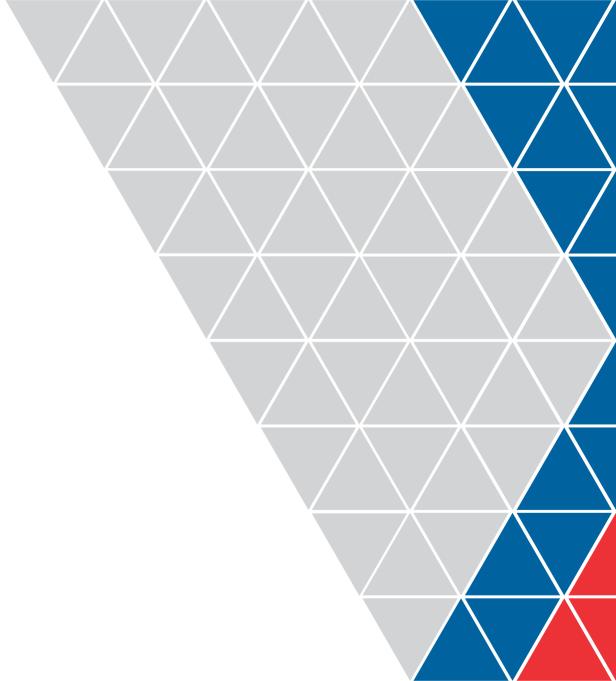


THE KOSOVO TORRENT TO EU: PEOPLE, REASONS AND WAYS



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INTRODUCTION

Following the massive outflow of people from Kosovo in the European states during January and February 2015, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) undertook a project to investigate the profile of latest wave of migrants¹, reasons for migration and ways how migration is anticipated, planned and implemented. FES engaged the NGO "Make a difference" (MAD) Interviews and observations were conducted in three locations including Kosovo, Serbia and Germany. FES also engaged IDRA and an independent consultant to analyze data and write the report for this study.

The aim of this study is to get in depth understanding of migration trends with cases that could be considered typical and information rich both as unit of analysis and the context in which they are found. During January and February 2015 a massive emigration wave was reported by the local media necessitating investigation and research to understand the phenomenon. Most important investigations were done by the TV shows "Jeta ne Kosove" (JNK, 2015) and Koha Television (KTV, 2015) investigative reports that shed light on the migration route following one to two cases throughout their journey from Kosovo to Hungary. Another study conducted by KFOS (2015), at the same time when this study was conducted, including 100 repatriated respondents described Kosovo emigrant as "male 20-25 years old, unemployed and poor" suggesting a 100,000 thousand people corresponding with that profile. This study includes typical cases of people who were personally pursuing the emigration route, during the period of 8-14 February or those already located in refugee camps in Germany during the month of February but who left Kosovo during the January-February emigration wave.

Serbian cities in the border with Hungary, from where immigrans entered the Schengen area.. The first phase included observation and interviewing at the central bus station in Prishtina, followed by observation and interviewing in three stops in Serbia, in Belgrade, Subotica and Palic. The third phase included observation and interviews in asylum detention centers in München and Berlin in Germany.

Throughout all phases of research, team members faced difficulties in accessing participants and in conducting the interviews. The first obstacle in Prishtina, was related to the fact that the buses were extremely crowded for researchers to take interviews in the bus. At the bus station, those traveling, were also accompanied by their family members remaining in Kosovo, and were emotionally charged by the departure event that made it difficult for them to participate. In addition, even when participants agreed, it was difficult for the researchers to mix and conduct the interviews due to overcrowding in the station and due to participants' hesitations fearing that the collected information could be used against them. At stop points during the route, emigrants were often preoccupied with transport and price negotiation in places where they arranged further transport and accommodation. In addition, access to villas in Palic where emigrants were accommodated before crossing the border was difficult as villa owners did not allow for researchers to approach or emigrants to go out of the villas. Therefore, all participants were selected depending on their availability and after detailed discussion on the aim of the research, safeguarding anonymity and only five of them were audio recorded.

Observers report that from 8 to 13th of February, the number of buses and people leaving Kosovo decreased. For example on the 8 of February, there were 6 buses leaving from Prishtina, whereas on the 10th of February there were only 4 buses leaving. Only few days earlier, the Kosovo media reported 10 to 11 buses leaving only from the Prishtina Central Bus Station every day. One of the reasons for overcrowding in the bus was that some buses have not been allowed to operate by the Kosovo authorities and that there was a general perception that the channel through which emigrants were traveling was to be closed soon which may have influenced hasty decision by many people to emigrate. Therefore this study actually covers the period near the end of massive emigration outflow.

Table 1 shows number and location of people interviewed. The selection of participants was random, purposeful and opportunistic done in the locations from 8 to 22nd of February, 2015.

Table Number of interviews by time and location

Date	Time	Location	Interviews
08/02/2015	20:00	Central Bus Station Prishtina	6
10/02/2015	20:00	Central Bus Station Prishtina	4
13/02/2015	5.15	Central Bus Station, Belgrade	4
14/02/2015		Central Bus Station, Subotica	3
14/02/2015		Palic	3
15-22/02/2015		München Berlin	10 10

Interviews were done in a sequential manner with 23 persons travelling with a bus from Prishtina to Belgrade, and then from there to the northern city of Serbia, Subotica, from where they made further attempts to cross the Hungarian border, as well as with 10 persons sheltered in a refugee camp in Münhen and with 10 persons sheltered in a refugee camp in Berlin in Germany A semi structured interview questionnaire designed for this study addressed three main objectives of the study.

- 1.To outline the demographic profile of migrants (Age, Residence, Profession, Education, Income)
- 2.To explain reasons for the emigration of Kosovars in Western Europe
- 3.To highlight the ways the emigration routes are sought, planned and realized

The report is divided into three sections. The first section will explain demographic characteristics of the respondents, including nationality, residence in Kosovo, level of education and language competency, socioeconomic characteristics of respondents, including employment in Kosovo, income, property and debts. The second section will analyze the reasons why the respondents have chosen to immigrate illegally and the third section will analyze the ways the respondents have decided to emigrate, how they planned and how they realized their action of illegal immigration to the EU.

The Profile of the Emigrants

The nationality of all respondents in the survey is Kosovo Albanian. Their residence within Kosovo is spread out throughout all regions lead by Prishtina region with 14, followed by the Prizren region with 8, Gjakova region with 6, Ferizaj region with 5, Peja region with 4, Mitrovica region with 2 and Gjilan region with 1 and 3 respondents did not disclose their residence.

City Region	Prishtina	Prizren	Peja	Mitrovica	Gjilani	Ferizaj	Gjakova
Prishtina	4						
Prizren		1					
Peja			4				
Ferizaj						2	
Gjakova							2
Vushtrri				1			
Kamenica					1		
Podujeva	3						
Lipjan	1						
Drenas	3						
Obiliq	2						
F. Kosova	1						
Shtime						2	
Kaxanik						1	
Suhareka		3					
Rahovec		4					
Malisheva							4
TOTAL	14	8	4	1	1	5	6

Thirty-eight (38) participants are male and 5 female. The majority of males, 26, are aged between 20-25, three are aged between 16-and 17, and ten are aged between 30-55. Out of five females, three are aged between 30-55 and two between 20-25. The observations at the bus station confirm that the young population dominated with an approximate counting of people entering in the buses as 60% single males travelling with friends and kin and 40% families travelling together with children. From those interviewed, 9 respondents have been travelling with their whole family and 32 left their family behind.

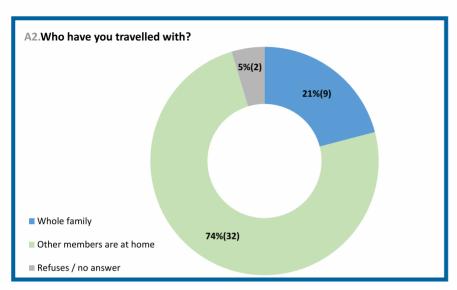


Figure 1 Age of participants and their travel status

Most participants in the study do not have sufficient training, which would enable them a relatively quick employment or integration in the societies of their destination countries. Out of 43 people interviewed, 23% have primary school, 65% have secondary school, 9% have BA and 2% have MA. As far as the language competency is concerned, although this study cannot exactly show the language competency of the participants, according to their own, subjective assessment, 50% speak English, 7% speak German, 13% speak Serbian and 7% speak other language. Twenty-four percent refused to respond to this question.

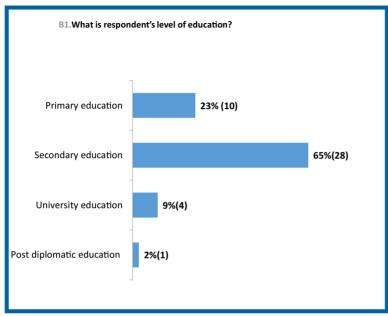


Figure 2 Respondent level of education

Socio-economic indicators are the most revealing regarding the reasons why so many people from Kosovo have been emigrating, or have been thinking to immigrate in the EU or some developed country.

Out of 43 respondents, 38 are unemployed. Fourty-four percent (44%),N19) have one employed person in the family; 14% (N6) have 2; 5% (N2) have 3; 2% (N1) have 4 employed persons in the family. On the other side, 33% (N14) do not have anyone employed in their family, while 2% (N1) refuse to reply. Of those, employed, 68% (N21) have worked in the private sector; 23% (N7) in the public sector; and 10% (N3) have not revealed their workplace.

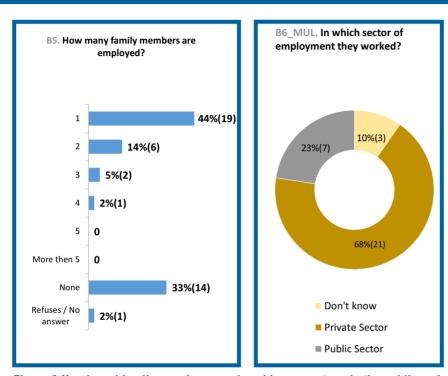
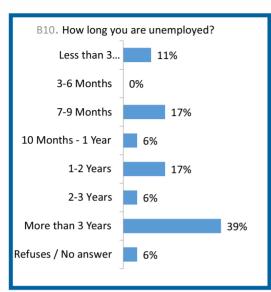


Figure 3 Number of family members employed by percentage in the public and private sector

Of those unemployed, 11% were unemployed up to 3 months; 17% were unemployed from between 7-9 months; 6% for up to one year; 17% were unemployed between 1-2 years; 6% were unemployed between 2-3 years; 39% were unemployed for more than 3 years; 6% refused to answer.



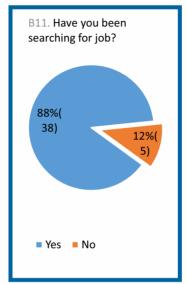


Figure 4 Number of family members employed by percentage in the public and private sector

These findings reveal that those leaving are mostly unemployed, where 34 % have become jobless within the last year, indicating in addition to long-term unemployment some recent job losses mainly in the private sector, which although cannot be generalized for a wider population can be used as an indicator to understand at least the situation for this particular group, but also the general economic decline in Kosovo in the last years.

Respondents although have been looking for a job could not find one. They mostly relied on self search rather than through employment services.

	(22 year old male from Rahovec)
I have searched for a job in hotels, restaurants, gas stations, and elsewhere but cowork but we have more expenses than income.	ould not get a job. My father and my sister
	(19 years old male from Sibovc)
I worked at Lamkos factory in Vushtrri, and after it got privatised I am unemploy sick son and no house of my own.	ved. I cannot find a job ever since. I have a
	(55 years old male from Vushtrri)
I am leaving with my wife and two children. In Kosovo I could not find a job. To the wood and sell them. I was sentenced by the court for cutting trees. Now I decide	

In terms of income, the overwhelming majority of participants live under the level of poverty line. For the purpose of this study, the poverty line is defined here as:

'It is common practice to define the poor as those who lack command over basic consumption needs, including food and nonfood components. In this case the poverty line is obtained by specifying a consumption bundle considered adequate for basic consumption needs, then estimating the cost of these basic needs. The poverty line may be thought of as the minimum expenditure required by an individual to fulfill his or her basic food and nonfood needs. Once we have computed a household's consumption, we need to determine whether that amount places the household in poverty, or defines the household as poor. The threshold used for this is the poverty line. The poverty line defines the level of consumption (or income) needed for a household to escape poverty.'

(Haughton and Khandker 2011)

(40 years old male from Peja leaving with wife and two children)

Whereas the estimates for basic monthly consuming needs per family in Kosovo is around 600 Euros, which would define the poverty line per family, the result of the study suggest that the overwhelming majority of Kosovo emigrants live below the poverty line. In fact, only 6% of respondents' family income exceed the 600 Euros threshold. Others live just below (12%), with income ranging from 400 to 700 Euros per month, while 70% live way below the poverty threshold with family income ranging from 0 to 400 Euros per month. More specifically, income per family per month of our respondents are the following: 19% from 0-100; 23% from 101-200; 19% from 201-300; 9% 301-400; 7% from 401-500; 5% from 501-600; 5% from 601-700; 2% from 901-1,000; 12% refused to answer.

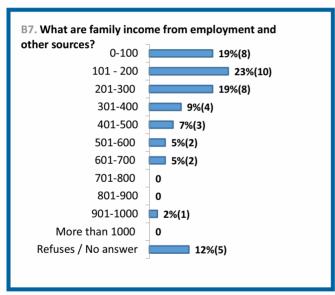


Figure 5 Family income

The excerpt from participant interviews explain how they manage with their income in Kosovo.

"I can pay electricity bill only once in two months, because I can't make ends meet If I had at least 400 Euros per month, not only me, but I think no one would leave."

(40 old male)

Property as a socio-economic indicator does not alleviate poverty or is not a sign of wealth in itself, since it is considered an immovable asset, which can hardly be used for economic activity.

In terms of property, 81% have secure housing, 19% do not have secure housing; 91% live in their own property, 9% do not live in their own property. In addition, 84% live in a private house; 7% in an apartment; 2% in barracks; 5% in other; 2% refused to answer. On the other side, as far as agricultural potential is concerned, 49% have arable land; 9% have non-arable land; 32% have cows and 10% have chicken.

I am from a village in Prizren. My family lives from agriculture, however our income from that is not enough to survive. I have sold three acres of land in my village to emigrate to Germany. I left my wife and two children home." ad at least 400 Euros per month, not only me, but I think no one would leave."

(35 year old male from Prizren)

Although most participants stated they have property, if majority of migrants are young male, the property they have declared as a family property is not yet owned by them. Thus the prospect of a young person to live independently, with their immediate family after they get married is difficult to achieve with current employment prospects. Although FES and IDRA (2012) has found that 91% of youth respondents aged between 18-27 live with their parents and for 86% that is the most adequate situation for the whole family. However the report also highlights that even if financial situation will allow, only 12% of this group would like to live on their own, thus showing that family is an important institution for young Kosovans, and that they would consider an obligation to take care of the general welfare of the family.

Debt is another socio-economic indicator used to assess reasons for illegal immigration since it has been speculated that the motivation for a number emigrants to leave Kosovo have been unsettled debts or loans. According to the data from this study, 47% of people have debts to other persons, 30% have a bank loan, or are in debt to the Tax Administration, while the debt of 51% of people is related to utilities. It is difficult to assess whether some respondents were motivated to immigrate illegally due to debts, since none of them would tell the real amount of debt, and the debt is reported not only as a personal debt but as a family debt. However, it cannot be excluded that for a number of people, the impossibility to pay back the debts due to difficult socio-economic conditions may have been a trigger for illegal immigration, which would enable income that could pay these debts in the future.

In conclusion to this section it can be said that the profile of those leaving is the category of people with low level of education, unemployed and leaving Kosovo to secure economic benefit for them and for the family they leave behind who live in poverty. Although, participants own their property and some of them possess arable land, they have not been able to make use of it in order to escape the poverty line in 15 years, and therefore see no particular sign that this situation will be changed in the coming years and have thus lost hope that their situation is likely to improve. Majority of them have some kind of debt incurred prior to their decision to leave.

Reasons of immigration

The first issue to be examined was whether an earlier residence (both legal and illegal) in the EU member states has prompted an action of emigration. However, the study shows that the majority of participants has not resided in any Western country in the past: 77% has never lived in the west, while only 33% has lived, either legally or illegally in Western states. Of this 33%, 40% has resided illegally in the last 15 years, whereas 20% were refugees during the war and 10% were in the western countries for health reasons.

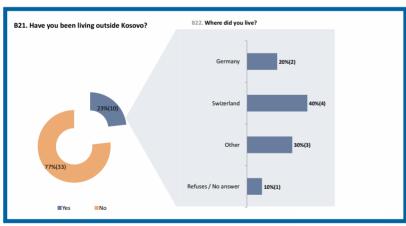
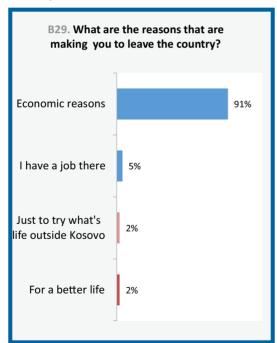


Figure 6 Prior Emigration Experience and Destination

Whereas an earlier residence in the West may have been a prompt to emigrate in the face of high unemployment and difficult socio-economic situation in Kosovo, the majority of emigrants do not have a living experience in the West. In fact, only 3% has tried to emigrate earlier in Western Europe.

On the other side, considering that almost each Kosovo family has members living in Western Europe, such experience may have been transferred indirectly to them. In spite of this possibility, only 5% of respondents have a secured job in the EU, whereas 95% have not ensured any mean of living. However, these 95% have stated that unemployment, poverty, lack of security, lack of rule of law and general dissatisfaction with the situation in Kosovo were the main reasons for making a choice to immigrate illegally. Thus, the emigrants believe that they can find a better life of themselves, and better education and perspective for their children in the EU than in Kosovo.



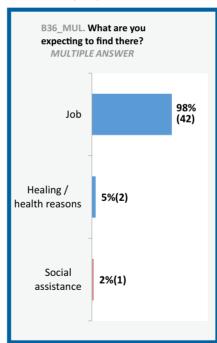


Figure 7 Reasons for emigration

When asked on what they expect to find in the country of their destination, 98 % expect to find a job and two participants mentioned health treatment.

For example one of the families travelling together had a child with severe health conditions. Their only reason to immigrate was to secure adequate health care for their child

"We are five members of the family and we live in social assistance. Until now we have lived in a property that was not ours, and that house was taken from habitat. I have a kid with a an illness from birth. He cannot walk. This illness cannot be treated in Kosovo, and this is the reason that we are leaving and we cannot cover the expenses for his treatment. I am going to Germany, hoping that our son will get a treatment there."

(55 years old female)

Another 22 year old male, with special needs (without one hand), graduated at the faculty economy, was leaving due to health reasons and limited prospects as a person with special needs.

"I have never worked. To find a job in Kosovo you need to be a relative of[names of politicians]. I am not their relative. I live from the income my family makes from agriculture. Another reason people are motivated to leave is the health system. If you do not have money in Kosovo, you may die. No one will take care of you.

(22 year old male from Ferizaj)

Another male, head of a house hold, has left his family behind in order to secure better conditions for them. The participant has been working for some time, and had invested in the building of his house, incurring a debt of 30,000 euros which obliged him to immigrate so that he could pay back this debt. He claims:

"I secured my own property. I have just recently built a house, but that has created debts of 30,000 Euros that I have to pay back. That is why I am leaving."

(35 year old male from Lipjan)

Another person describes the situation as hopeless and insecure. Coming from a small city he sees his family trapped:

- "We are pressured to vote during elections and even provide proof for voting a certain party, always fearing the repercussions for our family members to lose a job."
- "The price of bills (electricity, water, garbage) is increasing every year. My family earns 240 euros per month and we cannot pay for the medicine we need. We are not living a life. We are surviving"

In this regard, majority plans to work in the country of destination, followed by those planning to live on social welfare, those that want to study, as well as those that left in order to find a better health care for their health problems than the one offered in Kosovo. The majority of participants' destination is Germany, followed by Switzerland.

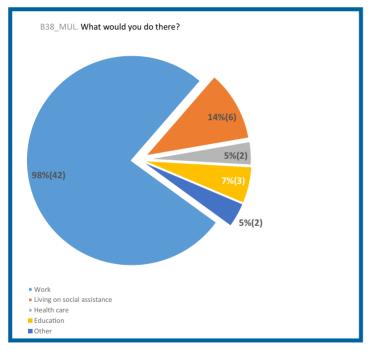


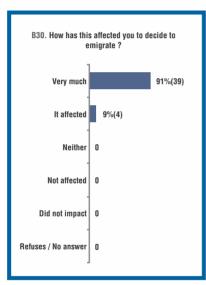
Figure 8 Emigration Aims

In relation to employment expectation, the KFOS (2015, p. 18) study found that "every second emigrant managed to find a job in countries where they were settled. " This information has most likely been shared with families and friends in Kosovo, and may have contributed to rationalizing emigration for the purpose of employment. Although, only half of the persons interviewed by KFOS study found jobs, it is also important to point out that

sectors were illegal emigrants were employed according to KFOS study were 1) Construction and physical work, 2) Catering and gastronomy 3) Mechanics and car mechanics and 4) Agriculture and gardening necessitating lower qualifications for jobs in these sectors(KFOS, 2015). As far as destination is concerned another reason for choosing Germany is the perception of better asylum conditions such as sheltering, access to pocket money and ability to work certain jobs with asylum status.

Ways immigration was planned and realized

For a substantial number of participants, emigration was considered as the most rational choice when faced with difficult socio-economic situation in Kosovo. Thirty-five percent of respondents have been thinking of emigration for more than one year, whereas 37% have thought of emigrating less than six months. According to the data, 56% have been thinking of emigrating during 2014, thus suggesting that the evolving political situation after elections when a general fatigue was created, the lack of jobs, as well as the loss of hope for changes in the near future has affected the decision to emigrate of the majority of respondents.



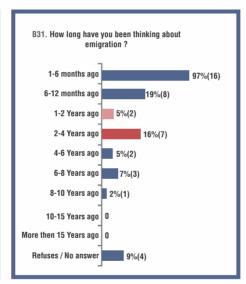


Figure 9 The effect of political situation in emigration and the period

Most respondents found out about the opportunity to leave Kosovo from the media (77%), which suggests that most of them decided to leave after the massive outflow has already been reported, whereas 23% who probably took the decision to leave earlier, found out about this opportunity from friends and family. Nine percent refused to respond. Seventy-two percent of respondents refused to tell about the type of information they received. This suggests mistrust and fear of repercussions, and awareness that their action of immigration is illegal. Other respondents (26%) said that the type of information they received was about the itinerary of buses and the cost of travel.

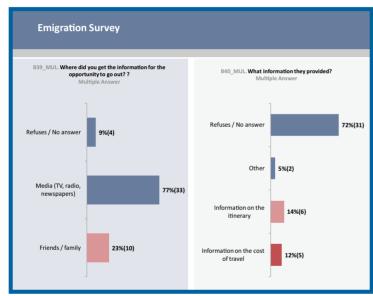


Figure 10 The sources and type of information

The decision to emigrate was taken by the respondents themselves, although most of them have 'consulted' their kin, including family (100%) and friends (42%). This was probably due to the fact that most of respondents needed a loan in cash to pay for the expenses for immigration, or they, indeed needed to sell some of their property in order to pay for immigration expenses. In fact, 40% of respondents used their own savings to pay for the expenses of the trip, whereas 44% took loan, or sold property (9%). Twenty-three percent were sent money from their relatives or friends in the EU.

Interestingly, none of the emigrants expected to be received and sheltered as an asylum seeker. This, in contrast to what was perceived to be their aim. Asked whether they counted in difficulties and risks associated with illegal immigration, such as prison, camps, risks to their health and eventual deportation, all respondents were aware of these risks and difficulties, but still took the decision to take a chance. Most of the respondents claimed that they knew about risks as well as little chances to get an asylum, but they were determined to try. Replies such as 'If it takes me 100 times, I will still try to immigrate,' or 'only death will stop me to immigrate,' were also registered by the researchers.

"I know that to get an asylum is a problem. However, also Germans should know what the people are experiencing here in comparison to the politicians they support. We are dying here, and for me as a person with special needs there is no life in Kosovo. They are offending and lying their people. In 2000 we hoped for freedom, in 2008 when we became independent, that was our last hope."

(22 years old male from Ferizaj)

A respondent who could not pass the border due to lack of money required by the traffickers was returning to Kosovo.

"I was promised a seasonal job from a relative in Italy. I am 40 and I never had a secure job. I tried twice to pass the border. I am now returning to Kosovo to sell something and get the money to try again to pass the border. I will try until I make it. I left my wife and two children at home"

(44 year old male from Suhareka)

 $I have \ considered \ everything, \ but \ I \ do \ not \ care. \ I have \ decided \ to \ leave, \ even \ if \ it \ takes \ me \ 100 \ times \ to \ try.$

(Young male from Peja)

I have considered all risks, but I will not return alive in Kosovo.

(Young male from Peja)

I have considered all risks, but still everything is better tan Kosovo.

(Young male from Fushe Kosova)

Notwithstanding desperation and a genuine loss of hope, these findings signal that immigration consequences are calculated and that chances to secure a job, even if they are minimal are considered as worth trying, in comparison with sustained unemployment and poverty in Kosovo. This study finds that 70 % (33) of the participants in this study have emigrated for the first time, showing an increased emigration intention in the last wave.

Most emigrants planned to go to Germany (77%), followed by those who planned to go to Switzerland (7%), Austria (2%), Canada (2%) and other. This reflects approximately the proportional distribution of Kosovar Albanians in the EU countries, which might suggest that the decision to leave Kosovo may have been based on the information received by kin and friends residing in those countries.

As far as the cost of travel, 58% of respondents said that they had no other costs except of the bus ticket, whereas 37% said they had other costs related to their immigration (5% refused to answer). These costs include mostly the fees paid for crossing the border, (Taxi 44%; Border-crossing 25%), as well as hotel costs in the border area (25%). The cost of entering the Schengen area can be between 100 to 1,000 Euros, depending on the number of persons and dependability of other persons to help crossing the border. Thus, 44% of respondents paid from 100-500 Euros, whereas 47% paid between 500-1,000 Euros to cross the border. A small portion paid more than 1,000 Euros, whereas only two spent up to 100 Euros.

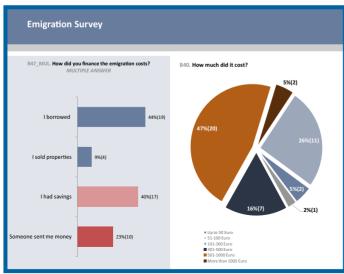


Figure 11 The methods and amount of finance

The relatively low price of the emigration channel though Serbia and Hungary also triggered travelling to Europe for those who could not secure a visa through official channels. Two respondents did not intend to stay at the country of destination. They were planning to visit their family and relatives and come back. The price of the emigration route was affordable and according to them with no consequences as they had nothing to lose.

"I am a hairdresser and I have a salon with two employees in Kosovo. They are covering for me while I stay in Germany. I tried to get a visa to visit my relatives, but with no success. I am planning to spend 400 Euros to go to Germany and come back after a month."

(24 year female from Prishtina)

Another young person reveals:

"I have my brothers in Switzerland. I was refused a visa three times. [shows the refusal decision from Swiss Embassy]. I live with my father and he has a pension. I do not need money. I just want to travel and visit my brothers. If I am caught, I will just show them the refusal letter and will tell them that they can return me back"

(anonymous)

From observations in the main points of departure and arrival, the team has noted that apart from the bus ticket purchased in Prishtina, once arriving in Belgrade, emigrants paid 200 euro taxi from Belgrade to Subotica or a bus ticket costing 13 euro per person. The point of arrival in Belgrade for emigrants is described by observers as "being lost":

"At 5:15 the bus from Prishtina arrived. People were tired and misinformed on where they can take tickets to Subotica. The taxi drivers made pressure on them for taking a taxi to Subotica. The minimum price was 200 Euro. The taxi drivers had contacts with villas Palic. There were tickets to Subotica for 13 Euros, but Kosovans were "lost" and did not know what to do. We took the bus to Subotica, which was full with Kosovans. All those carrying bags paid one euro per bag"...

"Once arriving in Subotica, they did not have an idea where to go next. The taxi drivers offered a ride of 20-25 euro to the villas, whereas the bus ticket cost 90 dinars (70 cents). Kosovans were not sure on this type of transport because they did not know where exactly the villas were located. Their destination was one of the villas"

"At the villas there were Kosovans who waited to be accommodated there and those who were waiting to cross the border. The traffickers negotiated a transport fee of 200 to 300 euro per person to cross the border. Once entering the villa, the emigrants were closed inside and they could go out only if they wanted to buy something. "

We approached a table inside the villa "Europa" where a man with his wife and children were sitting. We started a conversation and they agreed to talk to us for the research. The villa owner, an Albanian, approached us aggressively and asked "What are you here for? Why are you disturbing our guests?" We responded that we are seeking information how to pass the border, and the man we were sitting with claimed that we travelled with them. The owner invited me in the cellar and asked if I was interested to pass the border. I told him yes and he asked for 350 Euro to be delivered until 10 o'clock in the morning. I agreed and confirmed that I will come back with two other friends. We left and did not try to enter the villas anymore."

Research team observation report

Most respondents (81%) do not know, or refuse to reveal specifics of their trip, for example, whether someone will wait for them or take care of them in the beginning when arriving in their destination. However, while 14% know their exact destination (9% family and 5% friends), 5% will go to camp and undergo immigration procedures. However, 63% have no one on the other side of Schengen border, while 19% were either told on how to immigrate, or will be expected by family members or friends. Nineteen percent refused to reply. This was the most sensitive information which was considered to risk their destination route.

"Most of the interviewees confirmed 200 payment per person for crossing the border and that very often they were left alone to find the way. They managed to find the way through GPS and through following the trail.

There were 74 refugees from Kosova in München camp. The conditions in the camp were good, and each refugee has been checked by a doctor and had received pocket money of an amount of 165 Euro per person. They were not taking any German courses or education.

Research team observation report

According to German Government information, the benefits for asylum seekers have changed due to the Federal Constitutional Court Ruling that increased a monthly subsistence from 225 to 352 Euros and these costs may vary if emigrants are sheltered in camps or other housing facilities (The German Federal Government, 2014). The benefits scheme ensures that emigrants are treated with dignity until a final decision is taken.

"Which politician takes the courage and tells all states that the emigrants should be returned. This is because politicians have benefited millions from these poor people. This is the second camp that I am changing and with all people I discussed they say that they are frustrated with the Kosovo governments"

(Interviewee, München)

While it is suggested that this kind of message also intends to problematise the returning process, at the same time the return process should be managed in order to prevent any further social outbreak. The returnee process should be handled with offering better opportunities than the refugee camps in Germany, which as far as participants are concerned they offer food, clothes, medical care and for the time being "a chance to get asylum". The returnee process should be accompanied with measures for re-integration and assistance.

Conclusion

The study reveals that the last emigration wave was triggered by the opened channel through Serbian-Hungarian border supported by a network of traffickers. Seventy-seven percent (77%) of emigrants did not live before in any western country, thus confirming that this emigration wave included new emigrants.

The profile of the migrants, participants in this research through interviews, and as observed by the research team are mainly male, aged between 20 and 25, unemployed and poor. Majority of them have left a family behind with hopes that they will be able to get employment and provide for their families.

Majority of respondents have emigrated for economic reasons as a consequence of low income per family that cannot provide an opportunity to pass the poverty line. An important finding is that 34 % have become jobless within the last year, contributing to overall pessimism about future prospects.

Majority of respondents in this study have been thinking about emigration during 2014 and earlier. However, the decision to emigrate in this wave was accelerated by the media reports that described the emigration channel as easy and cheap of approximately 200 to 600 Euros per person to reach the destination country, a price averaging a flight ticket with a visa fee.

Notwithstanding the price, 67% (N 29) participants took loans in Kosovo and from families abroad to take this journey and they were aware of the consequences, considering their action as an effort for a better chance.

It is surprising for the research team that the traffickers were left an easy hand in operating the scheme in Serbia. It also seems that the Kosovo government had difficulties to control massive out flow through some standard bus operation control procedures, that later resulted in ability to close down operation for 50%. The government also should have investigated in time the emigration trafficking schemes in order to prevent acceleration and manage information for illegal emigration and returning process effectively.

Finally, it is suggested here that information on asylum conditions and work possibilities under asylum status as well as the information on the return process should be provided to the general public in order to manage misinformation through word of mouth method.

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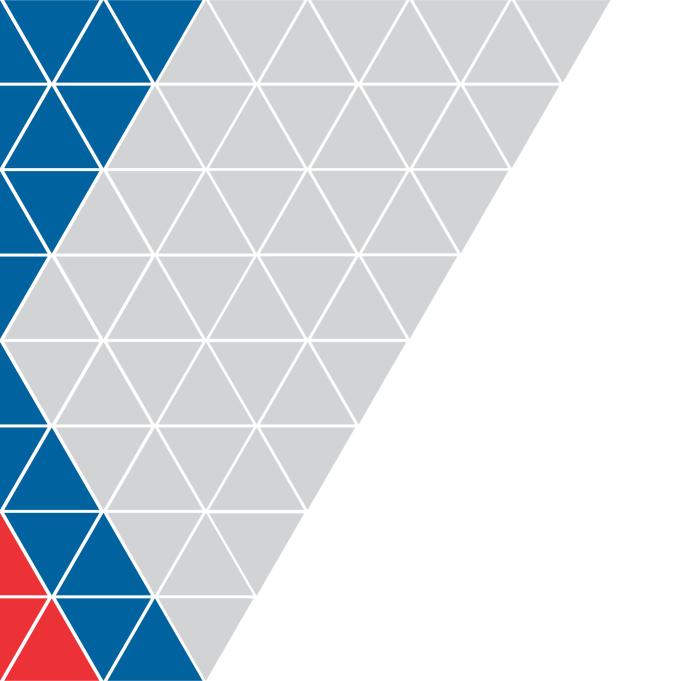
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