such a situation a set of further subsequences arises: country's investments made for the preparation of these professionals are being lost; negative changes in the local labour market and demographic situation arise; the quality of governmental services decreases; finally, an average qualification level of the country's labour force declines diminishing economy's competitiveness in the international arena.

International labour migration causes and processes have been investigated in a variety of ways. Traditionally, labour migration is being explained in the context of economic equilibrium employing two

analytical levels: macro and micro. Neoclassical economic migration models explain changes in labour market and wage differences between migratory countries as a main reason of international migration. In this context studies have been made by a number of authors (Todaro, 1969, Harris and Todaro, 1970, Glantz, 1973, Pack, 1973, Thomas, 1973, Cebula and Curran, 1974, Borjas, 1989, Krugman and Obstfeld, 1991, Tsoulakis, 1993, Filer et al., 1996, Jovanovich, 1997, Ehrenberg and Smith, 1997, Reynolds et al., 1998, Tassinopoulos and Werner, 1998), etc. Other explanations found in recent literature refer to the different assumptions. The concept of new economics of migration focuses on households but does not separate individuals analyzing the migration processes. The decision to migrate is seen as a strategy of a household to diversify income and risk. The causes of labour migration are seen not only in labour market, but also in other markets (capital, consumer credit, future) and their imperfections (Stark and Levhari, 1982, Stark and Bloom, 1985, Taylor, 1986, Rosenzweig and Stark, 1989, Morrison, 1994, Daveri and Faini, 1999, Chen et al., 2003). Segmented labour market approach sees the reasons of migration in the continuous demand for immigrant labour in the secondary sector of receiving country's labour market (traditionally low-paid jobs) while the primary sector is filled with the local labour force (traditionally well-paid jobs) (Piore, 1979, Portes and Bach, 1985, Faist, 1995). World theory of systems explains international labour movements at a global level: migration is seen as a natural consequence of unequal capital flows and penetration of capitalism all over the world (Wallerstein, 1974, 1980, Portes and Walton, 1981, Sassen, 1988). The other theoretical approaches, which have growing attention in the contemporary migration interpretations, are based on the social capital concept formed by Bourdieu, 1986, Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, Coleman, 1990), as well as cumulative causation concept formed by Myrdal (1957) and developed by Massey (1993, 1998, 1999) to explain international migration processes. Here, differently from other theoretical approaches, focus is made on the role of social ties and migrant networks (Massey, 1993, 1998, 1999, Haug, 2000, Shah and Menon, 1999, Massey and Zenteno, 1999, Phillips and Massey (2000), Engestrom, 2001, Pellegrino (2001), Khadria (2001), Wang and Hsiao, 2002, Massey and Aysa, 2005). Massey is the most famous between other authors for his numerous migration studies in the empirical and theoretical field, where thorough synthesis of above mentioned concepts has been made. All above mentioned concepts refer to general migration

explanations with no particular focus on the highly-skilled migration. The newest concept – transnational labour movement – gives a better understanding of the highly-skilled migration processes (Castells, 1996, Portes, 1997, Salt, 1997, 2001, 2002, Iredale, 1999, 2001, Vertovec, 2000, 2002, Khadria, 2001, Ouaked, 2002, Hugo, 2002).

Systematic exploration of Lithuanian migration and the phenomenon of *brain drain* has been initiated and carried out by scientists of Lithuanian Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, where main tendencies and problems were highlighted (Stankienė et al, 1996, Sipavičius et al, 1997). Later surveys have been carried out by the scientists of Kaunas University of Technology (Jucevičius et al, 2002, Merkys and Antinienė, 2004, Antinienė, 2005), Institute of Labour and Social Research (Pocius, 2002), Civil Society Institute, institutions of public opinion and individual researchers such as Kuzmickaitė (2004), Ruzgys and Eriksonas (2004), Geičys (2005). There the reasons and characteristics of real and potential emigration from Lithuania were analyzed. Scientists of Institute for Social Research and International Labour Organization (in Vilnius) put a particular focus on the illegal migration as well as human trade in the contemporary international migration in Lithuania (Sipavičius and Tureikytė, 2000; Sipavičius, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006).

Research problem. Scientific literature on labour migration shows that there is a variety of different theories interpreting migratory causes and processes. Therefore most empirical studies of migration are performed in the frame of one theory and/or discipline. Commonly, interpretations of *brain drain* (as well as emigration in general) are based on macroeconomic factors (differences of wage and other socioeconomic indicators between migratory countries) with no bigger interest to the other factors of social context. Although the concept of social networks appears more and more often, however, empirical studies carried out in this context explain mostly overall migratory flows with no particular focus on the migration of highly-skilled persons.

In Lithuania little work has been done in the field of *brain drain* in recent 15 years (scarcity of the studies is mostly conditioned by shortages of statistics about the extent and structure of migratory flows). The studies are uncoordinated, fragmentary and their outcomes can be hardly compared. Moreover, bigger attention has been given to the explanations, *why does migration happen*, concentrating mostly on the analysis of macroeconomic situation in Lithuania, as well as, individual motives of

migrants. Meanwhile, little attention has been paid to the analysis of *how does migratory processes develop and if contemporary brain drain transforms into brain circulation?* Social ties between migrants and non-migrants can influence significantly migratory flows, as they reduce costs and risk of migration. Therefore, social ties or social capital concept should be also employed in the analysis of the *brain drain* phenomenon. Moreover, recent trends in international migration – transient labour movement – have an impact on *brain circulation*. It is not obvious whether Lithuanian highly-skilled migrants fall into the category of trans-migrants reflecting the phenomenon of *brain circulation*.

Thus, the thesis addresses the aspects not sufficiently researched by other authors and, in such a way, expands boundaries of interpretations of labour migration and the phenomenon of *brain drain*.

Scientific novelty and practical significance of the research lies in its ability to explain Lithuanian *brain drain* phenomenon on the basis of different theoretical approaches integrating two traditionally separated directions: economic and sociological, and three analytical levels: macro, micro, and meso. In addition, it was the first attempt to carry out survey of a larger extent questioning respondents outside Lithuania. Most *brain drain* surveys carried out in Lithuania were focused on the potential emigration, the object of which, traditionally, was the students. Here, differently, focus was made on the real emigrants with the higher skills. The research design is based on numbers of indicators; advanced internet techniques are used to reach the respondents abroad: the website www.djmigracija.lt has been designed for this purpose with automatic data-processing operations. Collected data on the actual highly-skilled migrants thanks to the multiple functions designed in the website helped to learn better Lithuanian *brain drain* phenomenon.

The object – highly-skilled migrants (persons with the higher education including the students).

The subject – Lithuanian highly-skilled migration causes, tendencies, and influencing factors.

Hypotheses:

1. Pull factors (attractive opportunities abroad) have bigger effect on the *brain drain* than push factors (unsatisfactory situation in Lithuania). The higher is the migrants' education the greater

- importance is given to the motives of professional realization and the lesser to the economic factors with push effect.
2. Social networks manifesting themselves in two dimensions: interpersonal and institutionalized, as well as historic migratory experience of Lithuanians, influence migration decision and the process of *brain drain*. Highly-skilled migrants that are characterized with a rapid integration to the host society generate multiplication of Lithuanian migration.
 3. Reemigration intentions of the highly-skilled migrants are mainly influenced by their expectations of better work conditions and professional realization in Lithuania; however, these are not the main reasons of the decision not to return.

The aim is to analyze the causes and tendencies of highly-skilled migrants from Lithuania and to reveal their links to the contemporary explanations of the processes of migration.

The tasks of the research:

1. To reveal resources of the phenomenon of *brain drain* and contemporary tendencies of migration.
2. To analyze theoretical concepts of international migration and to formulate model for the analysis of *brain drain* phenomenon.
3. To analyze Lithuanian *brain drain* causes, tendencies, and influencing factors.
4. To highlight links of the outcomes of empirical *brain drain* study with the contemporary interpretations of migration.

Research methods:

- analysis of scientific literature, which embrace the theoretical concepts of labour migration;
- analysis of statistical data on international migration in the world and Lithuania;
- analysis of the secondary sources: review of the empirical *brain drain* research;
- Internet survey, statistical analysis applying methods of mathematical statistics.

Structure of the dissertation. The thesis consists of introduction, statistical analysis of a recent international migration worldwide and in

Lithuania, theoretical background of the research, description of the research methodology and methods, interpretation of research results, discussion, conclusions and recommendations. The actual material is presented in 20 tables and illustrated by 30 figures and 17 appendices. The list of references contains 185 titles in English, Lithuanian, Italian, and German.

The concept of *brain drain* and recent trends in international migration

The concept of *brain drain* used in the contemporary literature reflects emigration of highly-skilled labour force. Highly-skilled migration usually contains people with higher skills: managers, financial analysts, consultants of special services, scientists, engineers, computer specialists, biotechnologists, etc. (Castells, 1996). The object of *brain drain* is practically related to the matters of great concern. In Lithuania the phenomenon of *brain drain* has taken a large scale, so all highly educated persons (with university degree) and university students are usually considered when analyzing real or potential migration of highly-skilled people (see Jucevi en et al., 2002; Kuzmickait , 2004; Merkys and Antinien , 2004; Ge ien , 2005).

The review of recent migratory processes in the world reveals us three main trends: 1) labour migration has grown significantly in the global migratory flow; 2) migration quality becomes more important; 3) less developed countries become more affected by the *brain drain*. The number of highly-skilled migrants has increased in all well-developed countries, especially in Canada and Australia, as they were first to introduce selective immigration policy. Number of intellectual migrants, particularly those originated from the low-income countries increased significantly in many advanced countries, especially in the North America. Global labour movement is being accelerated particularly by rapidly growing demand for highly skilled labour (particularly in IT sector), developing networks, political, economic, social and cultural integration that substantially changed immigration policies and border control regulations in many developed countries.

Recent Lithuanian international migration features continuously growing labour emigration. Although statistics about real emigrant flows is scarce and unreliable, experts assert that 334 thousand people left Lithuania during 1990 – 2005 (Sipavi ien , 2006). The main destination

countries are USA, Canada, some Western European countries and some new migratory destinations as UK, Spain. Considering Lithuania's integration to the West structures, its migratory flows are likely to grow even more in the near future.

Theoretical framework of the research

Resources of socioeconomic migration studies lie in macroeconomic and microeconomic migration models. **Macroeconomic migration theory** is based on the pull – push factors, which are known as labour demand-pull and supply-push caused by changes in equilibrium of labour market (Krugman ir Obstfeld, 1991, Tsoulakis, 1993, Jovanovich, 1997, Tassinopoulos and Werner, 1998). In the country with a relatively big labour supply (compared to the capital) wage rates are low, on the contrary, in a country with a relatively small labour supply (compared to the capital) wage rates are high. International labour migration is mainly interpreted as a response to the existing differences in wage rates between (migratory) countries and usually is directed to the countries with the higher wage rates. Migration is likely to continue unless equilibrium wage rates are equal between countries.

The **microeconomic migration theory** is based on the same presumptions as macroeconomic migration models, but at individual level: it generally conceives migration as an individual decision for income maximization. Migration decision is seen as rational decision based on the estimations of future gain from migration (Todaro, 1969, Borjas, 1989, Filler et al., 1996, Tassinopoulos, Werner, 1998, Goetz, 1999, Massey, 1998, 1999). Before the decision to migrate a person as a rational actor, calculates future net gain of migration, considering all costs and benefits. Simply people choose to migrate to where they can get the highest net gain.

New economics of migration considers migration in a different way. It refers to variety of markets, not only labour market, and at a family or household, or even community, not individual level (Stark and Levhari, 1982, Stark and Bloom, 1985, Taylor, 1986, Rosenzweig and Stark, 1989, Morrison, 1994, Daveri and Faini, 1999, Massey, 1998, 1999, Chen et al., 2003). People act collectively seeking not only to maximize utility (expected income), but also to minimize risks and to overcome constraints in various markets (insurance, capital, consumer credit, etc.). Migration is seen as a strategy of household's income diversification by

allocating its members in the foreign labour markets. International migration does not necessarily cease when wage differences have been eliminated between different countries. It may continue if other markets (mentioned above) within sending countries are imperfect or absent.

Theory of segmented labour market assumes that migration stems as a response to existing demand for low-skilled or unskilled immigrant work in the host labour markets (Piore, 1979, Portes and Bach, 1985, Faist, 1995, Massey, 1998). Developed countries have dualistic labour markets divided into two segments: primary (or capital intensive with well-paid jobs) sector and secondary (or labour intensive with low-paid jobs) sector. Capital intensive sector is fulfilled with local labour force, usually highly-skilled labour, and the labour intensive sector constantly requires unskilled labour and simply employs immigrant workers.

World systems theory links migration to the macro-organization of socio-economic relations, the geographic division of labour, and the political mechanisms of power and domination (Wallerstein, 1974, 1980, Portes and Walton, 1981, Sassen, 1988). It explains migratory processes in accordance with countries' position in the global economic system and considers migration as a natural consequence of capitalistic market penetration across national boundaries. Migratory potential arises with capital penetration to non-capital countries as capitalization brings transformations, disruptions that are inevitable consequences of this process. Traditionally, capital moving from "core" to "peripheral" countries rises labour migration flows to the opposite directions.

Theory of social capital serves in the explanation of social ties, which are seen as an accelerator of migratory process. Social capital is defined as the sum of resources (ties), actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Social capital can be understood as a whole of social ties held by individuals or groups (Coleman, 1990). The key characteristic of social capital is its convertibility into other forms of capital, first of all, financial capital. In the migratory process it can be converted to foreign wages, savings, and the remittances migrants permit, etc. People gain access to social capital through membership in social networks and institutions and then convert it into other forms of capital to improve or maintain their position in society. Ties between migrants and non-migrants rise migration probability of the latter as they reduce significantly migration costs and risk and increase its net future gain

(Massey, 1998, 1999). Migration flows are not strongly related to wage rate differences between countries, because they are progressively overshadowed by the decreasing costs and risks of movement generating from the expansion of migrant networks.

Concept of cumulative causation formed by Myrdal (1957) and developed by Massey (1993, etc.) for interpretations of international migration assumes that once begun, international migration tends to sustain itself. Causation is cumulative in the sense 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, 1998). Social, economic, and cultural changes generated in sending and receiving countries by international migration cause a powerful movement of people resistant to the control and regulations.

Concept of transnational migration reflects the newest approach to the contemporary labour migration. Transnational migration is seen as temporal labour movement across countries responding to particular labour demand (typically for the highly-skilled labour in advanced economies) (Salt and Ford, 1993, Vertovec, 1999, 2000). The main feature of transnational movement – temporal migration – allows another phenomenon, brain circulation, to occur. It represents not only a new form of international migration but also dualistic way of life as transmigrants usually have homes, economic, political and other aims in two countries, know two (or more) languages and cultures (Portes, 1997, Vertovec, 2000). Thus, transnational migration could be seen as development of transnational networks between ethnically and culturally different people (Findlay, 2006). Transnational labour movement is being particularly stimulated by various international agreements and organizations, which spurred forward internationalization of higher education and professions as well as growing networks of institutionalized ties (Castells, 1996, Iredale, 2002, Ouaked, 2002).

Empirical brain drain studies in the world validate some presumptions of the above theories and reflect some common tendencies of the highly-skilled migration when comparing different countries. Usually highly-skilled migrants move to the advanced countries and are mostly motivated by socioeconomic as well as professional factors (Cheng and Yang, 1998; Hardill and MacDonald, 2000; Wang and Hsiao, 2002; Hansen and Alberts, 2006; Appleton and Morgan, 2006, etc.). Professional motives, such as work conditions and quality, realization of

skills and ideas, career possibilities, etc. often outweighed the other reasons to migrate (Cervelli, 2001; Un Capitale, 2002; Tansel and Gunar, 2003; The Brain Drain, 2003). Regardless of some common outcomes highlighted in foreign empirical *brain drain* studies, some differences can be seen between them, as well. Migration motives differ among the migrants with the higher skills comparing different countries, i.e., in the less developed countries (like Russia) economic reasons of migration are emphasized more often than other factors compared to the motivation of migrants originated from more developed countries (Italy, Slovakia). Overall picture of empirical *brain drain* studies carried out in foreign countries suggests that young people (on average 30 years old) with the higher skills and the students are the most mobile population in geographical, social, and linguistic terms. With development of economy, wage rate loses its preponderant role in the hierarchy of migration motivation, and the professional reasons take its place. With increase of mobility of people with the higher skills, the *brain circulation* substitutes the *brain drain*.

Some common as well as different characteristics can be found in the ***empirical brain drain studies carried out in Lithuania***. Economic motivation dominates in the migration of highly-skilled persons (Stankienė et al, 1996, Sipaviienė et al, 1997, Juceviienė et al, 2002, Kuzmickaitė, 2004, Merkys and Antinienė, 2004). But, differently from contemporary explanations of migration (transnational migration), it has been found that migration for studies tended to become permanent emigration, thus, reflected loss of the highly-skilled persons, and the phenomenon of *brain exchange* was not common in Lithuania (Sipaviienė et al, 1997). Little prospect of reemigration of Lithuanian emigrants has been highlighted also by Juceviienė et al (2002), Ruzgys and Eriksonas (2004).

Study of the *brain drain* from Lithuania

Analysis of different theories and the empirical studies of migration has revealed predominance of different assumptions in explaining labour migration processes. Considering diversity of theoretical presumptions and explanations of migration it was decided to employ different concepts in the empirical research of Lithuanian *brain drain*. For the purpose the theoretical model integrating different migration concepts was constructed by the author of thesis. In such a way, two traditionally separated

approaches: economic and sociological are integrated at three analytical levels: macro, micro, and meso. Generally, the macro and micro concepts of migration helps us to answer the question „who migrates“ and „why does migration happen“, and the meso approach is focused on the answer „how is the migration process developing“.

Based on the methodology, the questionnaire has been formed of five main blocks: 1) socio-demographic characteristics; 2) socioeconomic status; 3) macro and micro structural factors of migration (push and pull factors); 4) questions reflecting the role of social ties in the migratory process; 5) reemigration intensions. Sociodemographic characteristics contain traditional variables, such as age, marital status, education level, linguistic capital, geographical mobility. Socioeconomic characteristics are revealed through such variables as employment situation, financial, economic status, professional and working conditions, cultural and inner life, etc. Social ties contain questions that seek to reveal what influence on the migration of people with the higher skills made transmission of values and culture of the host society, sponsorship provided by abroad living family members, spouses, friends, relatives, and/or academic institutions or recruitment agencies, employers in the sense of financial, work searching and inhabitation help. Here, also the questions to test homogeneity of sponsors and migrants, as well as migration decision determinants, migration multiplication, and social integration to the host society are formed. Remigration intensions revealed through the direct and indirect questions, which contain information about the remigration intensions influencing factors. Some additional questions were formed to gain more detailed information, as well.

With regard to the theoretical operationalization it was decided to apply a representative interrogation. Here, as distinct from other recent surveys on Lithuanian *brain drain*, the core attention was given to the respondents with the higher education, who had already left the country, that is, people living abroad. In order to estimate the part of emigrants with the higher skills within this flow the average percentage of emigrants with the higher skills (about 14% each year) declared by the official statistics annually was applied to. Based on this proportion (0.14×334.000) the representative sampling should contain 385 respondents. It was an alternative way to resolve the problem of the absence of precise statistics and to define the sample required.

Internet survey was chosen to reach and question faraway respondents thanks to modern technical means. The website: www.djigracijja.lt

containing the questionnaire and data-processing procedures was designed by the author of thesis. To solve the problem of communication with the respondents, snowball method was applied, as well. Over 500 Lithuanians with a university degree (including the students) living in 27 countries were questioned. 416 responses were used in the analysis. Initial subjects were Lithuanian embassies and more than 20 foreign Lithuanian organizations and e-clubs, which helped to reach migrants with the higher skills abroad so that we could contact (by e-mail) and invite them to participate in the survey. These people were asked to indicate other migrants as potential respondents known by them.

Multiple functions of the website made it possible to execute questioning, store the data and transfer it automatically from php files directly to the spreadsheets (MS Excell, SPSS) in a properly way. Multiple statistical methods using SPSS were applied in the research. Descriptive statistics, correlation analysis, factor analysis, dispersive analysis, classification tree, and multinomial logistic regression were used in the thesis.

Socio-demographic portrait of migrants shows that majority of the respondents were younger than 35 years (80.2 %). The average age of the respondents resulted in 31.5 years old. In gender, 49.8% were men and 50.2% were women. According to their nationality, the absolute majority were Lithuanians (95.8%). With regard to education 36.1% indicated the Bachelor degree or studies, 20.7% were college graduates or students, 28.5% had Master degree or studies, and 14.6% had Doctoral degree or studies. Social sciences made up 29.5%, humanities – 26.1%, technical sciences – 23.6%, biomedicine – 12.7%, and physical sciences – 8.2%. More than a half of the respondents (60.9%) have graduated from Lithuanian universities. Majority of the respondents knew at least one foreign language (mostly English) very well or well. The overall majority of questioned migrants were employed permanently before they left (63%), another part had occasional occupations (21%), and the rest part (16%) was unemployed. The majority of those employed in Lithuania had worked according to their specialty (68%) before the departure.

Migration destinations evidence two main geopolitical pull zones: North America with the biggest part of migrants located in the USA, and the EU with the biggest part located in the EU-15. More than a half of the interviewed migrants (51.5%) indicated work as the reason of leaving the home country with a bigger part of those occupied according to their specialty. Relatively big part of the respondents (24.3%) had left

Lithuania for studies (for a Bachelor, Master or Doctoral degree). Other indicated emigration and family reunification as a cause of departure (13.9%), and still other migrants pointed out visiting/traveling aims (9.2%). The chosen departure aim varied in accordance with the socio-demographic characteristics of the migrants.

The ***reasons of migration (push and pull factors)*** show that the most important were the economic motives (wage) in the structure of migration reasons. In the comparison of the push and pull variables at most events the stronger effect of their attraction (pull effect) to the foreign country has been noticed. The greatest difference of the estimation of migration reasons in accordance with their push – pull effect was displayed from the point of view of labour conditions. This shows that good material conditions in the field of labour and profession that helps to create beneficial labour conditions and enables to effectively use one's own professional skills has much greater effect as the migration factor than its lack in the home country.

Overall four significant groups of migration reasons have been identified: attractive working conditions and professional realization (acceptance rate 88%), pushing socioeconomic conditions (82%), academic system and collaboration (69%), state macroeconomic status and governmental policy (69%), and ecological conditions (37%).

Analysis of the ***role of social ties in the process of brain drain*** revealed that social capital does influence migration of people with the higher-skills but in a lesser extent compared to the push and pull factors discussed above. These findings supported by the comparison of the average estimations of the push and pull factors and the factors of social ties. In addition, the reverse correlation (-0.234, $p < 0.01$) showed that the bigger was respondent's educational level the less importance had social capital on his or her migration abroad.

Overall six main groups of social channels sponsoring migration has been found: academic institutions (acceptance rate 25%), spouse/intimate friend's material and non-material help (24%), family member's material and non-material help (21%), recruitment agencies' help to find a job (11%), academic funds (10%), and foreign Lithuanian society's material and non-material help (4%).

It is estimated that calculations of future benefits (acceptance rate 80%) have made the biggest impact on the ***migration decision***. This means that the factor of rationality overweighed other factors such as trust in family members, friends, institutions or other channels that provided

sponsorship in this migratory process. However, further analysis (classification tree) revealed that this rational migration decision was strongly affected by respondents' knowledge of successful Lithuanian migratory facts. There is an evidence to suggest that cumulative causation (migration culture) has a significant effect on the Lithuanian *brain drain* phenomenon, as well.

The changes in socioeconomic conditions after the departure show overall improvement, particularly with regard to the professional realization and financial status. This indicates quite easy integration in the host labour market and culture. It has been found that respondents are more likely to develop ties outside the boundaries of Lithuanian community. But it has been also found that they maintain close ties with people in Lithuania and support their migration, and thus, cause its multiplication. On average one respondent attracts (by sponsoring) 0.9 of a new migrant from Lithuania per year. However, results also show that this migration chain is likely to be much more intensive among migrants with a lower educational degree and higher economic motivation.

Reemigration intentions show bigger intentions to return (43%), however, the part of respondents with certainty for this decision was relatively small (12%), other significant part was made of those who indicated a negative decision to return (36%).

The two main factors influencing willingness to reemigrate were identified in the factor analysis: expectations of better working conditions and professional realization (acceptance rate 92%), and attraction of homeland (78%). Some significant predictors of positive and negative response to reemigration have been identified. Predictors for the positive response are following: expectations of better working and professional realization conditions in Lithuania, homesickness, duration of living abroad from 2 to 4 years, ties with the foreign Lithuanian communities, and ties with the academic institutions. Predictors for the negative response to the reemigration are as follows: education in biomedicine, good inner life abroad, socioeconomic reasons of migration, a spouse/intimate friend abroad, education in social sciences, departure via recruitment agencies, and acquisition of a foreign citizenship.

With regard to the relationship development with Lithuanian institutions, results show it being scarce: only 15% of respondents indicated their relations with Lithuanian institutions (mostly universities).

Conclusions

1. Labour migration and the problem of *brain drain* have been increasing in many countries and attract attention of increasing number of researchers. In the scientific literature, the phenomenon has been interpreted on the grounds of various theoretical models and presumptions. Theoretical models of migration are often fragmentary and stand in one direction of explanation of social action (generally, economic or sociological). Often they differ significantly between each other with respect to their presumptions. Empirical purposive studies on *brain drain* are non-numerous neither in foreign countries nor in Lithuania. The main reason of the lack of empirical studies is scarce and/or unreliable statistical data on migratory flows and their structure.

2. Considering contemporary insights into the theories of migration and outcomes of empirical studies, traditional and new concepts based on three analytical levels (macro, micro, and meso) are integrated in the thesis. The integrated model embracing two traditionally separated areas (economic and sociology) underlies instrumentation of the empirical research of *brain drain*. The formed model helped us better understand the reasons, tendencies, and influencing factors of the phenomenon.

Though “snowball” method helped us to reach respondents in 27 countries, however; it is important to notice that internet survey has mostly involved those migrants who used internet/computer. It is not clear how many potential respondents did not use internet/computer at all when working abroad and, thus, had no possibility to participate in the survey. This limitation could be compensated by the probability of increasing number of internet users (in spite of their occupational status). It could be noticed that nowadays internet becomes one of the most effective means of communication.

3. Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents and directions of their departure show that the highly-skilled migrants from Lithuania fall into the global migratory flow and reflect characteristics specific to contemporary international migrants. Gender equality, high education, and geographic, linguistic, and social mobility are common features of Lithuanian migrants, as well. These characteristics create good conditions to compete internationally and quite easy to enter the host labour markets. Satisfactory socioeconomic status of migrants stimulates their mobility even more: majority of the respondents had been employed before the departure (in Lithuania), worked in the field of their

specialization and were satisfied with their wages. Thus, they had not been living in straitened circumstances that could push them from Lithuania. It should be noticed that most of the respondents preferred to find a job in Lithuania to employment abroad. Occupational status in the host country also showed that the overall majority of the migrants were employed in the fields where the higher education was required, in other words, they entered the primary sector of the host labour market, and thus, did not fall to the category of *brain waste*. In addition, migrants with the highest education (with Doctoral, Master degree) and biggest demand (health security, IT sector, etc.) indicated the highest wages, thus, had the highest return on their human capital. Their socioeconomic status after the departure also showed significant amelioration of their financial situation and professional realization. The following main destinations are revealed: USA and Canada, Ireland and Great Britain, Scandinavian countries and West European countries.

4. Findings show that pull factors play much greater role than the push factors in the *brain drain* process. Then it could be argued that the phenomenon of *brain drain* from Lithuania is more affected by the attractive conditions in the foreign countries than unsatisfactory circumstances in Lithuania. This statement contributes to the outcomes of the other researchers and validates one of the presumptions of neoclassical economic migration theory under which highly-skilled migration rises as a response to the returns on human capital despite general wage differences between migratory countries. Thus, it can differ significantly from migration of people with the lower skills. For Lithuania, these findings should be a matter of great concern as they let us think that amelioration of socioeconomic conditions in Lithuania will not necessarily stop the *brain drain* phenomenon. The conclusions are supported even more by the next statement confirmed that the higher is the educational level the bigger role plays professional motivation and the lesser – unsatisfactory economic conditions in the migratory process. It has been confirmed by significant reverse correlations between educational level of respondents and their discontent with wage and material well-being in Lithuania. It also shows that people with the higher skills generally are in a better employment situation than those with the lower skills in Lithuania.

5. It has been confirmed that overall social ties have significant importance in the highly-skilled migration, but its importance drops significantly with the augment of migrants' educational level. It lets us assume that the higher are the skills or human capital the lesser is

importance of social ties in sponsoring migration. High quality of migrants' characteristics (human capital) may substitute the role of social capital as a reducer of migration costs and risks and, thus, intensify migration processes particularly of people with the highest skills. Today migration of the persons with the highest skills becomes much lesser dependent on kinship ties and comes as a response to the growing demand for the highly-skilled labour. This creates possibilities for migrants to spread geographically all over the host country instead of counting on ethnic enclaves.

Analysis of migration decision-making contributed significantly to the above findings showing predominance of rational estimations compared to the trust in social ties. However, rational migration decision was strongly affected by cumulative causation: knowledge of successful Lithuanian migration traditions had the strongest interaction with the migration decisions based on rational calculations of future gains.

Results of the analysis of role of social ties in the migratory process have also confirmed that highly-skilled migrants characterized with a rapid integration to the host society generate multiplication of Lithuanian migration. Though it has been found that intellectual Lithuanian migrants are more likely to develop relations outside the boundaries of foreign Lithuanian communities, they keep close interpersonal ties with people in Lithuania and sponsor their migration abroad, as well. Relatively easy respondents' integration to the host labour market and society helps them to sponsor new migrants from Lithuania. Thus, it can be said that they contribute to the Lithuanian chain migration and cause its multiplication. However, significant insight has been also revealed: the higher is migrants' educational level the lesser is their sponsorship given to the new migrants. Thus, multiplication of Lithuanian migration spreads mostly among the persons with the lower skills and stronger economic motivations.

6. It has been noticed that reemigration intentions dominate among faraway Lithuanian intellectual migrants, though the part of certain responses was relatively small (12%). Thus, it can be said that their reemigration is rather obscure showing also an insignificant process of *brain circulation*. Overall majority of questioned migrants indicated expectations of better working and professional realization conditions in Lithuania as of the greatest importance to their reemigration. Results have also revealed that the absence of the mentioned conditions (better work conditions) in Lithuania was not the only reason to stay abroad. Such

factors as establishment of a satisfactory life abroad as well as experience of unsatisfactory life before the departure emerged as significant predictors for reemigration not to occur at all. The latter aspect is also a matter of great concern as it clearly shows that reemigration could be influenced not only by the future prospects but also by experienced life before the departure.

Based on the findings of the research and considering the growing problem of Lithuanian *brain drain* some **recommendations** could be given:

First, considering how strong pull factors affect highly-skilled migration compared to the push ones, it is necessary to direct state's efforts particularly to those fields, where the greatest added value is being created (for instance, high-tech) and where labour emigration causes the most formidable consequences. Primarily, it is necessary to maintain labour force employed in the underlying fields of economy. It seems likely that an optimal wage level (as well as other conditions) exists under which the effect of pull would start to decrease.

Second, it is necessary to ameliorate the situation in the Lithuanian academic society, particularly, in the field of academic collaboration and relationship. It is important to form right-minded community with a sound competition and innovations with perception that it is of particular importance primarily for the country but not for the personal gain. It is necessary to eliminate bureaucratic mechanisms and devious decisions that create obstacles for new ideas being born and implemented.

Third, it is important to hook up, maintain, and develop the ties with Lithuanian people abroad, for their departure is not as harmful as the broken ties with them. The problem of *brain drain* could be offset by migrants' incorporation into various cooperative programmes with an intelligent motivation systems. Under the recent circumstances communication with faraway people does not create any technical barriers, thus, collaboration with migrants could be fulfilled in the virtual environment (not only physical) through advanced telecommunications. Scientists and other specialists outside Lithuania could provide consultations and participate in joint projects with the colleagues in Lithuania by means of telework.

Fourth, it is necessary to promote investigations of international migration at the national and international (joint projects with foreign countries) level. The findings of the research together with the

conclusions of other authors show, that international migration is a very complex phenomenon and insufficiently explored. Considering its extent and possible consequences (especially due to the *brain drain*) it is necessary to address efforts not only to the monitoring of the phenomenon but also to perform in-depth studies on essential and specific migrations (for instance, migration of specialists of the highest demand in the global labour market, impact of remittances on country's economic development, or identification of an optimal wage level which make pull factors cease, as well as, the role of national identity and patriotism in the migratory process, etc.). The studies should be purposive with a clearly defined object. Various Lithuanian institutions should take part in the investigations of the phenomenon of highly-skilled migration (universities, research institutions, Department of Statistics, ILO, commercial banks, etc.). In addition, the investigations should be executed in collaboration with the foreign institutions applying single instrumentation for different countries. In such a way the gathered data would let make comparative analysis between different countries and help to better understand the phenomenon, and find more effective ways for solutions.

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REZIUM

Tyrimo aktualumas. Šiuolaikiniame pasaulyje vykstantys spartūs integracijos, globalizacijos procesai apima vis daugiau veiklos sričių, sukeldami ekonominius, socialinius, kultūrinius ir kitus pokyčius daugelyje pasaulio šalių. Šie procesai neišvengiamai palieja ir nacionalines darbo rinkas, su lygodami ir vis intensyviau įdarbina darbuojančius judėjimus vairiomis kryptimis. Pasaulyje išryškėja dvi pagrindinės tarptautinės migracijos tendencijos: pirma, sparčiai didėja aukštos kvalifikacijos darbuojančių dalis bendrame migruojančių sraute; antra, nepaisant stebimo *circuliacinės* migracijos ar *protų mainų* reiškinio didėjimo, silpniau išsivysčiusios šalys vis labiau patiria *protų nutekėjimą*. Aukštos kvalifikacijos darbuojančių migracijai bene labiausiai paskatino mokslo ir technologinis progresas, dėl kurio darbo vietų skaičius sparčiai lenkia faktiškai paruošiamų specialistų šioms vietoms užimtųjų skaičius daugelyje išsivysčiusių šalių. Pastarosios, siekdamos užpildyti šios paklausos trūkumus ir išlaikyti kuo aukštesnį šalies intelektualio kapitalo lygį, vilioja aukštos kvalifikacijos specialistus iš vairių pasaulio šalių, sujungdamos vadinamas pasaulines varžybas dėl talentų. Darbuojančių gausiai traukia ir išsivysčiusių šalių demografiniai pokyčiai, pasižymintys sparčiau įvykstančiais gyventojų senėjimo procesais, dėl kurių mažėja darbingo amžiaus žmonių dalis.

Pasaulinio produktyvumo požiriu tarptautinė darbo jėgos migracija traktuojama kaip teigiamas reiškinys, santykinai sušvelninantis egzistuojančias gerovės spragas tarp migracijos regionų. Tačiau atskirai šalių požiriu šis reiškinys sukelia labai prieštaringas pasekmes. Ekonomistai darbo jėgos migracijos pasekmes paprastai vertina iš ekonominių veiksnių pusės, sutelkdami dėmesį darbo užmokesčiui, individualiame namų ūkiui ir valstybės pajamoms, socialinio draudimo mokymams, pokyčiams ir pan. Sociologai dažniausiai nagrinėja imigrantų integracijos ir adaptacijos priimančiojoje visuomenėje problemas (kultūrinis sandra, ksenofobija ir t.t.), nelegali migracija, pabėgėlių judėjimus ir pan. Be to, svarbu pastebėti, kad išsivysčiusių šalių tyrėjai ilgą laiką domėjosi beveik išimtinai imigracijos klausimais, kadangi bėgėlių imigracija, o ne emigracija tose šalyse kėlė daugiau problemų, taigi buvo ir labiau rimai tyrinėjama.

Protų nutekėjimo savybės literatūroje dažniau mąstyti apie 20a. 6-7- dešimtmetį, nors, faktiškai kvalifikuotų specialistų migracija vyko ir anksčiau. Didesnio dėmesio *protų nutekėjimo* problema susilaukė per

pastaruosius pora dešimtmėi, ir ypa dabartiniu metu, kai net ir tokios šalys, kaip Kanada, Italija, Pranc zija, Anglija, Vokietija ir kitos, susid r su aukštos kvalifikacijos darbo j gos emigracija.

Lietuvos atsiv rimas pasaulin rink , integracija Vakar strukt ras bendrai vertintinas kaip teigiamas reiškinys, skatinantis ekonominio, finansinio, intelektinio, kult rinio, socialinio kapitalo mainus, kurie, savo ruožtu, s lygoja ir visos šalies kokybin augim .

Ta iau vykstant vienpusei darbo j gos, ir ypa aukštos kvalifikacijos, migracijai (emigracijai), šalis patiria virtin nuvilnijan i nuostoli : prarandamos valstyb s investicijos, d tos kvalifikuotos darbo j gos paruošim ; maž ja valstyb s pajamos ir did ja mokes i našta likusiems gyventojams; atsiranda nepageidaujami poky iai darbo j gos rinkos pusiausvyroje, neigiamai veikiami emigracij patirian ios šalies demografiniai procesai, prast ja valstyb s paslaug kokyb , pagaliau, smunka vidutinis šalies darbo j gos kvalifikacijos lygis, o kartu ir šalies konkurencingumas tarptautin je arenoje.

Suvokiant Lietuvos *protų nutekėjimo* keliamas problemas, nuspr sta tirti jo priežas i strukt r , procesus bei juos takojan ius veiksnius. Be to, tyrime svarbu vertinti užsienyje gyvenan i aukštos kvalifikacijos migrant iš Lietuvos reemigracines nuostatas ir nustatyti jas takojan ius ir prognozuojan ius veiksnius. Šie *protų nutekėjimo* priežas i , proceso ir reemigracijos veiksn i rezultatai gali pad ti susidaryti aiškesn Lietuvos intelektualiosios migracijos paveiksl , geriau numatyti b simus jos srautus, strukt r , kryptis, cirkuliacij ir imtis priemoni šiam procesui takoti.

Tyrimo problema. Analizuojant mokslin literat r darbo j gos migracijos klausimais, paaišk ja, jog vyrauja skirtingos teorin s interpretacijos, tod l ir empiriniai migracijos tyrimai dažniausiai remiasi kuria nors viena teorine koncepcija ir/ar disciplina. Dažniausiai *protų nutekėjimo* (ir emigracijos apskritai) reiškinys aiškinamas apsiribojant makroekonominiais veiksniais (darbo užmokes io ir kit socioekonomini veiksn i skirtumais tarp šali). Nors pastaruju metu migracijos tyrimuose vis did ja d mesys ir kitiems socialinio konteksto veiksniais, t.y., socialinio ryši , migrant tinkl vaidmeniui migracijos procese, jie dažniau analizuojami bendro migracijos srauto poži riu, atskirai nesigilinant jo tak aukštos kvalifikacijos žmoni migracijai.

Lietuvoje tarptautin s migracijos priežastys ir tendencijos prad tos tyrin ti tik atk rus šalies nepriklausomyb , tod l tyrim šioje srityje,

ypa tikslini *protų nutekėjimo* tyrim , yra itin mažai (ši tyrim stoka taip pat lemia ir iki šiol migloti statistiniai emigracijos duomenys). Be to, jie nekoordinuojami, fragmentiški, dažnai skiriasi tarpusavyje tyrimo specifika (objektu, metodu, imties dydžiu ir t.t.), todėl jų duomenis neretai sunku palyginti, taigi ir susidaryti aišk vaizdas apie Lietuvos *protų nutekėjimo* specifika . Tenka pastebėti, jog Lietuvos sociologai, demografai ir kiti autoriai darbuose, tiriančiuose migracinius procesus, daugiau dėmesio skiriama analizei veiksmams, atsakant į klausimą, *kodėl vyksta migracija?* Dažniausiai tyrinėjamos makro- ir mikrostruktūros su lygos, tuo tarpu pasigendama atsakymais klausimams, *kaip, kokiais kanalais vyksta migracijos procesas, ir ar šiuolaikinis protų nutekėjimas virsta protų cirkuliacija?* Socialiniai ryšiai, palaikomi tarp migrantų ir ne migrantų, gali pasireikšti kaip migracijos riziką mažinantis veiksnys ir todėl skatinti migraciją . Šiuo požiūriu *protų nutekėjimo* ir migracijos apskritai analizėje svarbi vietą turėtų užimti taip pat socialiniai ryšiai arba, kitaip tariant, mezo lygmens, teorinė prieiga. Be to, pasaulyje stebimas reiškinys – aukštos kvalifikacijos darbo jėgos trumpalaikė migracija (transnacionalinis judėjimas) – sudarantis su lygas vykinti *protų cirkuliacijai*. Nėra aišku, ar išsismokslinę Lietuvos migrantai patenka transmigrantų kategorijai, atspindinčią cirkuliacinės migracijos vyksmą .

Taigi šiame tyrime siekiama atsakyti į klausimus, kurie nepakankamai ištirti empiriniuose užsienio ir Lietuvos autorių tyrimuose, tokiu būdu praplečiant dabartines šio reiškinio interpretacijos ribas.

Tyrimo mokslinis naujumas ir praktinis reikšmė . Daugelis viaršiose šalyse atliktų empirinių migracijos tyrimų rodo, kad darbo jėgos migracijos priežastys ir procesai iš esmės su lygojami makrostruktūriniai skirtumai tarp migracijos regionų (paprastai ekonominiai gerovės spragos), tačiau kiti tyrimai išryškina kitus – sociokultūrinius – veiksmus, lemiančius migracijos procesus, tokiu būdu paneigdami ir makroekonominiai modeliai prielaidas. Iš tiesų, šiuolaikinius migracijos procesus lemia daugialypiai veiksniai: socialiniai, kultūriniai, politiniai, teisiniai, individualūs ir t.t. Todėl Lietuvos darbo jėgos migracijos ir *protų nutekėjimo* reiškiniai negalima vienareikšmiškai taikyti socialiniai mokslų panoramoje dominuojančios kurios nors vienos požiūrio krypties (*homo oeconomicus*) ar (*homo sociologus*) prielaidas ir tyrimų rezultatus.

Lietuvoje atlikti intelektualiosios migracijos priežasčių tyrimai apima daugialypius veiksmus. Vis dėlto, čia galima žvelgti tam tikrą problemą . Pirma, daugiau dėmesio skiriama potencialios, o ne realios

emigracijos tyrimams, todėl neišryškėja tikrosios šio reiškinių priežastys. Antra, stokojama empiriniai *protų nutekėjimo* tyrimai, kurie apimt didesnes (ne keliasdešimt) tiriama į imtis. Trečia, pasigendama teoriniai šio reiškinių tyrimai, kurie remtisi vairiomis tarptautiniais migracijos koncepcijomis (tiek ekonominėmis, tiek sociologinėmis). Ketvirta, mažai dirbama *protų nutekėjimo* tyrimo metodikos sudarymo srityje, kai nėra aišku, kaip pasiekti ir apklausti išvykusius užsien Lietuvos gyventojus.

Taigi šiuo tyrimu siekiama atsakyti išvardintus problemiškus klausimus. Disertacijoje integruojamos dvi tradiciškai atskiriamos socialinio veiksmo aiškinimo kryptys: ekonominė ir sociologinė, tokiu būdu atskleidžiant daugialypes intelektualiosios lietuvių migracijos priežastis ir procesus. Tyrimo konstruktas sudarytas iš didelio nagrinjamų požymių skaičiaus, pasinaudojama šiuolaikinėmis technologijomis, leidžiančiomis pasiekti tiriamuosius už Lietuvos ribų – apklausai sukurta internetinė svetainė (www.djimmigracija.lt), kur respondentams taip pat sudaryta galimybė rašyti komentarus tiek apie tiriamą reiškinį, tiek apie pačią apklausos organizaciją, be to, stebėti tiesioginius apklausos rezultatus. Praktinė elektroninės apklausos reikšmė yra ta, kad sudaryta galimybė sukaupti kuo daugiau informatyvių duomenų apie išsimokslinusių žmonių migracijos priežastis, pobūdį, sociodemografinę struktūrą, palaikyti su šiais žmonėmis grįžtamąjį ryšį. Sukaupta informacija taip pat suteiks galimybę geriau išryškinti Lietuvos *protų nutekėjimo* priežastis, pobūdį ir priimti tinkamus šios problemos sprendimo būdus.

Tyrimo objektas – aukštos kvalifikacijos (išsimokslinusių ir studijuojantys) migrantai.

Tyrimo dalykas – Lietuvos išsimokslinusių (ir studijuojančių) žmonių migracijos priežastys, tendencijos, takojantys veiksniai.

Tyrimo tikslas – ištirti Lietuvos *protų nutekėjimo* reiškinių priežastis, tendencijas, jas takojančius veiksnius ir atskleisti jų sąsajas su šiuolaikinėmis migracijos procesų interpretacijomis.

Tyrimo uždaviniai:

1. Atskleisti *protų nutekėjimo* reiškinių ištakas ir šiuolaikines migracijos tendencijas. Išnagrinėti teorines migracijos koncepcijas ir suformuoti modelį *protų nutekėjimo* reiškiniiui ištirti.
2. Ištirti *protų nutekėjimo* iš Lietuvos priežastis, tendencijas ir takojančius veiksnius.

3. Išryškinti *protų nutekėjimo* tyrimo sąsajas su šiuolaikinėmis migracijos tendencijomis bei interpretacijomis.

Tyrimo darbinės hipotezės:

1. *Protų nutekėjimą* stipriau traukos veiksniai (viliojanios galimybės užsienyje) nei stūmos veiksniai (netenkinančios sąlygos Lietuvoje). Didinant išsimokslinimo lygiui, didėja profesinės realizacijos ir mažėja stūmos efektas turintis ekonominių migracijos motyvų svarbą.
2. Socialiniai veiksniai, pasireiškiantys migracijos tinklo dalyvių palaikomais tarpasmeniniais ir institucionalizuotais ryšiais bei istorine lietuvių migracijos patirtimi, traukia migracijos sprendimų ir *protų nutekėjimo* procesą. Intelektuali darbo jėga, pasižyminti greita integracija priimančiose šalyse visuomenėje, sukuria migracijos multiplikaciją.
3. Reemigracines išsimokslinusių žmonių nuostatas stipriausiai traukia geresnės darbo ir profesinės realizacijos sąlygos Lietuvoje. Tačiau šis sąlygų nebuvimas nėra svarbiausia priežastis negrąžti.

Tyrimo metodai:

- mokslinės literatūros, apimančios darbo jėgos migracijos teorines koncepcijas, analizė;
- statistiniai duomenys apie pasaulio ir Lietuvos migracijų analizė;
- antriniai šaltiniai duomenų analizė: šiuolaikiniai empiriniai *protų nutekėjimo* tyrimai užsienyje ir Lietuvoje apžvalga;
- anketinis (internetinis) apklausa, statistiniai metodų taikymas;

Atsižvelgiant tyrimo specifika ir aptartą problematiką, pasirinktas „sniego gniūžtės“ apklausos metodas. Kadangi anketa turėjo pasiekti žmones, išsisklaidžiusius po įvairias pasaulio šalis, geografinio atstumo problema buvo išspręsta vykdant respondentų apklausą internetu. Elektroninė anketa (php tipo failai) patalpinta specialiai apklausai autorius sukurtame tinklalapyje: www.djmigracija.lt. Tokiu būdu respondentai pasiekti 27 pasaulio šalyse, surinkta virš 500 anketų, iš kurių 416 naudojamos statistinėje analizėje.

Disertacinis darbas sudaro 3 pagrindinius dalys: pirmoje dalyje pateikiama *protų nutekėjimo* sąvokos interpretacija, šiuolaikinių migracijos tendencijų pasaulyje ir Lietuvoje apžvalga, teorinių migracijos

konceptij ir šiuolaikini empirini *protų nutekėjimo* tyrim apžvalga; antroje dalyje pristatomas teorinis modelis Lietuvos *protų nutekėjimo* reiškiniui tirti, metodologinis tyrimo pagrindimas, tiriam j imtis ir statistinio apklausos rezultat apdorojimo b dai; 3 dalyje analizuojami empirinio Lietuvos *protų nutekėjimo* tyrimo (internetin s apklausos) rezultatai bei j s sąj os su šiuolaikin mis migracijos interpretacijomis; darbo pabaigoje pateikiamos išvados ir rekomendacijos.

Darbe pateikta 30 paveiksl , 20 lenteli , 17 pried , panaudoti 185 literat ros šaltiniai.

Išvados

1. Darbo j gos migracija ir *protų nutekėjimo* problema did ja daugelyje pasaulio šali ir patraukia vis daugiau tyr j d mesio. Mokslin je literat roje šis reiškinys interpretuojamas remiantis vairiausiai teoriniais migracijos modeliais ir poži riais. Vyraujantys teoriniai migracijos modeliai dažnai pasižymi fragmentiškumu, apsiribodami kuria nors viena socialinio veiksmo aiškinimo kryptimi (paprastai arba ekonomine, arba sociologine), ir neretai skiriasi tarpusavyje keliamomis prielaidomis. Empiriniai tiksliniai *protų nutekėjimo* tyrimai n ra gaus s nei užsienyje, nei Lietuvoje, - pastarojoje šis reiškinys ištirtas itin mažai. Tyrim vykdym ypa apunkina tikslios statistikos apie Lietuvos gyventoj emigracijos srautus ir strukt r stoka.

2. Atsižvelgiant šiuolaikines teorines migracijos žvalgas ir empirini migracijos tyrim išvadas, šiame disertaciniame darbe integruojami tradiciniai ir naujieji migracijos poži riai, remiantis trimis - makro, mikro ir mezo – lygmenimis, kur apjungiami makro ir mikro ekonominiai migracijos modeliai bei sociologin s migracijos koncepcijos. Šiuo integruotu migracijos teorij modeliu grindžiamas ir empirinio tyrimo instrumentarijus, traukiant makro ir mikro strukt rinius (ekonominius, profesinius, socialinius, kult rinius ir kt.) bei mezo lygio (socialini ryši) veiksnius. Tokiu b du suformuotas klausimynas tyrime leido išryškinti pagrindines intelektualiosios migracijos strukt rines priežastis, pob d ir proces .

Pasirinktas „sniego gni žt s“ metodas vykdant migrant apklaus internete sukurto tinklalapio pagalba sudar s lygas pasiekti Lietuvos išsimokslinusių žmones 27 pasaulio šalyse. Svarbu pasteb ti, kad ši internetin apklausa trauk tik kompiuteriu ir internetu besinaudojan ius migrantus, tuo tarpu n ra visiškai aišku, kokia dalis *protų nutekėjimo* kategorijai priskiriam žmoni užsienyje nesinaudojo internetiniu ryšiu ir

dėl to, netur jo galimybes dalyvauti apklausoje. Šis galimas reprezentatyvumo ribotumas iš kompensuoja tikimybę, jog šiuolaikiniams lygoms, geriant komunikacijos priemonėmis ir galimybėmis, vis daugiau žmonių (ypač jaunų ir išsimokslinusių) turi galimybes naudotis internetu ir bendrami užsienyje (atkreiptinas dėmesys, jog šiandien internetas tampa bene efektyviausia susisiekimui priemone).

3. Sociodemografinių respondentų charakteristikos ir migracijos kryptys rodo, kad Lietuvos išsimokslinusių migrantų atspindi šiuolaikinio aukštos kvalifikacijos migranto, judančio tarptautiniu mastu, bruožus, ir silieja globalios migracijos srautą. Lietuvos intelektualiai migracijai būdingi egalitariniai bruožai, aukštas žmonių išsimokslinimo, ir mobilumo lygis geografiniu, lingvistiniu ir socialiniu požiūriu. Šios savybės sudaro palankias sąlygas konkuruoti tarptautiniu mastu ir lengvai integruotis užsienio darbo rinkas. Taip pat svarbu pastebėti, kad šeiminių padarai (sutuoktinio ar vaikų turėjimas) nėra migracijai varžantis veiksnys. Šie žmoniai mobilumui dar labiau palengvina iš esmės patenkinama socioekonominiai padarai: dauguma respondentų prieš išvykimą užsienį turėjo nuolatinį darbą, gavo patenkinamą ar net gerai vertinamą darbo užmokestį, dirbo pagal specialybę. Vadinasi, tai nėra bedarbiai, „nusigyvenę“ ar bendraveriami išvykti žmonės. Atkreiptinas dėmesys, tai, kad pirmenybė dauguma respondentų teikė darbo paieškai Lietuvoje, o tik po to pasirinko migraciją. Užimtumo situacija užsienyje aiškiai parodė, kad didžioji dauguma migrantų sidarbino tiesiai pirminiame, gerai apmokamame, darbo rinkos sektoriuje, vadinasi, nevirto „iššvaistytais protais“. Be to, paaiškėjo, kad aukščiausios kvalifikacijos migrantai (moksl daktarai, magistras), kurių specializacija turi ypač didelį paklausą (sveikatos apsauga, informacinės technologijos ir kt.), nurodė gaunantys didžiausią darbo užmokestį, vadinasi, ir didžiausią grąžą iš savo žmogiškojo kapitalo. Socioekonominio statuso pokytis rodo, jog migrantai stipriai pagerino savo finansinį padarį ir profesines realizacijos sąlygas persikėlus užsienį. Išryškėjo pagrindinės migracijos kryptys: JAV ir Kanada, D. Britanija ir Airija, Skandinavija ir Š.V. Europa, tarp kurių ypač išsiskyrė tradicinė intelektualios darbo jėgos traukos zona - JAV.

4. Migracijos priežastis analizėje nustatyta, kad migracijos veiksniai, pasižymintys traukos efektu, dauguma požiūriu stipriai persvėrė šiuos veiksnius, pasižymintys stimo efektu. Vadinasi, galima teigti, jog *protų nutekėjimą* stipriau veikia ne blogos sąlygos Lietuvoje, bet geresnės galimybes užsienyje. Šis teiginys prisideda prie kitų užsienio ir Lietuvos autorių išvadų ir taip pat patvirtina vieną iš neoklasikinės

makroekonominis migracijos teorijos prielaidas, kad aukštos kvalifikacijos darbuotojų migracijos srautai juda kaip atsakas į intelektinio kapitalo grąžinimą, nepaisant bendro darbo užmokesčio skirtumo tarp migracijos šalių. Tokiu būdu jie gali lemti kitokios migracijos pobūdį ir visiškai skirtis nuo žemos kvalifikacijos ar nekvalifikuotos darbuotojų migracijos. Lietuvos požiūriu tokia išvada kelia nerimą, kadangi vertinama manyti, jog socioekonominis lygierinimas Lietuvoje nebūtinai sustabdys šalies *protų nutekėjimą*. Šis nerimas dar labiau sustiprina rezultatai, rodantys, kad didžioji žmonių išsimokslinimo lygiui, didžioji profesinio realizacijos ir mažoji stiklo mimo efektas turintis ekonominis migracijos motyvų svarba.

5. Socialiniai ryšiai turįjio tokos šiai išsimokslinusi žmonių migracijai (daliai žmonių jie turįjio net lemiamas takas), tačiau taip pat išaiškįjio, kad didžioji migrantų išsimokslinimo lygiui, jį svarba mažoji. Vadinasi, kuo aukštesnis kvalifikacijos migrantas (jį turimas žmogiškasis kapitalas), tuo mažiau jam reikalinga migracijos parama, ir atvirkščiai, kuo žemesnis kvalifikacijos migrantas, tuo jis labiau pasikliauja socialiniais ryšiais (ypač tarpasmeniniais) pagalba migracijos procese.

Šios išvados leidžia manyti, jog aukštesnis išsimokslinimas turintis žmonių migracija gali vykti nepriklausomai nuo šių ryšių dydžio ir/ar stiprumo; aukštesnis kvalifikacijos migrantų žmogiškasis kapitalas ir sociodemografinės charakteristikos kokybės gali pakeisti socialinio kapitalo, kaip mažinančio migracijos riziką, vaidmenį; išsivysčiusi šalis selektyvi imigracijos politika, atverianti sienas kitoms šalims aukštos kvalifikacijos specialistams sukuria palankias sąlygas intelektualiai darbuotojų judėjimui tiesiai pirminiu (gerai apmokamam darbui) darbo rinkos sektorių ir mažina etninio (lietuvių) migrantų tinklo vaidmenį migracijos procese. Rezultatai leidžia manyti, jog šiuolaikinė intelektualios darbuotojų migracija tampa vis mažiau paremta giminystės ir draugystės ryšiais ir vyksta kaip atsakas augančiai kvalifikuotos darbuotojų paklausai globalioje darbo rinkoje.

Migracijos sprendimo priimimo analizė reikšmingai papildoma minėtas išvadas, atskleidžiant, kad priimant sprendimą išvykti didžiausi takai turįjio racionalūs (naudos lkesio) veiksniai, tuo tarpu socialiniais ryšiais pasitikima buvo daug mažiau. Tačiau analizė taip pat atskleidžia, jog šis racionalus migracijos pasirinkimas nėra priimamas grynai ekonominiame naudos – kaštų plotmėje, bet yra taikomas kitais veiksniais, tarp kurių stipriausiai pasireiškia lietuvių tautos migracijos tradicija, t.y., jį turimos žinios apie sėkmingus lietuvių migracijos faktus. Vadinasi, galima teigti, kad lietuvių migracijos patirtis, perduodama iš kartos į kartą, stipriai taikoma vėlesnių migrantų bėgimo migracijos naudoms lkesius, taigi ir

vis migracijos proces. Ši išvada prisideda prie kumulatyvaus priežastingumo teorijos teiginio, kad migracijos patirtis „sirašo“ tautos atmintyje, ir, atsiradus palankioms sąlygoms, pasikartoja. Ilga migracijos patirtis keičia visuomenės požiūrą, vertybes, lėkėjius ir virsta tradicija bei ilgaamžiu procesu.

Socialiniai ryšiai vaidmens migracijos procese analizė patvirtino, kad intelektualiai darbinga, pasižyminti greita integracija priimančios šalies visuomenė, sukuria migracijos multiplikaciją. Rezultatai parodė, kad išsimokslinę migrantai palaiko ryšius su Lietuvoje gyvenančiais žmonėmis ir remia jų migraciją, sukurdami jos multiplikaciją. Tai ypač išryškėja faktas, kad ši migracijos multiplikacija labiausiai paplitusi tarp žemesnio išsimokslinimo lygio migrantų (bakalaurai) ir turinčių stipresnį ekonominį motyvaciją.

6. Remigraciniai nuostatai analizė atskleidė, bendrai migrantai linkę grįžti, tačiau tvirtai apsisprendusių žmonių dalis santykinai maža (12%). Vadinausi, grįžtamosios migracijos tikimybė yra nedidelė, ji atspindi ir nežymią *protų cirkuliacijos* vyksmą. Atsižvelgiant šios intelektualios migracijos priežastis į struktūrą, reemigracinius ketinimus takojantys veiksniai tampa visiškai logiški. Dauguma apklaustų migrantų stipriausiai akcentavo gerą į darbą ir profesinę realizaciją su lyg Lietuvoje lėkėjius, kaip jų grįžimo tvynn sąlygą. Rezultatai parodė, kad šiuos veiksnius daugiausia pabrėžė tie asmenys, kurių sidarbinimas Lietuvoje buvo suvokiamas kaip rizikingiausias. Kitas grįžimą skatinantis veiksnys – tvynn sąilgesio faktorius. Tai ypač svarbu atkreipti dėmesį, kad tvynn sąilgesys, kaip sąlyg grįžti namo, daugiausia akcentavo bent tie respondentai, kurie apskritai savo gyvenimą prieš išvykstant užsieną vertino teigiamai (tiek dvasinį, tiek užimtumo prasme), tuo tarpu asmenys, gyvenę netenkinančiomis sąlygomis Lietuvoje, ilgesio tvynei faktorių daugiau ignoravo.

Rezultatai taip pat parodė, kad, nors geresni darbas ir gyvenimo sąlygų lėkėjiai užima svarbiausias vietas, jų nebuvimas Lietuvoje nėra svarbiausia sąlyga sprendimui negrįžti. Sprendimui negrįžti tokie veiksniai, kaip „gero“ gyvenimo, šeimyniniai ryšiai sukimimas užsienyje ir „blogo“ gyvenimo patirties prieš išvykimą turėjimas (tiek profesinę realizaciją, tiek materialinę sąlygą ir dvasinio gyvenimo požiūriu). Vadinausi, reemigracinių nuostatų priklauso ne tik nuo suvokiamo „gero gyvenimo“ perspektyvą darbą įsiunčiančioje šalyje, bet taip pat ir nuo buvusios gyvenimo kokybės joje. Šios žvalgos leidžia manyti, jog darbas

ir gyvenimo s lyg gerinimas Lietuvoje n ra vienintel b tina s lyga *protų* reemigracijai, taigi ir *protų cirkuliacijai* vykti.

Atsižvelgiant tyrimo išvadas ir *protų nutekėjimo* problematik Lietuvoje, galima pateikti kelet **rekomendacijų**.

Pirma, turint galvoje, kad traukos užsien veiksniai veikia kur kas stipriau nei st mimo iš Lietuvos s lygos, b tina d mes sutelkti pirmiausia tas šalies kio sritis, kuriose sukuriama didžiausia prid tin vert (pvz., AT) ir/ar tas, kuri darbo j gos nutek jimas šaliai sukelia ar gali sukelti skaudžiausius padarinius. Valstyb turi tur ti aiškias prioritetines sritis ir skirti didesn d mes jose dirban i specialist išlaikymui. Tik tina, jog egzistuoja optimalus darbo užmokes io dydis (ir kitos s lygos), kuriam esant traukos užsien efektas imt maž ti.

Antra, b tina gerinti situacij Lietuvos akademin je visuomen je, ypa mokslinink bendradarbiavimo, tarpusavio santyki plotm je. Svarbu ugdyti teising poži r konkurencij ir novacij k rim bei j gyvendinim , suvokiant, jog tai svarbu pirmiausiai šaliai, o ne asmeniniams interesams. B tina mažinti biurokratinis mechanizmus, neskaidrius sprendimus, trukdan ius nauj id j gimimui ir realizavimui.

Tre ia, svarbu užmegzti, palaikyti ir pl toti ryšius su išvykusiais užsien žmon mis. Pats išsimokslinusi žmoni išvykimas užsien n ra toks skausmingas, kiek ryši su šiais žmon mis praradimas. *Protų nutekėjimą* gal t kompensuoti ši žmoni traukimas vairias bendradarbiavimo programas, sukuriant j motyvacijos sistem . Šiuolaikin mis s lygomis ryši palaikymas nesudaro technini kli i , bendradarbiavimas gali vykti ne tik fizin je, bet ir virtualioje erdv je efektyviai išnaudojant telekomunikacines priemones. Užsienyje gyvenantys mokslininkai ar kiti specialistai gali teikti konsultacijas ar dalyvauti bendruose projektuose su Lietuvos mokslininkais ir b dami užsienyje, pasinaudodami nauja šiuolaikine – teledarbo – forma.

Ketvirta, b tina skatinti ir remti tarptautin s migracijos tyrimus, vykdyti jungtinius migracijos tyrimus su užsienio šalimis. Šio ir kit Lietuvos autori empirini migracijos tyrim rezultatai rodo, kad tarptautin migracija yra be galo sud tingas, ta iau mažai ištirtas reiškinys. Turint galvoje jos mast ir galimus padarinius, b tina atlikti ne tik nuolatin šio reiškinio steb sen , bet ir giluminius tyrimus siekiant išaiškinti ne tik bendras migracijos tendencijas, bet konkre ius ir svarbius šaliai klausimus (pvz., paklausi specialybi žmoni migracijos priežastis, migrant pinigini pervedim poveik Lietuvos ekonominiam augimui,

arba optimalaus darbo užmokesio Lietuvoje dydį, kuriam esant traukos užsien efektas imt mažėti, taip pat tautinio tapatumo, nacionalinio patriotizmo vaidmenį migracijos procese ir t.t.). Tyrimai turi būti tiksliniai su labai konkrečiu objektu. tarptautinius migracijos tyrimus turėtų sujungti various institucijos (universitetai, tyrimo institutai, Statistikos departamentas, TMO, komerciniai bankai ir kt.). Be to, svarbu šiuos tyrimus vykdyti kartu su kitomis šalimis, taikant tarpinstrumentariją. Tokiu būdu gauti rezultatai būtų palyginami tarptautiniu mastu ir dar geriau atspindėtų migracijos priežastis bei padėtų rasti geresnius problemos sprendimo būdus.

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