



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT

Titel der Masterarbeit

“East European Brain Gain in Austria”

Verfasserin

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angestrebter akademischer Grad:

Master of Art (MA)

Wien, 2014

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt:
Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt:
Betreuer:

A 066 824
Masterstudium Politikwissenschaft
Univ. Prof. Dr. Dieter Segert

For Dennis

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Preface

According to the statistics of the United Nations 214,199,193 people migrated in 2012 worldwide (UN, 2012). This statistic is not just a number, this statistic is showing the number of people who are migrating worldwide and that number is a quarter of the world's population. We are talking here about a very big and important social and global phenomenon. This phenomenon has taken a bigger swing in the last few decades, or as Massey argues that immigration in the last 30 years has become a major force in the world (Massey et al, 1993:431).

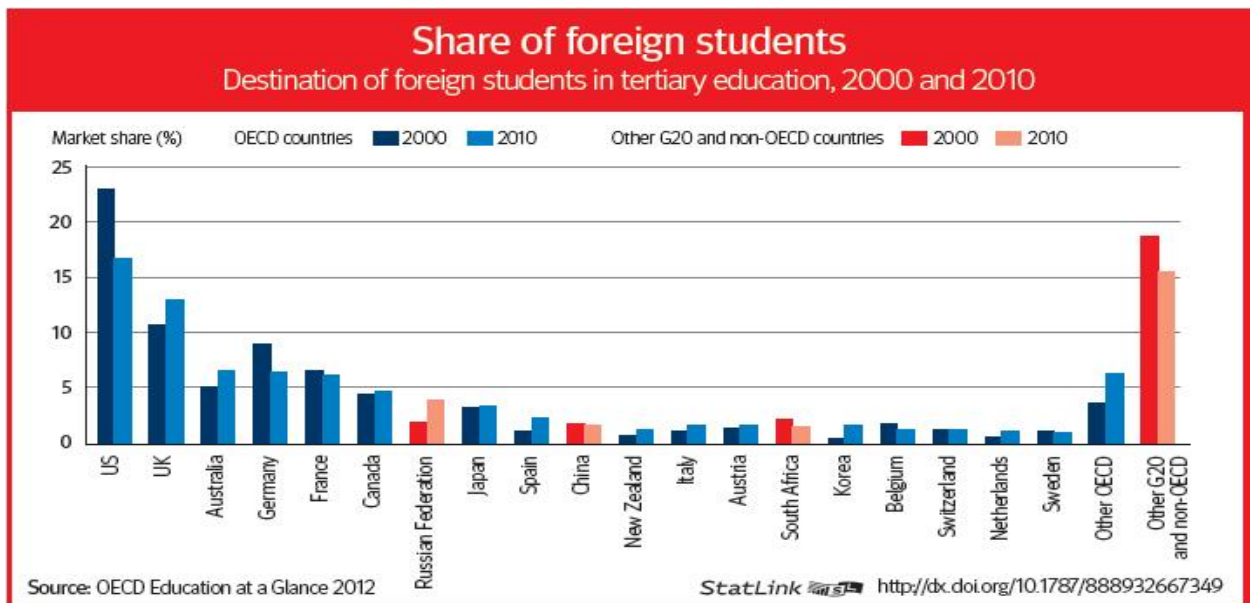
According to the statistics and in context to Massey, the number of the migrants in the last 20 years raised double (USA, Canada, Germany, Britain, Austria), triple (Greece and Italy) or even eight times in Spain (ibid). These facts made the subject even more popular and massive. These facts make me also very curious and convinced me to start with research in this area.

Because I am also a foreign student, I started to research the students as a migration group, to find out how many students like me are migrating in the world. The results showed that the total number of students worldwide was 3.7 million, while in 2010 it increased to 4.1 million, which is almost 5 times more than in 1975. OECD explains this growth as a consequence of economic and social globalization (OECD, 2012). Through its statistics, UNESCO shows a growth of student mobilization of 78% in 2010 compared to 2000, where in 2000 the total number of students around the world was 2 million. North America and Western Europe represent the largest regions hosting international students - 58% according to UNESCO (UNESCO, 2011).

According to the statistics from OECD, 77% of all international students migrate to

OECD countries. North America hosts 21% of the total number of international students, while in Europe about 41% of the total number of mobile students can be found. The highest percentage of international students, compared to domestic students, feature the following countries: Australia, Austria, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Switzerland and the UK.

Figure 1. Share of foreign students 2000-2010



According to the graph (Figure 1), top favored destinations are the states of the so-called English speaking area. Students often choose English-speaking countries because of the easier integration in society and in the educational institutions, if we take the language as a decision reason. According to UNESCO (2011), favored destinations for international students are the following countries: U.S., U.K., Australia, France, Germany and Japan. If we look at the Figure above, we can observe that there is a great similarity between statistics of UNESCO and OECD. After I had seen these statistics, I started to think a little bit more about student mobility. I was especially interested in Austria as migration destination. My interest in Austria developed, because I am also a foreign student in Austria and I can watch the situation more closely. I noticed that there are a lot of foreign students in Austria. That made me very curious, so I looked at the statistics of the student's migration in Austria.

The results showed that in winter semester 2012/13, 372,895 students have enrolled at the Austrian Universities. From all that students, 88,440 were international students, which in comparison to the 284,455 domestic students is not a small number.¹ With this statistics came the question why these students came to Austria, why did they choose Austria and what are their future plans?

So started my work on the study...

¹ Source: AustriaStatistik, Hochschulstatistik, 22.08.2013

Introduction

It was one spring day, I was completely and deeply focused on my study, I was trying to build the model of my study. All the time I was occupied with the student's migration and the Austrian argumentation about it. In that moment I was occupied with the argumentation of the affection from the migration of the high skilled students. One of the arguments is that the highly skilled migrants contribute to raised concurrence, which makes the market more attractive on international or even global level. Another arguments is that the international students or highly skilled are representing a budget relief for the national economy, if they decide to stay in the receive country. The domestic country invested in them and not the receive country and if they decide to stay and not to leave the receive country, the latter one got an almost finished "product" for the market.

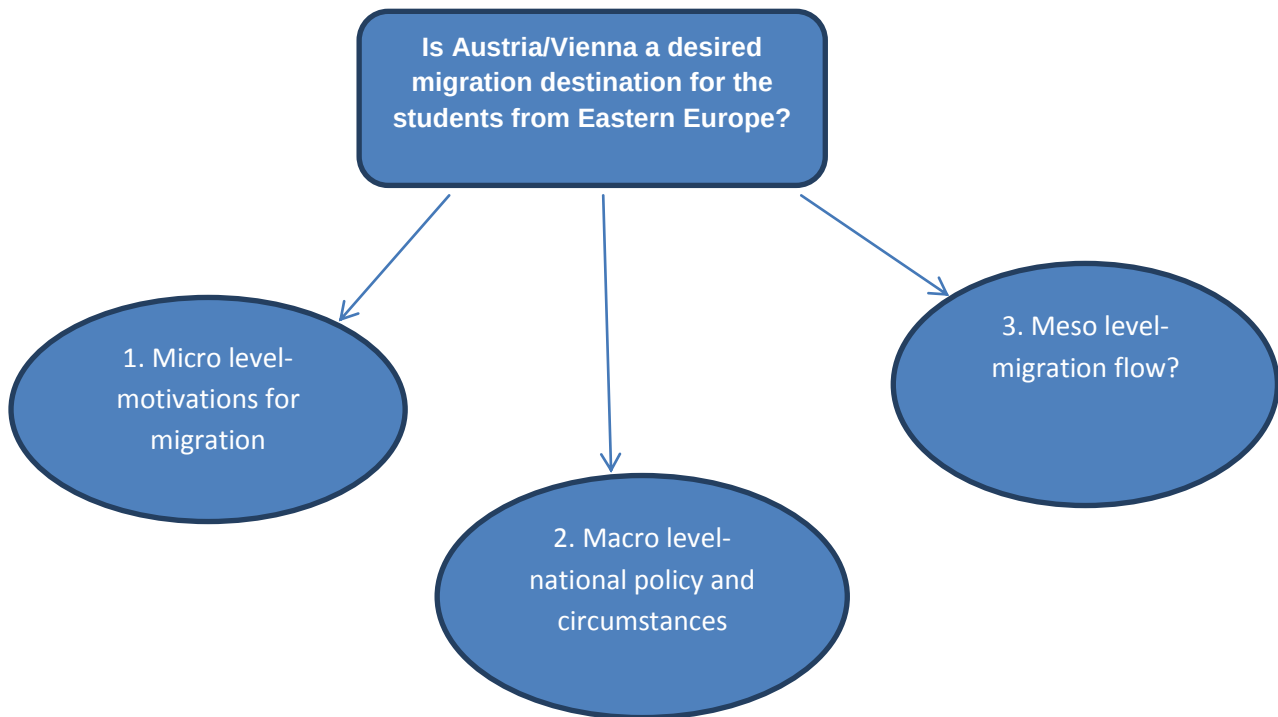
Aleksander and Anastasia, are two students who come from East Europe and migrated to Austria. They were interviewed spontaneously in order to get an impression, how students who are personally effected by migration from East Europe to Austria, think about this topic.

They were interviewed, because I wanted to know if their perception of the situation was the same as my notions. They were asked simple questions, like: Why did you chose Vienna?; What were your expectations and what did you find in Vienna? What are your future plans?² These simple questions and the answers of the two students helped me to build my research model. Furthermore the three questions supported the formulation of the present work's research questions. The first interview question brought the answer of the international student's migration on the micro level and is representing the personal subject of the study. That means with the answer on the question, why the students chose Vienna as migration destination, we can analyze the motivation and reasons for the movement. The second question touched the macro level or in this case the state level. What the students find in Vienna is actually which policies are offered from Austria, according to the international student' migration. The last question or the question of the future plans is representing the meso level. The meso level is a combination of the micro and meso level. That

² The answers of the interviews you can find on the end of the study.

means that on the meso level we will compare the expectations and the circumstances found and with it we will see if they are compatible. This model helped me to formulate the main research question: **Is Austria/Vienna a desired migration destination for the students from Eastern Europe?**

Figure 2. Model of the research



*Source: Author

Figure 2 describes the basic model of the study. This model is based on the three level model of Thomas Faist (2000). According to Faist (2000) the micro level is the individual level which shows the degree of freedom or autonomy of a potential migrant. The political, economic and cultural structures on the level of nation-states, receiving or sending countries constitute the macro level. The combination of the both (micro + macro) forms the meso link, which refers to the set of social and symbolic ties among the migrants and the groups as well the resources inherent to them (Faist, 2000). This model will be supported as well by three theories of migration which are corresponding on every separate level: micro level to new economic theory; macro-level to the theory of international politics and the meso level corresponds to the social capital theory or network theory. The theoretical model and the theories as well, will be better introduced in the chapter 3.

The conceptual work will start with definitions of the main terms used during this study. The second chapter will explain the most frequently used words in this study, in order to have a clear understanding of the terms which we will use in the biggest part of the research. The third chapter is the theoretical chapter. This chapter will provide the theoretical basics for the research. First of all, we would take into consideration the development of the migration theories and we will make a selection of the theories that would help at most for our case. With that we will present the model of our research and according to that, we will present the approaches that will follow this study until the end of the research. Like almost every political analysis that takes history as a part of the basic argumentation, this study is not going to make an exception. In chapter four we will explain the development of the migration history in Austria. The migration history will explain the migration situation in the Austrian society, which will help us to understand the results of the statistic data. So we come to chapter five, where we will present one quantitative study about the motivation for the migration of the international students from Eastern Europe to Austria. In this chapter we will see the main motivations, expectations and problems of the international students in Austria.

To make the picture of the Austrian society as a migration target country complete, we will take into consideration the Austrian policies during the years in this subject, which we will present and explain in chapter 6. That will give an opportunity to present in chapter 7 the circumstances of the international students in Austria and to compare them with other “famous migration target countries” in Europe, like Great Britain, France and Germany.

This concept should be reasonable enough to give the answer on the research question.

Definitions

Every scientific work includes definitions, so this is not going to be an exception to that. This chapter will try to describe the most frequent terms in this study. Here we will try to define all the terms that will be used in the whole study. Those terms are for example: migration, international students, brain drain/gain/waste and East European countries.

2.1 Migration

According to the available literature that we have up until now, there is no official definition for migration. The migration is one of society's phenomena and that's why it is not easy to give a simple definition. Every society is different, because it is connected with culture, tradition, society codes and etc. That's why it is not so easy to give one universal definition for the term migration as a phenomenon of society.

The word "migration" comes from the Latin word "migrare" which means to change a place (Rosen, 2002:30). Duden dictionary makes a difference between biological and sociological migration and defines the people migration as movement (migration) in some other country, area, region or location. Oxford dictionary generally defines migration as a movement from one part of something to another, or specifically in context with society, as movement of people to a new area or country in order to find work or better living conditions.

The international organizations also try to define migration. Like for example IOM defines migration as:

"A process of moving, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people, and economic migrants."(IOM, 2004)

UNESCO defines a migrant as:

"any person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties to this country."(UNESCO, 2013)⁵

But this definition is too narrow, because in some countries a person is considered as migrant even if he/she is born in the target country of residence. This definition also touches further dimensions of migration, like the temporal and the political dimension. Considering the time dimension, IOM understands a person after one month already as a migrant (IOM, 2004). UN makes a difference between short term and long term migrants, so the long term migrant is a person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year, or the short term migrant for at least three months (UN, 1998:18). For the political dimension, some countries understand the migrants, as persons who have a foreign citizenship, and some of them no matter of the citizenship can still be migrants , for example migration in the country – between two different places in one country(Düvell, 2006: 5-6).

All these definitions show how complex migration, as social phenomenon, is. The international organizations we cited before use the dimensions of migration on a level that they can measure. Most of the international organizations use the political and time dimensions of migration, because it is the easiest way to measure migration.

In this study, we will try to explain "all dimensions" of migration, so we can put migration in concrete terms and apply it properly during this study.

2.2.1 Dimension of migration

Diverse dimensions of migration give different perspectives of looking at migration. All the dimensions of migration require different definitions of migration. Describing dimensions of migration would help us to find the definition that matches best with this study.

⁵Online: (<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/migrant/>)

Düvell shows seven different dimensions of migration (Düvell, 2006:6-11). According to him there are:

1. Dimension of time: after which sustained period of time can we talk about migration?
2. Dimension of distance (Entfernung): at which spatial extension does migration take place?
3. Political dimension: what kind of political borders are connected with migration?
4. Dimension of residence: recognition of the residence.
5. Dimension of purpose: what are the reasons for migration?
6. Dimension of actors: who is affected by the migration?
7. Dimension of the character of migration: is migration voluntary or forced?

The dimension of time considers the duration of the migrants in the target country. We have already seen that there are different perceptions in the meaning of migration considering the duration. We have seen that for IOM is one month enough or for UN 3 months to declare someone as a migrant. Officially in Austria there is no concrete definition of “migrant” according to the temporal dimension, but there is a differentiation between permanent and temporary migration ⁶(Zukunft Europa, 2013). It is also interesting to say that since the “new laws” in Austria came in force, there are no migrants, but people with migration background ⁷(Medien Service Stelle, 2013). That means that it is not possible to find a competent definition for “migration” in Austria⁸. Back to the time dimension, we need to point out that the permanent and temporary migration in Austria is not officially concrete because the legal or illegal status of the migrants is connected at the same time with administrative and time purpose.

⁶ Online: <http://www.zukunfteuropa.at/site/7216/default.aspx#a4>

⁷ Online: http://medienservicestelle.at/migration_bewegt/glossar/#l

⁸ this is also confirmed on the European info web of the Austrian government:
<http://www.zukunfteuropa.at/site/7216/default.aspx#a1>

The second dimension shows the distance between the target and domestic country, city or village. This dimension tries to explain, how big the distance between two places should be in order to say that migration takes place. Düvell (2006:7) explains that there is a short distance and a long distance which can be understood as migration and makes a difference between local, regional and remote migration (Lokale, Regionale und Fern-migration). The distance of migration has to be relativized, due to technological developments in terms of travelling. Today with a train, airplane or similar we can travel from Turkey for example to Vienna in only one hour but at the same time we need one hour from the first to twenty second district in Vienna with a public transport. With this example we see that the distance becomes a relative variable. A second aspect in this dimension is also the culture excision. For example, an Englishman in Australia would move to a culture that is similar to his own, but a Moroccan in Spain even if the distance is only fifteen kilometers would move to culture different from his own culture (ibid.).

The political dimension shows the movement within administrative borders (between two or more places within the borders of one state) or the movement between at least two states (international migration). Here we come to another problem associated with political borders. Good example for that is the construction of the European Union. In the EU there are no political borders but there are language borders and sometimes that makes people migrants. In contrast, with the enlargement of the EU, some of the citizens that used to be migrants or refugees became EU- citizens overnight. This shows that the difference between internal and international migration is more from administrative use than of theoretical use (Kubat and Nowotny, 1981: 327).

The dimension of residence shows the recognition of the new residence. There are some people who change their abode but not their residence. They would not be recognized as migrants. There are also people who have two residences. If we consider the time scale, then the question arises: how long should someone stay in one place so the abode is recognized as a residence? This question just shows how problematic this dimension is. For example, there are people who have two or more residences (in two or more cities or even two or more states), like for work, studying, or just to be with their family. This shows how complicated the dimension of

residence is. The definition of migration according to the residence temporarily or permanently is not easy to grip.

The dimension of purpose defines the purpose of a movement. That can be: a trip, a visit of family or friends, holiday, work, studying, etc. Not all of these movements present migration. The duration of a movement is here also very important. There are some people who spend two months on holiday or visiting their relatives and they are not recognized as migrants. But also at the same time, if they stay for a longer period, for example one year, they can be recognized as migrants, or like Butler (1999) argues that: "tourism is also an art of temporary migration". This means that not every purpose of movement can be automatically migration. The time period of the movement plays also here a very important role.

The dimension of actor defines the act of migration. That means who made the decision for the migration. Is the decision made from the migrant alone as a personal decision, or is it made as a result of another person? We witness today a lot of forced migration, like human trafficking, slaves, etc. That's why Düvell (2006:10) makes a difference between forced migration and repelling. Under this dimension there is also a distinction between individual migration, group migration or collective migration and mass migration, which also takes the number of the actors and the form of an organization into consideration when focusing on migration.(ibid.)

The last dimension is not less important. It tries to answer the question, how the decision is made. Is the decision made by conviction or is it an act of forced decision? This dimension is more or less connected with the dimension of an actor.

All these dimensions of migration show how complicated the term "migration" is. The term migration considers a lot of aspects and that's why it is not easy to define with one single definition. But at the same time, from all the dimensions we still cannot complete the specific definition of migration which would answer our needs for this study. That's why we will try to make a typology of migration, so we can define easier and more specific definitions of migration, which take the needs of this study into consideration. For that purpose we will adapt the typology of Düvell (2006).

2.2.2 Typology of migration

We have seen that there are different dimensions of migration, and thus there are also different types of migration. A lot of authors give different typology. At first we will look at the typology of Düvell. (Düvell, 2006: 12) He offers one chart in which he classifies the different types of migration according to different variables.

Figure 3. Scheme of the typology of migration according to Düvell

Geography			Purpose	Profession	Political character	Legality character	Character	Actor
Geographical	Direction	Distance						
local	East-west	close	Relaxing	Highly skilled	Internal migration/ Mobility	legal	voluntary	Individual
regional	South-west	medium	Work	Medium skilled	Transnational migration	Semi legal	forced	Third party
inter-regional	North-south	far	Education	Low skilled	International migration	Illegal		Collective
continental	South-south		Family reunification	Differentiation according to occupational groups				Mass
Inter-continental	South-east		Asylum					Gender(mixed, male or female)
global	East-south							

*Source: Düvell, 2006:12.

This typology offers different types of migration according to seven different aspects of migration. This is not the only typology that exists. One other typology makes a simple typology using the play theories and generally behavioral theories following different motivations of migration (Cyrus and Vogel, 2005). They offer motivation types of migration and their scheme looks as following (Düvell, 2006:13):

Figure 4. Motivation types of a migration according to Cyrus and Vogel

Workers	Target earner, globalists, opportunists
Learners	Experience builders
Travelers	Adventurers

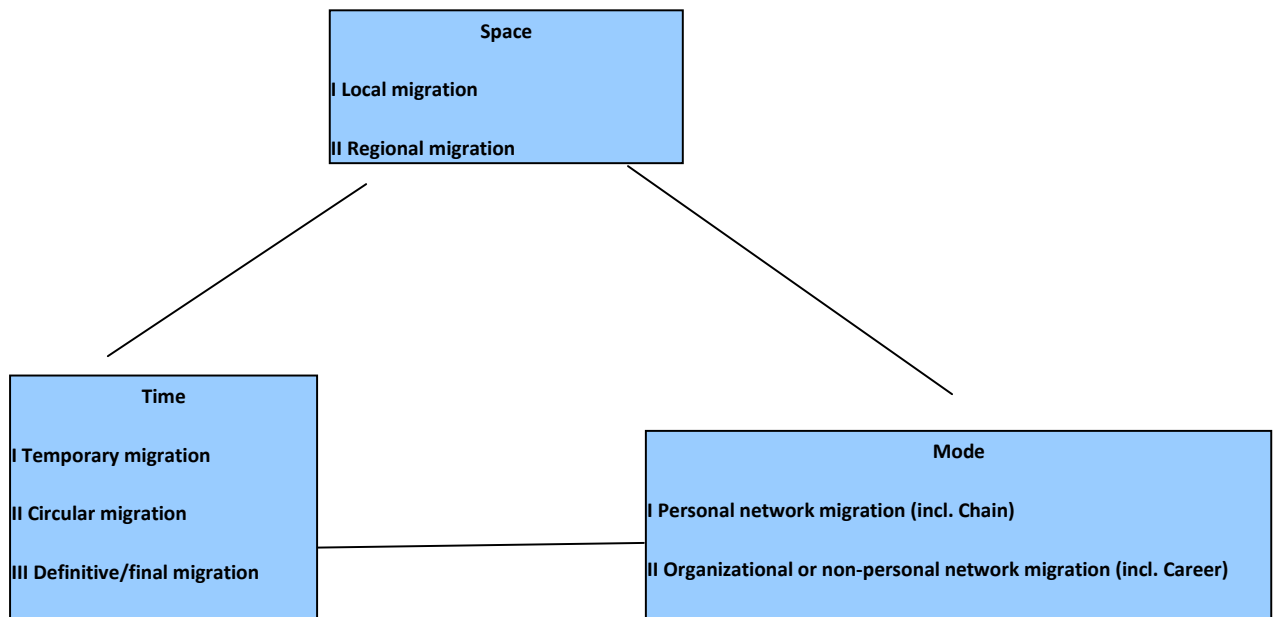
*Source: Düvell, 2006:13

According to this simple typology, the globalists look for a new opportunity on the global labor market, the target earners motivation is to earn money for better life, the opportunists look not only for a job, but more for what is offered in the target country or place. The experience builders are gatherers of work experience and the adventurers look for a new challenge. This is one of the “group simple typologies” but not the only one.

Tilly (1976) offers another simple typology of migration and he differentiates between: Local, circular, carrier and chain migration. With this typology he focuses on the European migration. The local migration “*shifts an individual or household within a geographically contiguous market*” according to Tilly and the moved distance is small by the definition (Tilly by Remund, 2010:5). Circular migration can be understood as seasonal work on harvests, pastoral transhumance. It is migration with a well-defined interval after which migrants return to their origin (ibid.). Chain migration “*moves sets of related individuals of households from one place to another via a set of social arrangements in which people at the destination provide aid, information and encouragement to new migrants*”, according to Tilly (ibid.). His opinion is that individuals form urban villages under extreme circumstances. Career migration is just like the name implies, about movement in response of job opportunities (ibid.).

Here it is also interesting to look at the tri-nominal typology of migration offered by Leseger, Lucassen and Schrover. (Lesger et. al, 2002:31). They offer one scheme of migration.

Figure 5. Tri-nominal typology of migration



*Source: Lesger et. al, 2002:31

This typology just like that from Düvell presents a clearer and more complete tool for classifying migration than the other two typologies before. This typology offers more space for combination of different types of migration so that we can get better picture of the target migration that we want to point out in the society.

As already mentioned, these typologies are not the only typologies of migration that exist. The high number of existing typologies of migration points exactly on the complexity of migration.

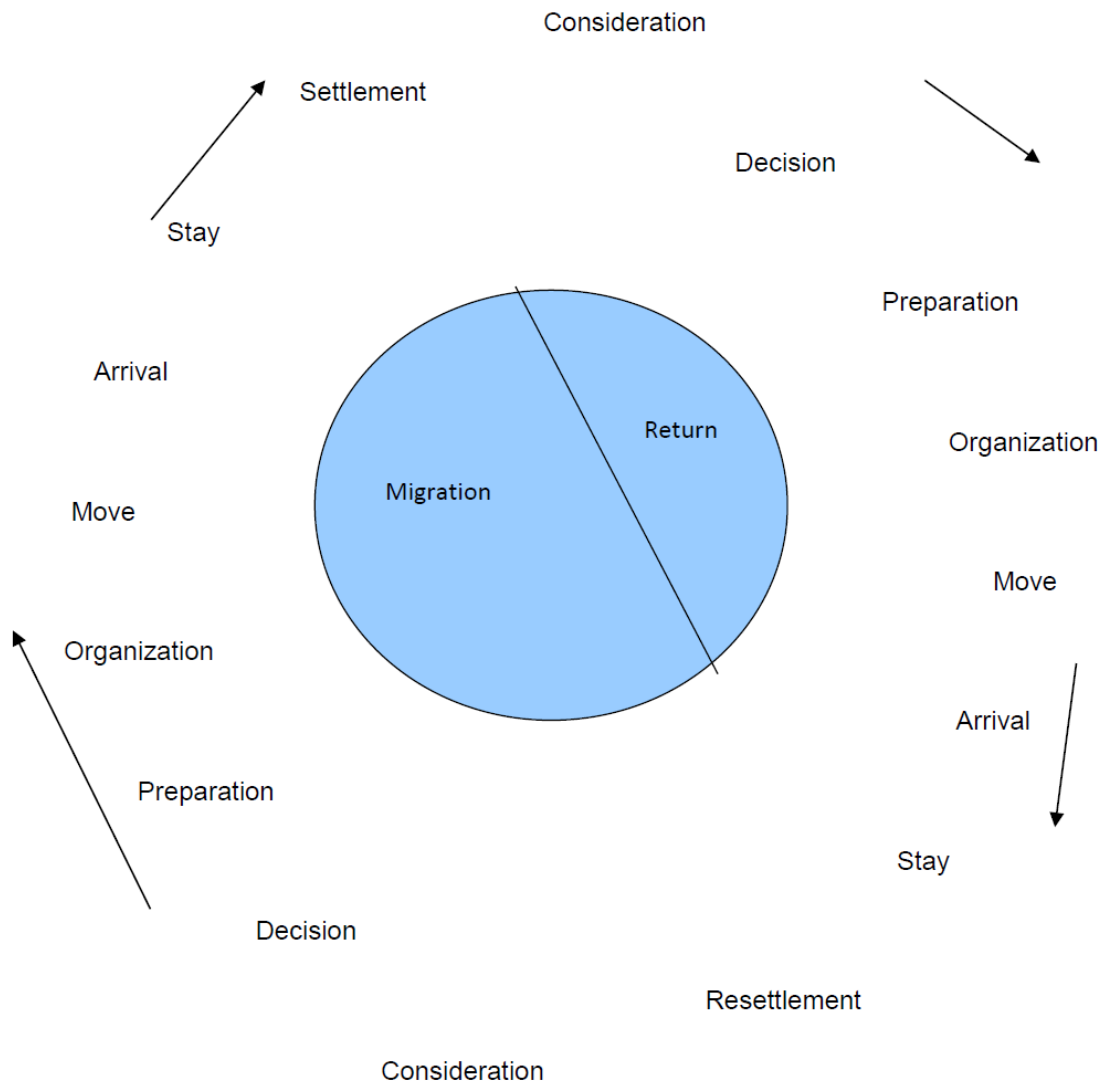
To complete the picture of migration we have seen “all the dimensions and forms” but this categorization still does not complete the picture of migration. Düvall tries to explain what migration exactly means behind the categorizations with his migration trajectory, where he explains that the migration is a process (Düvell, 2006: 13).

2.2.3 Migration's trajectory

We have already said that migration is a phenomenon, a complex term, social appearance, but migration is a process with more phases which completes the picture of migration. Düvell argues that the migration trajectory has eight phases,

which can be repeated or finished with the eighth phase. For better understanding he offers the following scheme (Düvell, 2006:13):

Figure 6. Trajectory of migration by Düvell



*Source: Düvell, 2006:13.

The trajectory of migration starts with the first phase – consideration, after which comes the second phase of taking the decision to move. The third phase is the preparation and after that comes the organization of the migration. With the fifth phase comes the movement and the sixth is the arrival in the target migration place. The next two phases are staying and settlement, where the person decides to stay or

to stop the process and start a new process of returning or a new migration to another destination. If the person decides to start a new process, he/she will continue in the same circle with the same eight phases. This is not the ideal scheme of a migration process just like Düvell also says that the migration circle can be stopped in every phase (Düvell, 2006:14). The migration process can stop in the fourth phase if the person suddenly decides not to move and to stay in the domestic place. Or even in the fifth phase the person can decide not to stay and come back home.

* * *

We already saw that migration is not so easy to describe or even to define. We also mentioned that migration has more dimensions and forms and we saw that migration is a process, which can be a cycle, but not necessarily. After everything we discussed, here we will try to improve one definition of migration which would meet the goals of this study and would help to give the direction of the research using the borders of that improved definition.

Box 1. Definition of Migration

Migration is a process of movement (temporary or permanent) of international highly skilled students from Eastern Europe, who decided individually, collectively or with a third party to move legally or/and voluntary to Western European countries for the purpose of education and/or carrier/work.

2.3 International Students

Nick Clark, Editor of World Education News & Reviews in 2009 published one article about the problem of the definitions of international students (Clark, 2009). This problem is shown by comparison of the statistic data of international students because of different definitions (ibid.). According to UNESCO institute for statistic

(UIS) in the Global Education Digest (2006) *“an internationally mobile student has left his or her country, or territory of origin, and moved to another country or territory with the singular objective of studying”*, where OECD, in its Education at Glance (2006) report supports the definition and makes a distinction between “international students” and “foreign students” (ibid.)

“Adopted in 2006, the OECD and UIS convention is to use the term “international student” when referring to students crossing borders for the specific purpose of studying and the term “foreign student” for non-citizens enrolled at an institution of education outside their home country, but who have not necessarily crossed a border to study (therefore not strictly mobile, and cause for an over-count of actual mobility figures)” (ibid.)

If we look into the online library provided on the webpage of OECD in 2011, they presented one general definition of use for OECD, UNESCO and Eurostat according to which:

*“International students are those who are not –residents of their country of study or those who received their prior education in another country. When data on international students are not available, data on foreign students are used. Foreign students are defined according to their citizenship.”*⁹

Our case study is Austria and during the entire study we will analyze the Austrian situation. Because of this, we will use the official definition for international students according to the Federal Ministry of Science and Research (Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung - BMWF). The Austrian definition for international students (BildungsausländerInnen) defines the international students as:

“Students with foreign school degree authorization or a foreign university degree authorization.” (Zaussinger et al, 2011:8)

The Austrian definition does not make a distinction between foreign students and international students, or like Hackl et al. (2006:14) argues that the term international (“internationale”) and the term foreign (“ausländische”) students is restricted by the term “BildungsausländerInnen” (Educational foreigner) .

⁹ Online source: http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/sti_scoreboard-2011-en/03/05/index.html?contentType=/ns/Chapter/ns/StatisticalPublication&itemId=/content/chapter/sti_scoreboard-2011-26-en&containerItemId=/content/serial/20725345&accessItemIds=&mimeType=text/html

Anyway, we will not go into deep discussion about the Austrian definition, and we will accept this definition as it is.

2.4 Brain Drain/Gain/Waste

For the first time the British Royal Society used the term “brain drain” to describe the outflow of scientists and technologists to the United States and Canada in the 1950s and early 1960s (Cervantes,Guellec:2002).¹⁰

The word brain drain means the flight of human capital, or like Fihel et al. (2007:3) describes it:

“selective migration of well-educated people (typically from less- towards more-developed countries.” (Fihel et al. 2007:3).

In Austria the term brain-drain means “the migration of skilled and highly skilled persons from the development-countries” (Langtahler, 2008:3) and on the other hand brain gain describes the migration in the developed countries. That means that the brain drain and brain gain describe the same migration but from different aspects, the first term occurs more in the sending country and the second in the target country (Fihel et al, 2007:3). A much better explanation explains the gain as domination of positive effects in comparison to the negative effects, where the drain is the opposite or domination of negative effects (Fihel et al., 2007:5).

Cervantes and Guellec (2002) noticed that in the OECD countries the so-called brain circulation appears: *“by temporary flows of advanced students, researchers, managers and IT specialists, suggesting more a pattern of brain circulation than draining of skills from one place to another”*.¹¹

The brain circulation shows the situation when the migrants refuse to return to the domestic country (see more: Spring, 2009:177).

¹⁰See more at:

http://www.oecdobserver.org/news/archivestory.php/aid/673/The_brain_drain:_Old_myths,_new_realities.html#sthash.Bzh9JmLn.dpuf

¹¹ ibid

Another term appears in this context: the so-called “brain waste”. The term brain waste usually indicates that the skilled migrants are employed below their level of qualification (Spring, 2009) or are unemployed in the domestic country (Langtahler, 2008).

2.5 East European Countries

The discussion about the differentiation between East and West European Countries is very complex and still not finished. This complex debate came from different points of view from a split between the east and west countries. The differentiation between east and west has a historical background and in different times the split is different (Miller, 2003). We can differentiate political, geographical, social or even ideological spaces of the split between east and west Europe (ibid.). Like for example in the time of the Cold War it was a separation between the East and West Block¹², where after the fall of the East Block different designations of East Europe, appeared, like East-South Europe, Middle- East Europe, North-East Europe or as well the Baltic (Roth, 1999).

In this chapter we are not going to enter into a bigger discussion of the borders between East and West, we will use the classification of the analysis from Hackl et al. (2006), because the survey will be one of the biggest sources for this study.

According to this survey of Hackl's et al (2006), East Europe is divided into four groups:

Balkan countries: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Croatia, Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro

New EU-Members states: Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary

EU Candidate countries: Romania, Bulgaria

¹²That assignment was more politically than geographically influenced, where German Democratic Republic, Greece or Turkey were on the east. Prague as well belonged to the East and Vienna, which is more geographically on the East belonged to West (see more Roth , 1999).

CIS- Commonwealth of Independent States: Moldavia, Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia.

This classification is not relevant anymore, because some of the countries became members and some became candidate's countries. The survey in this analysis is very important for this study, and because of that reason we will just change the description of the groups so it matches with the current situation. So the countries will stay the same and the description will be like:

1. **Balkan countries**(Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Croatia, Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro)
2. **EU-Member states from 2004** (Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary)
3. **EU-Member States from 2007** (Romania, Bulgaria)
4. **CIS** (Moldavia, Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia)

* * *

We already described the most frequent terms in this study. We focused more on the migration, because there is no officially taken definition of migration which at the same time matches with our study. Because of that, we developed our own definition which answers the needs of this study. After the description of the most frequent words, we will try to develop a theoretical approach/ model which will be able to give the direction of the results which answer the research questions.

The next chapter will discuss the theory of migration as well as the theoretical models of the migration research, which helps us to understand the case study and theoretically to improve the reality of the brain/drain from East Europe in Austria.

Theories for migration: critical review in context of the migration in Austria

During this research we came on the fact that there is no single theory of migration. According to different historical periods developed, the migration process differs. Massey et al.(1998:1-3) points on four different periods of migration. These periods are: the mercantile period (1500-1800) dominated by the migration flows out of Europe and stemming from the process of colonization and economic growth under mercantilist capitalism; the industrial period (starting in 19th century or better 1800-1925) stemming from the economic development of Europe and the spread of industrialism to formal colonies in the New World; the post-industrial migration (during 1960's) dominated by the outflow from Europe to a handful of formal colonies, where migration became a global phenomenon, as the number of both sending and receiving counties increased and the global supply of immigrants shifted from Europe to the developing countries of the Third World; the last period is the 1970s, when long time nations of emigration began to receive immigrants (for example: Spain, Greece, Italy and Portugal) (ibid).

Trying to explain the specific periods of migration, the theories grow in isolation and can be found today separated by disciplinary boundaries (Arango, 2000). One of the first tries to develop a model of migration, "The laws of Migration", appears as a gravity model from Ravenstein (1885 and 1889). This approach can be used only in specific periods and for the specific regions of the world but it cannot explain why migration rates vary with the characteristics of migrants from one country to another (Faist, 2000:48).

In the past 50-60 years the reality of the migration became more complex. The scientists began to question the two pillars on which the earlier models were built (Massey et al, 1998:8). At micro level they questioned the conceptualization of migrants as rational actors responding to economic disparities between the countries and on macro level they questioned the push-pull approach.

3.1. Critics on the earlier models of migration

The neoclassical theory of migration is one of the oldest and best known theories of migration (Massey et al, 1998). This model of migration was developed to explain migration in the process of economic development in the works of Lewis (1954), Harris and Todaro (1970) and Todaro (1976). According to this model, migration is caused by the differences in wage rates between the different countries. The migration is driven by geographical differences in a labor supply and demand and differences between labor-rich and capital-rich countries (Kurekova, 2009:3). Under the assumption of full employment, migration will stop after the wage differences will be eliminated (Massey et al, 1998:19). At the micro level of the neoclassical theory, corresponding to the macro level is the microeconomic model of individual choice, which were developed by Todaro (1969, 1976, 1989). According to this model, the actors are individual rational actors who decide to migrate because of cost-benefit calculations, usually monetary. The international migration is an investment in human capital (Sjaastad, 1962 by Massey et al, 1998). The people will choose to migrate there where they can be most productive.

These models are much criticized, for example the fact that the migrants do not always choose places where the wages are highest. For instance, after the crisis in USA the average wages declined, but the migration in USA expanded (Massey et al. 1998). Another point of criticism is that migration will stop after the wage differences will be equal. Massey et al (1998) argues that after the historical experience, the transnational wage differences rarely disappear. In case they disappear, it is through mechanisms, where the migration is not necessarily the most important. Finally, this theoretical work is trying to explain the potential rather than the actual migratory flows.¹³

In relation to the neoclassical theory emerged a push-pull methodological framework. The push and pull framework was based on neoclassical assumptions and according to this framework, the push factors of the sending country and the pull factors of the receiving country were analyzed. This model was strongly criticized as well, for example Massey et al (1998) did not see a theoretical framework in this model. He said that the international migration is no longer promoted by two equally important

¹³For more see: Massey et al, 1998: 8-12.

forces, but the push factors are now predominant and the pull factors are constant (Massey et al., 1998:14). Or like de Haas explains that push and pull factors are largely a mirror-image of each other and therefore, it is impossible to determinate the dominant factors (de Haas, 2008).

The dissatisfaction about the neoclassical theory and the push-pull model, brings new theoretical perspectives, which will be able to explain the real situation of migration flows (Massey et al., 1998).

3.2. New theories of international migration

The new Economics of Migration

The new economics of migration theory (NEM) came to challenge the assumption of the classical economic theory. The key of this approach is that migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors, but by larger units of people, related as families or households (Massey et al, 1998). Sometimes the people living in a community, in which they act as a collective, do not just maximize the expected income, but also minimize the risks of their life and failures of a variety of markets – labor market, credit market, or insurance market (ibid.). Also the absence of well-functioning capital and credit markets creates a strong pressure for international movement¹⁴. This theory is developed in the works of Stark (1984, 1986, 1988, 1990) and Taylor (1986, 1987)¹⁵.

Historical-Structural Theory and World system theory

The historical-structural theory emerges in the 1950s as a response to the functionalist theories of social change and development. Their argument was that the political power is not equally distributed across the nation and because of that the global capitalism perpetuated inequalities and reinforced a stratified economic order (Massey et al., 1993). The theorist of the historical- structural theory linked the migration to the macro-organization of socio-economic relations, geographic division of labor and the political mechanisms of power and domination (ibid.). They showed also a big fascination of brain drain from “third world countries” to “the first world

¹⁴ More hypotheses by: Massey et al, 1998: 27-28.

¹⁵ The hypotheses of the theory see by: Massey et al, 1993: 439-440

countries”, but the situation changed when they saw that people didn’t want to go back to their home countries¹⁶.

The works of Wallerstein (1974) about the expanding of global capitalism became known as world systems theory. This theory argues that the penetration of capitalist economic relations into non-capitalist or pre-capitalist society creates a mobile population that is prone to migrate (Massey et al, 1998: 36). The foreign investment is a crucial factor for the world system theory (Kurekova, 2010).

Dual labor market theory or segmented market theory

The dual labor market theory argues that international migration stems from the intrinsic labor demand of modern industrial societies (Massey et al., 1993). This theory was developed largely by Piore (1979) and he argues that international migration is caused by a permanent demand for immigrant labor and is inherent to the economic structure of developed nations. According to him, migration is not caused by push, but by pull factors (Massey et al, 1993). According to this theory, the advanced countries create a demand of low-skilled jobs which are not carried out by domestic workers (Kurakova, 2010:5)

Theory of transnational migration and Migration System Theory

The main assumptions of the migration system theory point to social, cultural, economic and institutional conditions of sending and receiving countries and build a developmental space where the migration functions. The migration movements should differentiate according to different migration systems (Düvell, 2006:96). The systems are actually states which are connected during the close economic, historical and cultural connection (Kritz, Zlotnik, 1992:1).

The theory of transnational migration conceptualized the existence of transnational spaces. This theory does not try to explain the causes of migration, but describes a new reality in the modus of migrating and integrating into host societies by proposing an emergence of dense networks across political borders created by the migrants in search of economic and social advancement (Kurekova, 2010:5). The theory of transnational migration was developed with the help of works from Portes (2001) and Faist (2000).

¹⁶For more see: Glaser 1978, Kannappan 1986, Adams 1969.

Social Capital Theory- Network Theory

This theory helps to explain why migration continues even when the wage differentials do not exist anymore. According to this theory, the migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in the origin and destination area through ties of kinship, friendship and sheared community origin (Massey et al, 1993). Massey argues that when the networks are well developed, they put a destination job within, then it is easy to reach most of community members and the emigration becomes reliable and secure source of income (ibid.).¹⁷ This theory has developed with the works of Massey et al. (1987), Taylor (1986, 1987), Mac Donald and Mac Donald (1974).

Institutional Theory

The institutional theory is very similar to the network theory. This theory explains that with the expansion of migration, a lot of private institutions and voluntary organizations developed, which try to satisfy the demand created by the imbalance between the migrants, who would like an entrance in the rich-countries and the limited number of migrant's visas which this counties are offering (Massey et al, 1993).

Cumulative Causation

The theory of cumulative causation argues that international migration tends to sustain itself on the way that makes the additional migration more likely (Massey 1990, Myrdal 1957). The social scientists discuss about eight ways in which migration is affected in this cumulative fashion: Expansion of networks, distribution of income, distribution of land, organization of farm production, culture of migration, distribution of human capital, social meaning of work and the structure of production.¹⁸ This theory was put forth by Myrdal and Massey and they developed it further.

Theory of international politics

For a long time political scientists have been hardly interested in migration research. Most of the migration research was conducted by sociological and economical scientists (Layton-Henry, 1996; Freeman 2000; Hollifield 2000). Until the end of the

¹⁷ See more: Massey et al. 1998:42-45.

¹⁸ See more: Massey et al. 1998: 46-49.

Cold War, the migration policy was seen as “low politics”; only after the Cold War the migration policy was recognized as “high politics”.¹⁹ According to Hollifield (1992: 27-31) we can distinguish five approaches in the theory of international politics: Realism, Marxism, Liberalism, theory of hegemonic stability and liberal paradox. As consequence between the migration politics and the migration behavior of the people, the connection between policy goals and policy outcomes can be investigated (Düvell, 2006: 116). Frequently happens that between this two came to policy gap or even in-intended side-effects (ibid.). For example, when political actors develop instruction, which force migrants to leave the country after a certain period of time, but they refuse to do so and stay in the country, the situation will end up in a policy gap. In this situation the political actors react with restrictive or liberal policies. According to that, in political science two theoretical approaches were developed in the course of / as part of the neo-institutionalism. They try to explain the policies of the political actors and international institutionalism and embedded liberalism (Düvell, 2006). According to the first approach, the domestic policies are influenced by international contracts or obligations. The second approach explains that after domestic discussions the actors introduce/legislate national law borders (ibid.). The national laws of migration politics can be different. According to that, political scientists define migration politics as part of the national identity. Triandafyllidou (2001:81) classifies the domestic politics as following:

Figure 7. Migration policy according to the national identity

National identity				
	Ethnic nations		Civic nations	
			liberal	communitarian republican
Migration policy	Restrictive but selectively liberal on ethnic groups		Principally liberal but selective on economic and political grounds	

*Source: Düvell, 2006:118.

¹⁹ See more at: Cornelius et al. 1994: 7.

The previous paragraphs dialed with theories of migration. Migration research suffers from a number of analytical deficiencies which is criticized broadly (Kurekova: 2010). First, they ignore the immobility and cannot explain the lack of migration. Second, they fail to explain the factors that distinguish migration of the receiving countries and how they, in combination with the factors influencing migration of the sending countries, lead to different migration outputs. Migration theories often don't consider the importance of politics and policies in the sending and the receiving countries. Furthermore migration theories are not able to explain the migration processes over time and, last but not least, very little of the theories testing has been embedded in quality comparative work.

Because of this, the scholars of the migration theories suggest to combine the theoretical approaches (de Haas, 2007). Or like Massey argues, different migration determinants prevail, depending on a country's level of development and the "phase" of country's migration circle (Massey, 1999).

Globalization, especially after the Cold War, involved different forms of social transformation in the development countries. They changed the politics of migration in the developed countries as well. Because of this, we cannot speak about general migration development or general migration's flows. Our case study is to analyze the migration flow of the high-skilled from East Europe to Austria, which makes our study very specific. Our research area is to find out which are the motivations of high-skilled migrants and what does Austria offer them. Because of this need, we developed a specific theoretical model which will support the needs of this study

3.3. Theoretical model of the study

In the introduction of this study it was mentioned that I build a model which combines three level analyses (micro, macro and meso) with the theoretical approaches explained above.

Figure 8. Theoretical model of highly-skilled people's migration in Austria

	Model		
Level	Micro	Macro	Meso
Theory	New economic theory of migration	Theory of international politics	Social Capital Theory or Network Theory
Related question/topic	What caused decision-making? Why Austria?	Which is the country position according to its migration policies? Which are the goals and which are the outcomes? Which were/ are the gaps?	Is there a migration flow of international students in Austria?

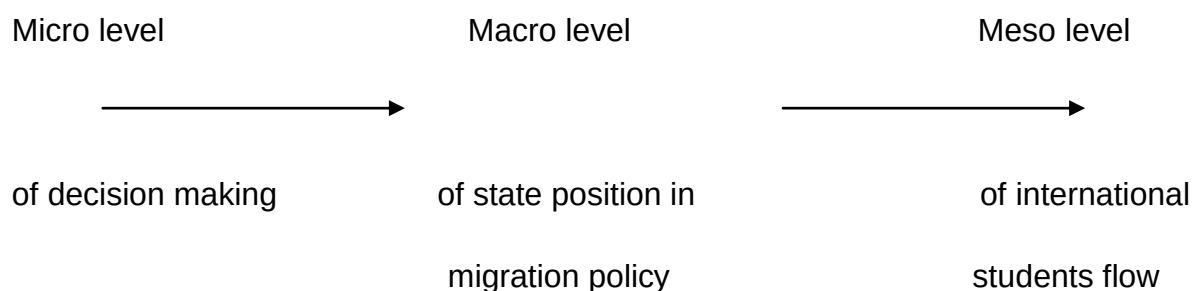
*Source: Author

According to Thomas Faist (2000), there are three levels of migration analysis: micro, macro and meso. The micro level is the individual level which shows the degree of freedom or autonomy of a potential migrant. The political, economic and cultural structures on the level of nation-states, receiving or sending countries constitute the macro level. The combination of the both (micro + macro) forms the meso link, or much better, the set of social and symbolic ties among the migrants and the groups as well the resources inherent to them constitute the meso level.

In this study we will start our analysis at the micro level. Supported by the new economic theory and the survey made from Hackl et al (2006) we will try to answer the question of the motives for the migration, as well like why the students chose Vienna. The trip will continue at the macro level where we will try, according to the theory of international politics, to analyze the Austrian position of the high skilled migration using the implemented policy. At this level we will try to recognize the influence of the EU-policy as well as the influence of the internal groups and actors in the implemented policy. What goals Austria has and which outcomes are probable, with which gaps is Austria faced as well as how Austria solves the gaps will be the biggest issues of the macro level analysis. For that reason we will use the law

guidelines on EU-level as well as in Austria, and include the results of expert interviews which were made for this purpose. The excursion will end on a meso level where the facts and results on micro and macro level will be summarized and compared to other receiving countries in Europe. The network theory should support us with facts and results to argue and enable/facilitate answering the research question. The trip of the methodological movement to the answers of the research questions is subscribed with the help of figure 8.

Figure 9. Methodological Trip of the study



*Source: Author

* * *

In this chapter we explained the existing migration theories and we saw the problems with which they are confronted. Because of the deficit of one general migration theory which can explain the migration flow of international students, we developed a methodological model which makes a combination of three migration theories stratified on three levels. The three levels are in a gradual movement making the trajectory of the analysis.

Before we start with the presentation and argumentation of the results, we will summarize the history of migration in Austria, to get a better overview about facts and results.

History of migration in Austria

Box 2. Wolfgang Schmeltzl, a poem of Vienna

„Da wird gehört manch Sprach und Zung, Ich dacht ich wär gen Bablkhumen[gekommen], Wo alle Sprach ein Anfang gnomen[genommen], Und hört ein seltsamsDräsch und Gschray[Geschrei] Von schönen Sprachen mancherlay. Hebreisch, Griechisch und Lateinisch, Teutsch, Frantzösisch, Türkisch, Spanisch, Behaimisch, Windisch, Italianisch, Hungarisch, guet Niederländisch, Naturlich Syrisch, Crabatish, Rätzisch[Serbisch], Polnisch und Chaldeisch.“(Wolfgang Schmeltzl, Ein Lobspruch der hochlöblichen weltberühmten königlichen Stadt Wien in Österreich... 1548, By: Wolfgang Schmeltzl, Der Wiener Hans Sachs, 1914, in Bauer, 2008:3).

In the 16th century Wolfgang Schmeltzl has described Vienna as a multilingual city (Bauer, 2008:3). In this poem the poet compares Vienna because of its language tangle with the bible Babel. This indication shows us that in Vienna and with it in Austria, a lot of ethnic groups existed for a long time. The same is true for migration to Vienna in the 18th and 19th century, where a lot of migrants came from the region of nowadays Germany, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Serbia, Italy and Hungary but also from the regions: Bohemia and Moravia and as well Galicia and Bukovina, which represented in that time the main sending regions of migrants in Austria(Bauer, 2008). Vienna was in that time the center of the Hapsburg's Kingdom, and with it makes Vienna a favorable destination for migrants (Ibid). In 1880 two thirds of Vienna's population was ascribed to migration's flows (ibid.). Also Hintermann (2000) describes Vienna in that time together with Berlin as the most favorite cities in continental Europe during that time. But during the Hapsburg monarchy the Austrian society/policy was not very friendly to migrants. The foreigners – “Ausländer” – were underprivileged according to the domestic law, as it is the case with the present day's foreigners law (Bauer, 2008: 4). The violent assimilation policy of the mayor Karl Lueger affected migrants from Bohemia and Moravia. It is one part of Vienna's migration history, where the price for good integration was not only the assimilation, in the meaning of adaptation of the main culture, but also dissimilation, where

migrants had to disown their origin (John / Lichtblau, 1992 and Fassmann; Münz, 1995).

Although the first migration flows emerged before the 16th century, a lot of authors connect the Austrian migration history with the first large refugee flows from East Europe after the Second World War and the big demand of working forces (Stadler / Wiederhofer-Galik: 2011; Bauer: 2008; Trummer / Pammer: 2010; Kratzmann et al: 2011).

Austria was a sending country of migrants for a long time, but after the Second World War the situation changed (Stadler / Wiederhofer-Galik: 2011; Bauer: 2008; Trummer / Pammer: 2010; Kratzmann et al: 2011; Massey et al, 1998; Unger / Worblewski: 2007). How did Austria transform itself from sending to a receiving country? How did the migration history in Austria develop? How did the migration policy in Austria develop? These questions are the main ones which will be answered in this chapter. According to the migration history of Austria after World War II, we can notice a couple of different periods with specific circumstances. Because of this, we will differentiate between five gradual periods in the Austrian migration history. The periods are the following:

1. The beginning of the 1950s until the middle of the 1970s – first refugee flows and the demand of working forces
2. The middle of the 1970s until the beginning of the 1980s – first big limitations and restrictive policy (alien employment law - “Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz”)
3. The 1980s and beginning of the 1990s – second flow of refugees from East Europe (decay of the Soviet Block), flow of refugees from former Yugoslavia (decay of Yugoslavia) and foreigners act (“Fremdenpolizeigesetz”)
4. The 1990s – second flow of restrictive policy and limitations (new foreigners act, residence act – “Aufenthaltsgesetz”, anti-foreigners petition, Integration package- “Integrationspaket”)
5. From 2000 until now – new agreements and EU-influence (revision of Foreigner labor Act- “Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz” and Foreigners Act- “Fremdengesetz”, Integration Agreement- “Ausländerpaket 2002”, Red-White-Red Card and Blue Card EU – “Rot-Weiß-Rot Karte” /

“Blaue Karte EU”).

4.1. First period: working force demand and “Gastarbeiter System”

After World War II Austria was the most important transit-country for refugees from East Europe (Bauer, 2008). Between 1945 and 1950 almost 460,000 ethnic Germans and other refugees, displaced from East Europe, were living in Austria (Fassman/Münz, 1994: 151-152). But also after the suppression of the Hungarian uprising in 1956/57 and the end of the “Prague Spring” in 1968 more than 300,000 refugees came to Austria (Bauer, 2008:5). Most of these refugees were using Austria only as a corridor for migrating to traditional receiving migrant’s countries like USA, Canada and Australia (ibid).

In the middle of the 1950s Austria’s economy grew well and the need of working forces was high (Matuschek 1985: 159). The Austrian occupation after The World War II ended with the “Staatsvertrag” on 15.05.1955 and Austria proclaimed its military neutrality. The next step of Austrian policy makers was the implementation of the “Swedish Model” within the economy, which soon put Austria on a path to economic prosperity and political stability (Wodak/Krzyzanowski, 2009: 35). Also During the war a lot of Austrians migrated to the traditional migration countries like the USA and Canada, which was another reason for a raised demand of labor forces in Austria.. Using the example of the German rotation model, in 1961 there was an agreement called “Raab-Olah-Contract” between the president of the Federal Economic Chamber and the president of labor union, (Bauer, 2008:5). With this bilateral agreement, a specific number of working forces with temporary permission was allowed to work (Kratzmann et al, 2011:27). The first bilateral agreement was made with Spain in 1962, but without success (Bauer, 2008:5). Agreements with Turkey followed in 1963 and in 1969 (additionally the social agreement) and in 1966 with Yugoslavia (ibid.). The idea of this model was, to legalize the residence of potential employees with the help of so-called Tourist Visa. After their arrival employees got working permissions to work legally during their residence (Gächter, 2004:37). The principle of the “Gastarbeiter” system was based on the rotation of temporary working foreigners, and that means that the migrants (most of them men, without their families) should work as short as possible and return to their native

country in order to be supplanted by other working migrants (Kratzmann et al, 2011; Bauer, 2008; Stadle/ Wiederhofer-Galik, 2011; Trummer/Pammer, 2010; Hintermann, 2000). As a consequence of this policy, between 1961 and 1974 around 265,000 people migrated to Austria (Bauer, 2008:5). In 1973 around 78.5% of the migrants were from Yugoslavia and 11.8% from Turkey (ibid.).

The “Gastarbeiter” system did not work as planned. Only the men should migrate and it was like that at the beginning, but after a certain time they were accompanied by their families (Kratzmann et al, 2011; Bauer, 2008; Stadle/ Wiederhofer-Galik, 2011; Trummer/Pammer, 2010; Hintermann, 2000). So, in 1971 the rate of migrating women was 39% and that of the children almost 15% (Bauer, 2008:6).

4.2. Second period: “We were calling for a working force, but people are coming”²⁰

Not only women and the children of the workers came, but the migrants were also staying longer than expected (Kratzmann et al, 2011: 28). Like additional problematic for the labor in that time was the Oil Crisis in 1974, where a lot of Austrians, which were abroad, came back to Austria (Kratzmann et al, 2011; Bauer, 2008; Stadle/ Wiederhofer-Galik, 2011; Trummer/Pammer, 2010; Hintermann, 2000). That made the concurrence on the labor market very high and forced the politicians to change the migration policy and to relieve the labor market. Because of that, the alien employment law (Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz) came in force in 1975. This law favoured the employment of Austrian workers in contrast to the foreign workers, and the number of foreigners should have been reduced (Bauer, 2008). After 1975 the “Gastarbeiter” system was no longer applied, and the foreigners could get an unlimited permission to stay after eight years employment (ibid). This has one unexpected side effect. Between 1974 and 1984 the employment of the migrants dropped by almost 40%, but there were a lot of migrants, who didn’t return to their home country and stayed obviously longer (Münz et al, 2003:23). Therefore the number of the stayers and returners was compensated, which means the number of

²⁰ This aphorism came from Max Frisch, a Swiss writer. The original version is: “Wir riefen Arbeitskräfte und es kamen Menschen”. He meant that the people who came brought their personality with them (like culture), they were not just working force in the capitalist meaning (see more by: Razum et al in Schott/Hornberg, 2011:555-557).

the migrants stayed constant (ibid.). The stayers didn't want to return to their home countries because with it they were risking to lose the access to Austria. For this reason they took their families with them. This side effect increased the women and children quota from 39% in 1971 to 44.4% in 1981 and of the children from 14.8% to 22.5%, respectively. (Bauer, 2008:6). The new migrant situation in Austria was faced with another new problem, which stayed until nowadays and it is – the integration.

4.3. Third period: New phase of refugees from East European countries

In 1980, similar to the “Prague Spring” in 1968, around 120,000- 150,000 refugees from Poland migrated to Austria, where only small part – 33,000 of them – looked forward for an asylum application.²¹

The end of 1980s brought another flow of migrants as a downside of an escalation from the Soviet Block, the revolution in Romania, the disintegration and wars in Yugoslavia. These flows of refugees changed the picture of the migration population in Austria. In 1981 there were 291,000 foreigners in comparison to 7,555,000 Austrians, where in 1991 the number increased to 518,000 foreigners compared to 7,796,000 Austrians²² and in 1993 the number of the migrants increased to 690,000 (Bauer, 2008:7).

Maria Sedlak summarizes the situation as follows:

“Foreigners were no longer welcome after 1989, visa requirements were introduced e.g. for Bulgarians, the Turkish, and Romanians and since 1990 the Austrian border has been controlled by the Austrian military forces in order to prevent illegal immigration” (Sedlak, 2000:107).

This high numbers and the fear of illegal migration influenced the Austrian politicians to bring new restrictive policy, which brings us to the next period of the Austrian migration history.

²¹Neuere österreichische Migrationsgeschichte, medienservicestelle, 25.05.2011

²²Ibid.

4.4. Fourth period: new migration picture - new limitations/new laws

As an answer to the new situation in 1990, the coalition of the government parties SPÖ²³ and ÖVP²⁴ introduced annual quota for the foreigners working forces (Bundeshöchstzahl – Federal Highest Number), which defined the maximal share of the employed migrants from all the employment potential (Bauer, 2008:8). This annual quota was fluctuating between 8 and 10% from the whole employment potential (ibid.). As a next step in 1992/93 a new quota system was introduced, instead of the “Gastarbeiter” system (Bauer, 2008:8; Kratzmann et al, 2011:29). This system was introduced with the Foreigners Act and the Residence Act. According to this system the Federal Ministry of the Interior would issue a decree of permission for special groups of migrants (Kratzmann et al, 2011:29). The main goals and changes of these agreements will be analyzed in detail in chapter 6.

The 90s brought a rich history in Austria. In 1993 FPÖ²⁵ organized an anti-foreigner’s petition with 416,531 signatures and after this the so-called “Lichtermeer” was organized, where 250,000 people demonstrated against the hostility of the foreigners²⁶.

In 1995 Austria became a member of the European Union which led to an equation of regulations for the employment permissions and the residence permissions of the migrants according to the EU – regulations (Kratzmann et al, 2011).

So came the new foreigner agreement in force in 1997, where integration of the new immigrants (?) was the main characteristic (Kratzmann et al, 2011: 29). With this act, a differentiation between the temporary and permanent residence permission was made. The annual quota stayed but for the temporary permission there were no maximal limitations (ibid.). This agreement will be analyzed in detail in chapter 6.

²³ Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs – Social Democratic Party of Austria

²⁴ Österreichische Volkspartei – Austrian People’s Party

²⁵ Freiheitlichen Partei Österreichs – Freedom Party of Austria

²⁶ Neuere österreichische Migrationsgeschichte, medienservicestelle, 25.05.2011

4.5. Fifth period: reinforced integration and Brain Gain

In 2002, a combined revision of the Foreigners Act (Fremdengesetz), Foreign Labor Act (Auslandsbeschäftigungsgesetz) and the Asylum Act (Asylgesetz) was debated and eventually passed on initiative from the ÖVP-FPÖ government (Krzyzanowski/Wodak, 2009: 44). The revision of these laws was named "Integration Agreement" (Integrationsvereinbarung IV), in which Krzyzanowski/Wodak (2009) observed an assimilatory character (ibid.). The main goals in this agreement are: obligatory German courses, own quota for high skilled migrants, the low-skilled migrants were restricted on season migrants, etc. (for more details see chapter 6).

In 2004 was the big EU- Enlargement of the ten new EU-member states, where seven of them were from the former East Bloc and one from the former Yugoslavia. Austria was not any more part of the EU border. To protect Austria's labor market, domestic restrictive regulations for the new EU-member states were implemented, where the labor market for the new members was closed for seven years²⁷.

On 1st January 2006 the new "Foreign Nationals Legislative Package" (Fremdenrechtspaket) came into force. With this new package the new Asylum Act, the Alien Police Act, the Residence Act (Asylgesetz, Fremdenpolizeigesetz, Aufenthaltsgesetz) and in combination with the Foreign Labor Act (Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz von 1975) a highly complex and non-transparent system was introduced (Krzyzanowski/Wodak, 2009:46). The main contents of this package were: the German mandatory course increased from 100 to 300 hours, the asylum seekers must have traumatic experiences and delinquent children and adolescents with immigrant backgrounds can be deported to their "home country"²⁸.

At last, a completely new system came into force on 1st July 2011. Instead of the existing quota system, a point system was established, following the example of the Canadian Point System²⁹. This new system was named Red-White-Red Card - RWR Card (Rot-Weiß-Rot Karte). At the same time, the Blue Card was implemented, which configured as EU obligation, but by the Blue Card stayed the quota system. The

²⁷Neuere österreichische Migrationsgeschichte, medienservicestelle, 25.05.2011

²⁸ See more in chapter 6

²⁹ Because of limited information about the origin of the idea of the point system in Austria, we did expert interviews for the purpose of this study. According to the results of these interviews, the idea for the point system came from Canada. For more see chapter 6.

RWR Card emerged as more attractive and with it made the Blue Card less important and interesting for the migrants. The main goals of both cards are to attract the high-skilled migrants. In chapter 6 we will pay more attention to them.

* * *

After all explained in the previous text, now we are going to summarize the main migration moments in the Austrian history of migration, which are crucial for our analyze.

The poet Schmelztzl described the society of Vienna in the 16th century as a multiethnic land Karl Lueger emerged with his assimilatory policy in 19th century (Bauer, 2008) most of the scientists locate the beginning of the migration history in Austria in the middle of the 20th century, more precisely in the 1960s. During that time Austria has transformed from a migrants-sending country to a migrants-receiving country.

If we look at all three periods of the migration history in Austria, we can notice that since the 70s Austria is playing in continuum very defensively and is carefully choosing the migration policies.

Austria is a small country in comparison to other European countries and has also a small market. Since Austria implemented the liberal market model, it is trying to protect the market from very big competition. This reason motivated Austria to very carefully and defensively reactions, also with the migration policies, where the positive impacts are welcomed and the negative incomes are undesirable.

The strategy of the Austrian migration policies will be analyzed later in chapter 6. First we will take the motives of the migrants for their movement to Austria into consideration, so we can understand the reaction of the Austrian actors on the migration`s flow better.

Analysis

Motives for migration to Austria

The question, why people migrate, is not easy to answer. Migration can be motivated by economic, social, political, demographical or other reasons. In this section we are not going to investigate what the reasons for migration to Austria are; instead we are going to use the results from a research project commissioned by the Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, Science and Culture named “Die Attraktivität österreichischer Universitäten für Studierende aus Mittel-, Südost- und Osteuropa”³⁰ to answer the question. This study was published in September 2006 and made by Dr. E. Hackl and Dr. R.S. Redent

This study was chosen because it covers the answer of the research question of this chapter and considers the target group of our study as well as the subject of this research. The study is also the only suitable one existing at this moment and at the same time is compatible with our topic. Furthermore it is the only one which is so extensive. There are also other studies on the target topic but they are less extensive, which means that the chosen study can give better and complete answers to our questions.

5.1. Introduction to the study

After the transition and the wars in the middle Europe (ME), east Europe (EE) and south-east Europe (SEE) the number of the international students from these countries increased rapidly in Austria (Hackl et al, 2006:5). This was the main motivation for the research project and its goal was to answer the following research questions: (1) Why did the students from ME, SEE and EE choose Austria as a target country for migration, (2) how is migration in their cultural anchoring positioned, (3) how do they finance their studies and (4) what are their plans for the future, after the graduation (ibid.).

Because of the reason that 70% of all the students from ME, SEE and EE study in Vienna (Hackl et al, 2006:6), this study focused on Vienna as a research area. To

³⁰ The attractiveness of the Austrian universities for the students from Middle, South-East and East Europe

answer the needs of the research project a survey was accomplished. All in all, 277 questionnaires were distributed, 240 of them at universities in Vienna (University of Medicine, Technical University, University of Vienna and University of Economy), 25 were handed out to personal contacts of the author and 16 were distributed at the German Prepare Programs³¹. From all 277 distributed questionnaires 93 were returned which makes 33.5% from all distributed questionnaires. This 33.5% are used in the study.

Figure 10. Distributed and Returned Questionnaires

	Distributed questionnaires in absolute numbers	Returned questionnaires in absolute numbers	Distributed questionnaires as a percent from all questionnaires	Returned questionnaires as a percent from all questionnaires
Personal	25	25	9,0%	26,8%
Prepare Programs	16	16	5,7%	17,2%
University of Vienna	87	21	31,4%	22,5%
University of Economy	70	13	25,2%	13,9%
University of Medicine	46	12	16,6%	12,9%
Technical University	33	6	11,9%	6,5%

*Source: Hackl et al, 2006: 35

Figure 10 shows the distribution and return of the questionnaires. The representativeness of the returned questionnaires was verified under three criteria: a) distribution in the groups of countries; b) gender distribution and c) field of study. a) We already stated the groups of the countries in chapter 2 and there we argued that

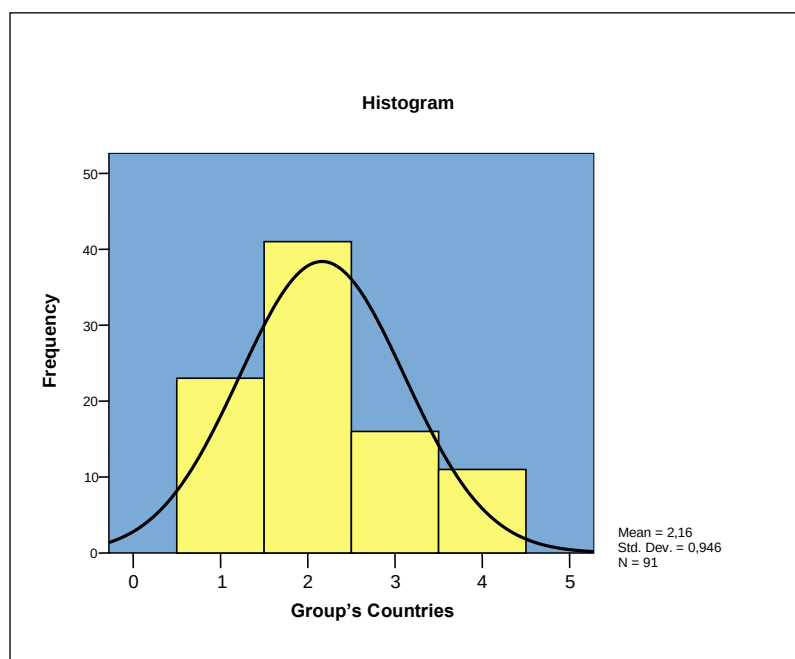
³¹Vorstudienlehrgänge

the names of the groups will be changed because they do not respond to today's situation. So, the groups are:

1. **Balkan countries** (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Croatia, Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro)
2. **EU-Member states from 2004** (Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary)
3. **EU-Member States from 2007** (Romania, Bulgaria)
4. **CIS** (Moldavia, Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia)

The figure down shows the percent of the declined questionnaires in the focus groups, where most of the returned questionnaires came from the second group (EU member states from 2004) or 44,6%, second are the Balkan countries with 25%, third are Romania and Bulgaria with 17,4% and CIS countries with 12%.

Figure 11. Returned Questionnaires in group's countries



*Source: Hackl et al, 2006:36

Ad b) The second criterion was the gender where 38% were male and 62% were female, and the average age of the students was to 24.73 years

Ad c) The third criterion was the discipline, where the distribution of the declined questionnaires in looks as follows: Economic science- 25%; Law Science- 6,5%; Medicine- 15,2%; Political science 17,4%; Translators- 2,2%; Ukraine Studies- 1,1% and Slavic Science as well 1.1%.

We have to notice here that a big part from the distributed questionnaires was at the Institute of Political Science and that's why a high percentage over the average one emerges at political science. Also, it is important here that a small part of the students choose the native language as a study subject (Hackl et al, 2006: 37). So, as we can see, most of the students study economic science or medicine.

5.2. Results of the survey linked to micro analyse

The main issues in terms of our analysis of micro-level have emerged regarding the main motivations of international students and the reasons for choosing Vienna as a destination. Therefore in this section we will try to find answers regarding to them in already above mentioned study.

5.2.1. Motives for studying in Austria

Most of the students surveyed in the study (Hackl et al, 2006) or better 84.8%, have no Austrian maturation. Those who have no Austrian maturation have already graduated in their domestic countries and continue their studies in Vienna or they have started in their domestic countries and continue studying in Vienna.

Figure 12. Studying in domestic country and graduated in domestic country³²

	1. Member states from 2004	2. Balkan countries	3. Member states from 2006	4. CIS
Study in the domestic country	39,0%	56,0%	62,5%	72,7%
Graduated in the domestic country	37,5%	30,7%	50,0%	62,5%

*Source: Hackl et al, 2006:45

Here it is also very important to notice that from all surveyed students 12% enrolled at doctorate studies in Vienna and 76,1% enrolled at graduate studies, where some of the surveyed students were on language prepare programs.

The results in figure 14 indicate that almost 60% of the students from the member states from 2006 have started their studies in Vienna³³ and 2/3 of the students from CIS states started their studies in their domestic countries, where almost 63% from them graduated in their domestic countries. Hackl et al argues that the explanation for that are easier entry conditions for the member states from 2006 with their entry in the EU and earlier university boarding of the students from CIS³⁴ (Hackl et al, 2006:45).

But which are the main motivations for enrolling in studies at the Vienna universities?

According to the results from the study of Hackl et al (2006) emerged the language skills and better market chance with the Austrian graduation. From all the students, 77,2% answered that the development of the language skills was the main motive for the decision of studying in Vienna (Hackl et al, 2006:46). One other study with similar subject (Reinprecht/Polak, 2012)³⁵ showed the same results, or according to

³² To enroll at an Austrian university, you have to have a confirmation of enrolled studies at the domestic country (see more in chapter 6 and chapter 7).

³³ Hackl et al (2006:45) argues that the biggest part of the students or 73,1% enrolled before 2004 in Vienna.

³⁴ The students from CIS can start their studies with 17 years (Hackl et al, 2006:45).

³⁵ The results were presented on the 50th anniversary of VWU(Vorstudienlehrgang der Wiener Universitäten- German Prepare Program at the Vienna Universities) and the topic of the research was named: "Internationale Studierende an Österreichs Universitäten" – International Students on the Austrian Universities. The Presentation was on 22-23.11.2012 in Vienna.

this study 76% of the international students are seeing in the language skills the main motive for the migration.

According to the results from Hackl et al (2006: 49) regarding the second motive – market chance, 26% of the students are sure that they will have better chances and 31,5% are seeing a good chances.

These results are showing that the most of the students are coming in Vienna with the expectation of better language skills. It looks like the results of the first motive are connected with the second motive – the market chance. The entry on the global market for young people is easier if they can speak two or more languages. Studying on foreign language improved faster the field knowledge on a foreign language than the best language course. From one side the language – field - skills can bring better chances on the domestic market (the sending country) and from the other side that can bring better chances also on the market of the destination country, because they have the field knowledge on the mother language, which makes them more compatible on the market.

Figure 13. Better market chance in the domestic country after graduation in a foreign country

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Valid	completely	24	26.1	28.6
	In a big part	29	31.5	63.1
	In a small part	23	25.0	90.5
	Not at all	8	8.7	100.0
	Total	84	91,3	
Missing	No answer	8	8.7	
Total		92	100.0	

*Source: Hackl et al, 2006:49

We took a closer look at Hackl's results and we found one interesting fact and that there were no differences between the groups of the target countries, but there were

big differences between the males and the females. 47.1% of the males see big chances on the domestic market where only 26% of the females see big chances at the domestic market after graduation in a foreign country. “Why do female students have less trust in the domestic market than the male ones?”(Hackl et al, 2006: 50) is the unanswered question of the researchers. We need to notice here also that most of the interviewed students in the study from Hackl et al (2006) are females. This doesn't mean that the females are less sure in themselves, but the problem is more complex.

Maybe we can find the answer to this question within feminist research. In the socialism, even if the females were emancipated, they were always absent and the males dominated (Drakulic, 1996). The females could work, but they needed to be housewives as well, where the chances of career making were minimal. After the decay of the socialism came the nationalist discourses and with it the demographic policies, which made the females less integrated on the market. This phenomenon was already discussed by several researchers (e.g.: Davis et al.,2006;Atkinson et al.,1977;Drakulic, 1996; Todorova, 1997;Drezgic and Zarkov,2006). If we take this phenomenon into consideration and connect it with the results, one could conclude that the females see more freedom and perspectives on the West European market than on the domestic market. But answering this question is not the aim of our research and needs to be discussed more in detail, and should be subject of further research.

We saw that the main motives were the language skills and better market chances. We saw also that there is no difference in the motivations of the students in regions but there is a gender difference in the understandings of the market chances. Our micro analyse is not finished here, we need also the answer on the question of the destination, or more precisely: Why Vienna?

5.2.2. Vienna as a migrant's destination and the Universities of Vienna

The next focus of the research on micro level is why the students chose Vienna as a destination country for the migration. The study of Hackl et al (2006) showed that most of the students chose Vienna, because of three main reasons: existing

networks- relatives and friends, popularity of Vienna universities and geographical proximity.

According to the results of Hackl et al (2006) 40% of the students express them self that the existing friends in Vienna made a big role in their decision to choose Vienna, for 27,2% of the students were the relatives the main factor for the decision and for 40% of the relatives played a big role in their decision. These results are fact that the students already had built networks, which emerged as main factor for the decision of Vienna as a migration destination for the most of the students. The existing networks are for expecting if we see the Austrian migration history in the last 40 years (see chapter 4).

The reputation of the Vienna universities emerged as one of the main factors for the decision of the migration. According to Hackl et al (2006: 55) 52,2% of the students are on the opinion that Vienna universities have a good reputation. In 2012 the study of Reinprecht/Polak showed that even 85% of the students are on the opinion that Vienna universities have a good reputation. These results are a big surprising. If we take a look in the world universities ranking³⁶, the best ranking place take Vienna University and that 158 place. The best ranking place (87) in the last years emerged in 2007³⁷. That means that Vienna University as a best ranking Vienna university drop on 158 place but the results of Reinprecht/Polak are showing that the international students are seeing a good reputation. This fact can been seen from two sides, it can be that the rankings are too subjective and are not showing the real situation, or the Vienna universities are very popular in the region which can be connected with the existing networks of relatives and friends.

The last and maybe less important factor was the geographical proximity. According to Hackl et al (2006) 21% of the students from the EU Member States from 2004 was the geographical proximity an important factor for the decision of migration. Similar results were seen also by the students from the Balkan countries and Bulgaria and Romania, where for CIS countries is obviously not a big factor.

From the results we saw that the networks, Vienna universities reputation and the geographical proximity are the main factors in the decision of the destination. With

³⁶ See for more: <http://www.topuniversities.com/qs-world-university-rankings>

³⁷ ibid

these results we answered the question on the micro level. But the results of the study of Hackl et al (2006) showed some issues and additional information of the international students. These results we will try to present in short in the next subchapter, which will give a short introduction for the next level of the research.

5.2.3. Issues of the students: Integration and networks

The research of Hackl et al (2006) showed very interesting results about the international students in Vienna. The results showed that the students have big integration problems. Even if the international students would like to be in contact with Austrians, it seems to be very hard. Only one third of the international students are spending their free time with Austrians.

Figure 14. It is easy as a foreigner to get in contact with Austrians

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Valid	agree	4	4,3	4,7
	Tend to agree	23	25,0	31,4
	Tend not to agree	39	42,4	76,7
	Not agree	20	21,7	100,0
	Total	86	93,5	

*Source: Hackl et al, 2006:74

Most of the students are staying in the existing networks of friends and relatives and have a problem to build new networks with the Austrians. The results showed that the international students have a very low level of integration. Interesting is but that even if 60% of the students said that it is not so easy to be in contact with the Austrians more than a half of the students like the Austrian mentality. These results are improving the fact that the students would like to integrate in the society but they have problems with it. Why the students have this problem? This question will be answered on the macro level.

Another interesting result is founding. Almost three thirds of the students are sponsored by their families. These results are not surprising if we look at the fact that there are only a couple of scholarships available for these students in Austria. Anyway, the result that one third of the students fund their studies to a large extend from student's jobs, was surprising. It is surprising because of the fact that Austria has one of the most restrictive alien employment policies (Hackl et al, 2006). The second issue for the students is with it the market entry for international students. In this part it seem like Austria has one of the most restrictive alien employment policy (see for more chapter 6).

The next interesting results also for our study are the future plans of the international students.

Figure 15. Mobility decision according to the countries group

	Stay in Austria	Return to origin country	Movement to other country	If yes, which?
Balkan	61 %	28,6 %	22,7 %	USA,GB, CAN,E
CIS	80 %	11,1 %	27,3 %	D,CH,E
Member states from 2004	61,1%	26,4 %	22,2 %	GB,NL
Member states from 2006	64,3%	20 %	21,4 %	ITA,D,USA, Israel

*Source: Hackl et al, 2006:91.

Most of the students would like to stay in Austria, but almost one fourth would like to move to another country. The most often chosen countries for further movement are: USA, Canada, Germany and Great Britain. These countries are at the moment the most favourable destination countries for the international students. Why one fourth of the students would like to migrate further to this destinations and what it is that Austria cannot offer but other countries do, will be further analysed in chapter 7. But from the results we can notice also that almost 70% of the students would like to stay in Austria. How Austria influenced their decision to stay in the country and which factors are relevant will be analysed in chapter 6.

* * *

Generally as we can see, most of the students choose Austria as destination because they already have networks in Austria. Most of the students have families, relatives and friends in Austria which influenced their decision. This corresponds to the new economics theory of migration, which says that the migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors, but by larger units of related people (families or households, but also communities) (Massey et al, 1993:21).

The main motivations for migration of the students were better language skills, better market chances and new networks. The new economics theory gives not the best answers on these results. According to the theory migration it is not about maximizing the expected incomes, but also about minimizing the risks and loosening constraints associated with various kinds of market failures (ibid). It is true that the students are not motivated by incomes but more by the secure and better future. But the theory is too general to answer questions related to the real situation in Austria, first because we take only students into consideration and second because Austria as a target country presents a specific case, because of several reasons: geographical position, known universities and short migration history as a receiving country.

Because of this reason we decided to combine the other two theories (Theory of international politics and the network theory), so we can establish framework conditions which will be compatible on the real situation.

Brain gain policy in Austria

In the last ten years brain gain became a very popular topic in all media, public discussions or even in the scientific articles and books in Austria. We saw before that migration of the highly skilled in Austria increases more and more every year, especially that of the students. As migration increased, the discussions became more intensive. These increased intensity of the discussions had an influence on the Austrian migration policies as well. The Austrian policies were changed substantially in the last 20 years.

In chapter 4 we saw the history of the Austrian migration, but in this chapter we will try to value that development and to research the reasons for those changes. We also saw in the previous chapter that almost 70% of the students would like to stay in Austria after their graduation. Is this fact connected to the potential of Austria to be a favorable destination for international students? What does Austria offer for the international students and how is Austria trying to influence the international students? Is Austria really trying to influence the international students to become a desired migration destination for international students? Is Austria really looking for brain gain? All these questions will be a subject in this chapter.

We will try to explain the steps of the Austrian migration policy according to the brain gain, using the theory of international politics in the context of migration policies. We will analyse the Austrian policy through one empirical review of the policies development and with it we will distinguish the character of the Austrian politics in the target subject.

For the purpose of this study, we accomplished three expert interviews whose results will help us to evaluate the Austrian alien policy and to understand the awareness of the brain gain in the Austrian society and policies. We must notice here that the main motive for the expert interviews was the implementation of the new Red-White-Red (RWR) System. The survey in the chapter 5 was made in 2006 and the results do not include the effects of the new policies that came with the new RWR system which was established in 2011. We still don't have the indicators which will measure the

outputs and the perception of the RWR System. That is the reason why we will use the knowledge of the experts so we can measure the outputs of the new migration system in Austria.

The experts we chose are introduced in box 3.

Box 3. Introduction of the experts from the expert interviews³⁸

Peter Marhold³⁹ is the chairman of a national association– office for integration and anti-racist projects ‘Helping Hands’. The goal of his organization is to support the foreigners, migrants and minorities in the integration and a non-discriminatory life in Austria. They also offer individual consultations and advices for processes in which the migrants come across Austrian authorities. He has a doctorate in law sciences.

Norbert Bichl⁴⁰ is a qualified social worker and is currently working in the advisory centre for migrants (Beratungszentrum für Migranten und Migrantinnen) at the Department for migrants with foreign qualifications. He is also co-author of the book "The new law of the labour migration" („Das neue Recht der Arbeitsmigration“).

Margit Kreuzhuber⁴¹ is officer at the Department of Social Policy and Health in the Economic Chamber Austria (Wirtschaftskammer Österreich), and deals with the themes of integration and migration. She is a jurist and economist with a main focus on international business. She is also co-author of the book "The labour migration" (Arbeitsmigration).

The first question to all the experts was: “When did the brain gain discussion start?” All the experts gave a different answer. P. Marhold was of the opinion that the discussion came for the first time in 2002 when the term key-workers

³⁸ The whole interviews of the experts can be found on the end of the study as appendix.

³⁹ The interview with P. Marhold was carried out on 07.06.2013 for the purpose of this study. He brings one legal perspective in the valuation of the Austrian migration policy system. His experience as a legal scholar adds a new dimension to the study.

⁴⁰ The interview with N. Bichl was carried out on 06.06.2013 for the purpose of this study. He focused on the political discourses and with that exhibits the political dimension of the Austrian policy development.

⁴¹ The interview with M. Kreuzhuber was carried out on 11.06.2013. He also focused on the political discourses, but he offered another opinion as well. That helped a lot because we could see two different perspectives of the same subject.

(Schlüsselkräfte) was defined for the first time. M. Kreuzhuber located the first discussion in 2007, with the recommendation of the EU Commission. N. Bichl locates the first discussion much earlier - in 1993 - with the new migration regime and the publication of the quota system. These three different opinions made us more curious because all of the experts gave different answers. Because of that reason we will at first analyse all the Austrian legislative from 1990 until today in detail in order to understand better how everything started, developed and how it looks today. According to that we will introduce the most important provisions of the specific acts, discover how they came in force and which the biggest critics of each specific act were.

6.1. Austrian Migration Legislation since 1990

6.1.1. The Residence Act from 1992

The Residence Act from 1992 (Aufenthaltsgesetz - AufG) emerged as an answer to the migration flow after the “fall of the Iron Curtain” in 1989 and the dissolution of the communist regimes throughout Central and Eastern Europe (Krzyzanowsky/Wodak, 2008:41). This act was passed on initiative from the SPÖ (Social Democratic Party – Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs) under the leadership of Franz Vranitzky and with the support of the ÖVP (The Conservative Austrian People’ Party – Österreichische Volkspartei). The “Green Alliance” and FPÖ (Austrian Freedom Party – Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs) which were in the opposition at that time opposed the act.

This act brought a lot of changes for the Austrian immigration policy and the most important were: introduction of the new annual quota for newly arriving migrants; the applications for residence can be made only from abroad; transfer from tourist status to resident status; introduction of temporary residence permits and permanent residence permits (after five years of temporary residence) (Bauböck, 2003: 14-15).

This act came in force in 1993, and it’s biggest problem was the renewal of the applications, which had to be carried out by the migrants who were residing in the country for a long period of time (ibid).

Box 4. Critics of the Residence Act 1992 – N. Bichl

According to Bichl, in 1993 Austria created an immigration regime with quotas and very strict rules. According to him it was a restrictive policy to a very small part of the society – the third country immigrants were statistically the smallest part.

It is true that in 1993 there were more than a half million migrants in Austria which includes the refugees, newly arrived migrants and long staying migrants (see chapter 4). The expert points only at the new arrived skilled workers in this moment, which were affected by the Act.

6.1.2. The Foreigners Act and the Asylum Act from 1997

The reason for introduction of the Foreigners Act in 1997 was the Austrian accession to the EU in 1995 (Krzyzanowsky/Wodak, 2008: 43-44). The accession brought a lot of changes in the national law, which needed to be adjusted to the EU law. The Foreigners Act from 1997 replaced the previous Act from 1992 and regulates foreigners' entry into and residence in Austria (ibid).

According to this Act there are strictly defined periods of entry and short stay which range from three to six months according to the various permits (Visa A, B, C or D).

This Act makes differences between three deferent types of residence permits:

1. Residence permit or Temporary Residence Permit (Aufenthaltserlaubnis)
2. Settlement Permit or Permanent Residence Permit (Niederlassungsbewilligung)
3. No need for permits for EU- citizens

1. The first type of permit deals with the foreigners who wish to stay for a defined period of time and do not intend to settle for a permanent residence (Krzyzanowsky/Wodak, 2008). The main target group of this type were the students. Also affected from this type of residence were the following groups: rotational labor forces (Rotationskräfte; employees in international enterprises, mostly managers); seasonal workers (limited and defined by annual quotas); border-crossers (Grenzgänger; immigrants from the neighbour countries who return on daily basis;

commuters (Pendler; similar like border-crossers but without that status); short term employees and volunteers who are not eligible for a settlement permit (ibid).

2. By the second type of permit, all foreigners who intended to settle permanently were affected. Within this type of permit we could differentiate two different groups (Krzyzanowsky/Wodak, 2008:43). The first group was limited by a special annual quota and included: key-workers (Schlüsselkräfte) and family members of non- EU member state nationals who moved to Austria before January 1, 1998 (ibid).

The second group included the foreigners entitled to a settlement permit and not limited in number by any quotas: journalists and other employees of the international information media whose incomes cover the cost of residing in Austria; artists whose incomes cover the cost of residing in Austria; foreign employees who are not subject to the provisions of the Foreign Labour Act; those who are obliged to possess permits in order to reside in Austria, but who are exempted from such permits due to EU-wide regulations (ibid).

3. The third group were the EU-citizens who enjoy exemption from visa requirements and who could settle down in Austria without any further needs of permits. But they were obliged to register at the police.

6.1.3. The 2002 Integration Agreement

Marhold sees the origin of the high skilled debate in the agreement, where the term „keyworker“(Schlüsselkräfte) was defined for the first time. At that time it was attached to the annual quotas.

Box 5. The Start of the Highly-Skilled debate according to Marhold

“In 2002 began the general debate about the highly skilled foreigners. The first task was to define the conditions for key workers, which were at that time connected to a quota. But later, in 2006 has been defined for the first time the title and with it the debate was intensified. That all was concretized with the residence permit (Niederlassungsbewilligung)” (P. Marhold, 07.06.2013).

The integration Agreement (Integrationsvereinbarung IV) was a combined revision of the Foreigners Act (Fremdengesetz), The Foreign Labor Act (Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz) and the Asylum Act (Asylgesetz). The initiative for the revision and the debate was initiated by the ÖVP-FPÖ government.

The main goal of this revision was:

“...to build a bridge between all the people living in Austria – both Austrian and non-Austrian citizens – in order to guarantee a peaceful coexistence.” (Krzyzanowsky/Wodak, 2008:44).

It explained that the idea of this agreement was to integrate migrants better, both socially and culturally. The target groups of this agreement were: the newly arrived keyworkers, unemployed non-EU member citizens who hold a certification from Labor Market Service and the people who do not hold a residence permit under the terms of the Foreigners Act (ibid).

According to these changes, obligatory 100 45-minute instructional units of a German language course within the first 4 years of residence in Austria were prescribed. 50% of the costs for the courses were covered either by the federal government or by the employer. This depended on the group of migrants, the people belonged to. If the migrants did not take the courses within the first two years, they had to pay a sanction of 100-200 Euros. If they still hadn't passed the course after 4 years, they could even lose their permit (see more Krzyzanowsky/Wodak, 2008:45).

This agreement was strongly criticized in the academic circles. First, because the 100 sessions are not enough for the necessary competence in German, second, the language acquisition was not unique in the EU context, third, the language experts were not included in the language curricula and finally, because the term “Integration Agreement” is delusory, because there was no agreement and nobody was asked to agree (Krzyzanowsky/Wodak, 2008:46).

This revision was understood as an assimilatory policy by the critic's public, which made the policy even more restrictive.

6.1.4. The Foreign Nationals Legislative Package from 2005

On July 7 2005 the Austrian parliament passed the package of migration-related legislative reforms which included 4 new acts and revised several provisions of crucial legislative measures, such as the Settlement and Residence Act (Niederlassungs- und Aufenthaltsgesetz), The Aliens' Policy Act (Fremdenpolizegesetz) and Foreign Labor Act (Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz) (Krzyzanowsky/Wodak, 2008:46-47). All these Acts came into force on January 1, 2006.

The main reason for introduction of this package was to make legal adjustments in the face of EU directives. Main goals of the implementation of the package were directives in the area of: long-term residence, family reunion, free movement of EU citizens, students, the fight against human trafficking, proposal for researchers etc., but also to strengthen the measures against the illegal migration and fraudulent marriages and adoptions (ibid).

The second very important reason for introducing the legislative Package was the EU enlargement to the east in 2004, where, according to the EU laws, previously excluded foreigners from Central and East Europe could no longer be barred from residence in Austria and could also become self-employed within the country (ibid).

According to the Package from 2005 and the amendment to the Citizenship Act, the naturalization is at earliest after 6 years of residence possible. Before 2005 the naturalization was possible after ca.3-4 years of residence (ibid).

Also, through implementation of the Settlement and Residence Act, a very strict immigration control system was introduced. It required the foreigners seeking residence in Austria to apply for a permit in the country of origin. The application was connected to a very strict quota system. According to that, a permit could be given to:

1. Key workers, managers and self-employed key workers and their family members;
2. Family members of permanent legal residence;
3. Long-term residents from another EU member state who wish to settle down in Austria for employment or self-employment purpose;
4. Family members of Austrians, Swiss and EEA citizens who do not enjoy freedom of movement under EC Law or have no access to the labour market;
5. Persons who wish to pursue private residence arrangements and do not

need to rely on employment (like pensioners, and their family members) (Krzyzanowsky/Wodak, 2008:48).

The Foreign Labor Act restricts the number of migrant workers to 8% of all work forces in Austria and here are all of the groups above included the key workers as well. If the quota is exceeded, the work permits are tightened. The explanation of Krzyzanowsky/Wodak is given in Box 6 and that of Bichl in Box 7.

Box 6. Tight quota, Krzyzanowsky/Wodak

“If an Austrian employer applies for a permit to employ a foreigner, she or he might be forced to accept another employee (who is already “within” the Austrian labor market) instead of the person for whom the original application was made” (Krzyzanowsky/Wodak, 2008:48).

Box 7. Work permits for foreigners, N. Bichl

Bichl explain the key workers as a people with certain skills which were needed on the Austrian labour market. For the key workers according to him it was a double testing, labour market check and immigration quota. Bichl see this situation as very difficult to bring someone as keyworker in Austria.

On the other hand, the law gave a preference to foreign employees, who already fulfilled one of the following requirements: hold a two-year work permit, five- year certificate of exemption, a certificate of residency or the status of long-term EC residence (Daueraufenthalt), Turkish nationals who enjoy rights under the EC association agreement (Krzyzanowsky/Wodak, 2008:48).

If we consider all these conditions, we can appoint that it was not easy for the students to get a work-permit, which was also validated with the results in the chapter before. Most of the students fund their studies trough the support from their family or relatives and only one third of the students finance their studies in a big part with a student’s job according to the study.

6.1.5. Red - White - Red Card (RWR Card) and Blue Card from 2011

On July 1 2011, Austria presented a new migration system. After a long time of experience with the quota system, Austria decided to implement a new criteria system. The main goal was to allow migration to Austria for qualified work forces from third countries, which is controlled by personal and labour market criteria (BMASK, 2013). Together with the RWR Card the Blue Card was introduced as well, which was an EU product from 2008.

Box 8. RWR Card und Blue Card, N.Bichl

Bichl is seeing two parallel discourses one on the national level and one on the EU level. The small discourse on national level started the Green Party after the journey to Canada from the social partners and the government. According to him they were very zestful from the Canadian point system so they made it in Austria as RWR Card. On the other side came from the EU level the discourse with the Blue Card. The both cards were presented in the same time, otherwise Austria would never get the keyworkers.

Box 9. RWR Card and Blue Card, P. Marhold

Marhold is seeing the appearance of the RWR Card debate in 2008 with the debate about the EU Blue Card, which was inspired by the Green Card. According to him the problem came with the quotas, before it was no problem to fulfil the quotas, but the quotas were increased, and thus the problems came. Therefore, with the RWR came the criteria system which was developed from the Blue Card discussion“Why do we need the Blue Card, we make our own- RWR Card. The EU goal is nice but we miss it”, said Marhold. For him the RWR Card is the same as permanent residences permit (Niederlassungsbewilligung).

Box 10. RWR Card and Blue Card, M. Kreuzhuber

Kreuzhuber is on the impression that the debate on the immigration of highly skilled workers into the EU is stagnating at the moment. According to her the Commission's proposal was very positive and far-reaching, but unfortunately the proposal was changed a lot through the negotiations on guidelines and in Austria came the discussion on one hand from the EU through the discussion of the Blue Card, but on the other hand, from the Canadian point system.

As explained by the experts, the Blue Card is an EU product, implemented in Austria. The Blue Card didn't match to the Austrian market needs. Therefore Austrian policy makers created a new system, inspired by the Canadian point system, to answer the Austrian market needs. That system was implemented through the RWR Card.

We already saw from the statements that the Blue Card and RWR Card are two parallel products and N. Bichl (2013) also pointed out that they have nothing to do with each other. Because of that reason we will try to present the main outcomes of these two systems, in order to compare their differences similarities.

RWR Card comes in two different versions:

- RWR Card: entitles to residence and employment only with a certain employer
- RWR Card plus: entitles to residence and unlimited labor market access (BMASK, 2013).

For the RWR Card 4 different types of migrants can qualify:

1. Very high qualified workers
2. Skilled workers in shortage professions
3. Other key workers
4. Graduates from universities and colleges of higher education in Austria (ibid).

The RWR Card plus is available for family members of migrants from group one and four from above, as well the family members from Blue Card holders and the family members of foreign citizens with permanent settlement in Austria (ibid).

According to this law, the very high qualified workers have the option to apply for a visa in Austria without an employer, in order to look for a job in Austria. This role is something new in comparison with the laws before. The migrants have the right to apply for a visa in the Austrian embassy in their home country. The visa will be issued by the Federal Labour Market Service in Vienna (AMS Wien) which confirms the achievement of the minimum amount of points required for the grant (cf. BMASK, 2013). This visa has six months of validation and if the applicants find a job under the required condition, they will get a RWR Card with validation of one year. The federal Labour Market service will prove and confirm if the criteria are fulfilled.

Skilled workers in shortage professions and other key workers may apply for a RWR Card abroad in the Austrian representations (embassy or consulate) in their country of origin/residence, where they must already have an employment contract in order to apply for visa. The applicants who are entitled to entry Austria without visa or the holders of an Austrian university diploma can submit their application at the competent administrative authority in Austria (Bezirkshauptmannschaft/BH, Magistrat in Vienna MA 35), which will examine and confirm if the criteria are fulfilled. The high qualified persons will get a visa for six months if they can achieve the minimum amount of points presented in Figure 16.

Figure 16. Criteria for very highly qualified persons

Admission criteria for very highly qualified persons	Points
Special qualifications and abilities	Maximum of allowable points: 40
University graduation in course with four years minimum duration	20
in the fields of mathematics, informatics, natural sciences or engineering (the "MINT subjects")	30
PhD or higher graduation	40
Last year's gross salary in a senior management position with a company listed on the stock exchange or a company for whose activities or field of trade the competent foreign trade office has issued a positive report:	
50 000 to 60 000 Euros	20
60 000 to 70 000 Euros	25
More than 70 000 Euros	30
Research and innovation activity (patent applications, publications)	20
Awards (approved prize winner)	20
Work experience (matching the qualification or senior management position)	Maximum of allowable points: 20
Work experience (per year)	2
Six months work experience in Austria	10
Language skills	Maximum of allowable points: 10
German or English language skills: elementary use of the language on a basic level or	5
German or English language skills: intensified elementary use of the language	10
Age	Maximum of allowable points: 20
Up to 35 years	20
Up to 40 years	15
Up to 45 years	10
Studies in Austria	Maximum of allowable points: 10
Second part of the course or half of the required total of ECTS points	5
Complete university course (Diplomstudium) or Bachelor's and Master's degree studies in Austria	10
Maximum total of allowable points	100
Minimum of required points	70

* Source: BMASK, download on September 16, 2013

The highly qualified migrants need to find a job according to their qualification. If they find a job, they can apply for the RWR Card with validation of 12 months, where they are entitled to work only for one employer during the validation of the permit. The highly qualified migrants can apply for RWR Card plus as well with unlimited market entry after 12 months in which they were 10 months employed according to their qualifications and by the same employer. The examination in this period is carried out by the Federal Labour Market Service (AMS) (cf. BMASK, 2013).

The skilled workers from the third countries can apply for a RWR Card for validation of 12 months if they have the required qualification in a shortage profession according to the directive from 2013 (see Box 11) and achieved minimum amount of points according to the required criteria.

Box 11. Shortage Professions for 2013

1. Milling machinists
2. Metal turners
3. Technicians with a higher level of training (engineer) for mechanical engineering
4. Roofers
5. Graduate power engineers
6. Welders, cutting torch operators
7. Construction joiners
8. Electrical installers, electrical fitters
9. Agricultural equipment engineers
10. Technicians with a higher level of training (engineer) for power engineering technology
11. Graduate engineers in mechanical engineering
12. Pipe installers, pipe fitters
13. Carpenters
14. Technicians for mechanical engineering
15. Fitters
16. Construction and furniture joiners
17. Technicians with a higher level of training (engineer) for data processing
18. Power engineers
19. Graduate nurses
20. Special technicians with a higher level of training (engineer)
21. Floor layers
22. Die makers, cutter makers and punch makers
23. Wood processing machinery operators
24. Painters

*Source: BMASK, downloaded on September, 16, 2013

Figure 17. Criteria for skilled workers in shortage professions

Admission criteria for skilled workers	Points
Qualification	Maximum of allowable points: 30
Completed professional education in a shortage profession	20
General university entrance qualification according to § 64 Abs. 1 University Act 2002, BGBl. I Nr. 120	25
Graduation in university course with a minimum duration of three years	30
Work experience according to qualification	Maximum of allowable points: 10
Work experience (per year)	2
Work experience in Austria (per year)	4
Language skills	Maximum of allowable points: 15
German language skills: elementary use of the language on a basic level or English language skills: independent use of the language	10
German language skills: intensified elementary use of the language or English language: intensified independent use of the language	15
Age	Maximum of allowable points: 20
Up to 30 years	20
Up to 40 years	15
Maximum total of allowable points	75
Minimum of required points	50

* Source: BMASK, downloaded on September, 16, 2013

The employer of the skilled migrants is obligated to pay the holder of the RWR Card at least the minimum wage according to the law, directive or collective agreement. The holders of an RWR Card can apply for a RWR Card plus with unlimited market entry after 12 months and also if they were employed at least 10 months by the same employer and according to their qualifications (BMASK, 2013).

The key workers were the third group of migrants who can participate for a RWR Card. The key workers can apply for RWR Card if they reach the minimum required criteria (see Figure 29), if there is no equally qualified unemployed persons registered at the AMS and if they can be recruited by a potential employer where they need to receive minimum salary:

- under 30 years of age: 50 % of the maximum assessment base under the Austrian General Social Security Act (2013: 2,220 € gross per month, plus special payments)
 - over 30 years of age: 60 % of the maximum assessment base under the Austrian General Social Security Act (2013: 2,664 € gross per month, plus special payments)
- (BMASK, 2013: 6).

Like the other groups, the key workers can apply for RWR Card plus with unlimited market entry after 12 months if they were employed at least 10 months as key workers and by the same employer in the last year.

Figure 18. Criteria for key workers

Admission criteria for key workers	Points
Qualifications	Maximum of allowable points: 30
Completed professional education or special knowledge and abilities regarding the intended occupation	20
General university entrance qualification according to § 64 Abs. 1 University Act 2002, BGBl. I Nr. 120	25
Graduation in university course of studies with a minimum duration of three years	30
Work experience according to qualification	Maximum of allowable points: 10
Work experience (per year)	2
Work experience in Austria (per year)	4
Language skills	Maximum of allowable points: 15
German language skills: elementary use of the language on a basic level or English language skills: independent use of the language	10
German language skills: intensified elementary use of the language or English language: intensified independent use of the language	15
Age	Maximum of allowable points: 20
Up to 30 years	20
Up to 40 years	15
Maximum total of allowable points	75
Additional points for professional athletes and professional sports coaches	20
Minimum of required points	50

*Source: BMASK, downloaded on September, 16, 2013

And finally we come to the last group – the students. The graduates who completed at least the second part of their studies or completed a Master's degree at one of the Austrian universities and colleges of higher education can apply for a RWR Card. That means that the Bachelor graduates are not included in this group. After the graduation they have the right to stay further six months in Austria so they can find a job according to their qualification. For the students there are no minimum points to be achieved and the only criteria are the completed studies, minimum salary equivalent to the local salary of national graduates (junior employees), at this moment 1,998 Euros net, and an employment according to their qualifications. The graduates can also apply for RWR Card Plus, whereas the same rules apply as for other groups.

Figure 19. Criteria for graduates

Admission criteria for graduates
Qualification
Successfully completed studies (Diplomstudium) - at least second part of the course or half of the required total of ECTS points or Master's degree studies - at an Austrian university or college of higher education (Fachhochschule, FH)
Employment according to qualification
Minimum monthly gross salary of 45% of the maximum assessment base under the Austrian General Social Security Act (2013: 1.998 €, plus special payments)

*Source: BMASK, downloaded on September, 16, 2013

The Blue Card, as we saw from the experts' statements, was an EU product which implemented in the national law in Austria at the same time with the RWR Card. The Blue Card (Council Directive 2009/50/EC) harmonized the residence, entry and the labor market access for the third country nationals in Austria. Applicants for the Blue Card had to fulfil the following requirements: a completed university course of three years minimum duration; an annual gross salary of at least 54,400 euro (stand 2013); and there should be no equally qualified, unemployed person registered at the AMS, who could be recruited by the potential employer. This means that there is a labour market test for the Blue Card, like the former quota system. The Blue Card has two years validation and after 24 months the participants can apply for a RWR Card with unlimited labour market access if they were employed by the same employer and according to their qualifications for at least 21 months.

As we can see, the conditions for the Blue Card are very strict and difficult to reach. Because of that reason, the Blue Card was strongly criticized from the Austrian public academic circles. But before we come to the critics of the Blue Card or RWR Card we will explain the EU influence on the Austrian migration policy. As already mentioned the Austrian government passed new laws/agreements because of EU adjustments. The experts' statements showed that the EU brought new developments concerning migration policy for students and highly skilled workers. Except of this, the new political discourses about this subject led to a new atmosphere in the Austrian migration policy.

How did the EU do this? How did the EU directives and discussions influence the Austrian policy? Which were the main goals of the EU-policy for the students and highly skilled migrants from third countries? Which directives were the most influential?

We will try to answer all of these questions in the following subchapter.

6.1.6. EU influence on the Austrian migration policy for students and high qualified migrants

6.1.6.1. Lisbon Convention 1997

According to our perception, the influence of the European Union on Austrian migration policy started with the Convention on Recognition of Qualifications concerning Higher Education in the European Region from April, 11, 1997. This Convention is known as the Lisbon Convention according to the place of the meeting. The Convention was developed by the Council of Europe and UNESCO and ratified from most of the European countries including Austria. The Convention came in force in Austria since April, 1, 1999 (BGBl. III Nr. 71/1999). The main output of the convention is to make a unification of the qualifications so that the holders of the qualifications could have an adequate access to an assessment of the qualifications in other countries (Council of Europe, 2012).

This Convention was the basis for the Bologna System, according to which the European Community put the main focus on: developing a European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages spoken in the member states; to promote the mobility of students and teachers, by promotion of academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study; promoting cooperation between educational establishments⁴². Austria signed the Bologna Declaration in 1999 and has implemented it with more laws. The laws which accompanied the implementation of the Bologna System were the following: the Universities Act 2002 (Universitätsgesetz 2002), the Act for studies at the Universities for Applied studies 2002 (Fachhochschulstudiengesetz 2002) and the Higher Education Act of 2005 (Hochschulgesetz 2005). The Bologna System was severely criticised by the academic circles but also by the students⁴³.

⁴²Cf. with: <http://bologna.univie.ac.at/umsetzung/europa/>

⁴³See more: Im Fokus:OeAD, Bologna in ÖsterreichAkteurinnen undAkteure, Einblicke, Schlaglichter, 2010 and <http://bologna.univie.ac.at/umsetzung/oesterreich/>

6.1.6.2. Lisbon Directive 2000

The Lisbon Directive emerged at the meeting on March 23-24, 2000 as following: “... *a new strategic goal for the Union in order to strengthen employment, economic reform and social cohesion as part of a knowledge-based economy.*” was agreed in Lisbon (Lisbon European Council, 2000:1).

According to the new strategy, the EU presented the new future goals for the next decade which were, amongst others:

“to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion” (Lisbon Strategy, 2000: Art 5 and 6).

Lisbon strategy put the goals of full employment and for achieving this goal EU decided to invest in people and social cohesion so can transferred his economy and society in knowledge-based. With these goals the economy growth rate was supposed to rise about 3% in the coming years (cf. Lisbon Strategy, 2000).

The Lisbon Strategy didn't achieve its goals until 2010, as it was planned, and because of that, the new strategy named EU 2020 was defined in 2010, which was a successor of the Lisbon Strategy.

But let's go back to the year 2000: all the three steps (Lisbon Convention, Bologna System and Lisbon Strategy) brought a lot of changes which were continuously presented in the form of directives, which in our case were implemented in Austria. For the purpose of this study we chose a couple of them which, according to our opinion, brought new political discourses to the Austrian migration policy in the area of the students and highly skilled workers.

6.1.6.3. Directive 2004/114/EG

On December, 13, 2004 the directive on conditions of admission of third country nationals, for the purposes of studies, pupil exchange, unremunerated training or voluntary service, was presented (2004/114/EG). The term admission in this directive covers the entry and residence of the third country nationals in the member states.

One of the main motives for this directive, according to Art.6, is to promote the mobility of the third country nationals in EU:

“... to promote Europe as a whole as a world centre of excellence for studies and vocational training. Promoting the mobility of third country nationals to the Community for the purpose of studies is a key factor in that strategy. The approximation of the member states' national legislation on conditions of entry and residence is part of this” (2004/114/EG, (6)).

This Directive was signed from almost all of the states including Austria. The United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark didn't sign this directive. The main goal of this directive for the students is granting work permits for the students who wish to exercise an economy activity (2004/114/EG, Art. 7, 17).

According to this directive the students have to enrol at one institution of higher education, which was something new and didn't exist in Austria, until that time. The other conditions were recognizable but maybe in some other form.

According to the directive the permission of residence shall last for at least one year. If the study lasts longer, the permission will be extended for one more year, until the participant fulfils the conditions (2004/114/EG).

6.1.6.4. Directive 2005/71/EC

On October 12, 2005 the directive on a specific procedure for admitting third country nationals for the purposes of scientific research emerged (2005/71/EC). This directive is a product of the Lisbon Strategy 2000 and a part of the objective to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world by 2010 (2005/71/EC, (2)). The main motive of this Directive is to fulfil the goals of the Lisbon Strategy:

“The number of researchers which the Community will need by 2010, to meet the target of 3 % of GDP invested in research, set by the Barcelona European Council in March 2002, is estimated at 700,000. This target is to be met through a series of interlocking measures, such as making scientific careers more attractive to young people, promoting women's involvement in scientific research, extending the

opportunities for training and mobility in research, improving career prospects for researchers in the Community and opening up the Community to third country nationals who might be admitted for the purposes of research” (2005/71/EC, (4)).

According to this directive, an additional work permit shall no longer be required to the residence permit, with the reason to make migration of the scientists more attractive or even world acquainted (2005/71/EC,(11)).

This directive was signed by almost all the states including Austria and as in the previous directive United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark are not a part of this directive.

This directive concerns the third country researchers' migration to the EU member states for more than three months, for the purposes of carrying out a research project under hosting agreements with research organizations (2005/71/EC, Art. 1). The duration of the residence permit is at least one year which can be renewed after a year under the required conditions.

The main goal of this directive is equal treatment and mobility for all member states (Cf. 2005/71/EC, Art. 12, 13).

As we can see from this directive, the brain gain emerges as a very important future goal of the EU policy in order to become a world renowned economy force. This goal reinforced, together with further steps in 2009, the appearance of the Blue Card.

6.1.6.5. Blue Card

On May, 25, 2009 appeared the directive on the conditions of entry and residence of third country nationals for the purposes of highly qualified employment (2009/50/EG). This directive's purpose is to adopt the measures of immigration policy related to the conditions of residence and entry for the third country nationals who want to stay longer than three months. Except of this it aims at adopting measures as the

conditions of long term visas in the member states for the third national countries(2009/50/EG, (2)).

The main motives and goals for this directive were inspired again by the Lisbon Strategy in context of promoting the community to get the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world and making the community most attractive for the high qualified third country nationals (2009/50/EG, (3,46,7)).

The expectations of this directive were to provide a flexible, demand driven, entry system, based on objective criteria, such as minimum salary (at least 1.2 times the average gross annual salary in the member state; 2009/50/EG, Art. 5,5) compatible on that in the member states and recognition of the skills certificates.

This directive was signed by almost every member state, again with exception of the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark.

According to this directive the highly skilled immigrants are the holders of a higher education certificate, whereas the higher education has to last at least three years. That means that they need to have at least Bachelor graduation.

The duration of the Blue Card EU is not fixed, the Member states have the right to make the duration frame, but that must be between one and four years, according to the directive (2009/50/EG, Art. 7, 2).

The main outputs of this directive are the following:

- In the first two years of legal employment, the labour access shall be restricted to the exercise of the paid employment activity;
- The unemployment cannot be longer than three months or more than once in the time of the validity of the Blue Card;
- Opportunity of long term residence for the Blue Card holders after five years of legal and continues residence in the member state;
- Opportunity of mobility for the holders of a Blue Card and his/her family in other member states for the purpose of highly qualified employment after 18 months of residence in the first state (2009/50/EG, Art. 12,13,14,16,18).

As we can see the Blue Card of the EU has high claims, and because of that the Blue Card was severely criticized. M. Kreuzhuber said that at the beginning the Blue Card was very liberal but after a lot of demands, arising during discussions, it was upgraded and refined⁴⁴. The actual directive is the product of these demands. But we will focus on the critics later on. First we pay attention to one legal step of the Commission, who deals with Austria exclusively.

6.1.6.6. Case C-568/10

On December, 6, 2010 the European Council brought an action, according to which Austria has to pay a fine. We already saw above that Austria has very restrictive measures on the migration labour market policy. Exactly this action concerning the Austrian labour market policy for students was criticized:

“The Commission considers that the provisions of Austrian law systematically deny students who are third country nationals. Their access to the labour market is restricted by a work permit for a vacant position only if a check has been previously carried out. This check should clarify, whether the position can be filled by a person registered as unemployed or not. Consequently, according to the Commission, the number of work permits issued for this category of persons is very low. For that reason, only 10 % of students who are third country nationals, in comparison to 70 % of Austrian students, have the possibility to finance part their studies by means of employment.”(C-568/10).

The Austrian politicians justified the restrictions with the argumentation of free access to university and low university fees for the third country nationals (ibid.). They pointed also on the lack of professional qualifications and inadequate German knowledge as main reason of high unemployment rate in the target sector (ibid.).

Together with the introduction of the RWR Card the Austrian government also introduced a new rule for the third-nationals student's employment (according to the Foreigners Employment Act, (AuslBG). the students from the EU- 8 Member states⁴⁵ enjoy free movement of labour without any permit. Students from the third countries and Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia need an employment permit. The employment of

⁴⁴ Interview for the purpose of this study, June, 2013

⁴⁵ EU-8 Member states

are: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic and Hungary.

the students can be 10 hours per week for the students with a Bachelor degree or 20 hours per week for the students, who successfully completed the first part of their course (Erster Studienabschnitt Diplomstudium) or Bachelor's degree. For these students the permit is granted without a labour market test. If they would like to work more than 20 hours, the labour test is mandatory, or with other words the annual quota system is still active for them⁴⁶.

Are there any connections between the Commission action and the new law about the student's employment permission? Did the EU directives change the migration policy discourses in Austria? Are the goals and outputs of EU the same as in Austria? Are there any connections between RWR Card and Blue Card?

These and other questions were the same as in our questionnaire for the chosen experts of the subject⁴⁷.

The experts tried as hard as possible to answer these questions, whose results we will see in the next subchapter.

6.1.7. Current situation in Austria in the subject of high skilled/student's migration policy- critical review

In chapter 3 we already decided to use the theory of international politics for our analysis on macro level. According to this theory, as result of the migration politics and the migration behaviour of the people, the connection between policy goals and policy outcomes can be investigated (Düvell, 2006: 116). It happens so that between these two comes to political gaps or slide effects. In our case the goal can be – stable labour market and low unemployment, where the outputs could be restrictive measures. The gap between policy goals and policy outcomes can trigger the development of the black labour market and reduce the flow of students/ highly skilled. Bichl severely criticized the RWR/Blue Card in this context (Box 12).

Box 12. Critic on the restrictive policy, N. Bichl

According to Bichl, when Austria says high skilled workers, it is meant skilled workers.

⁴⁶ For more see: BMASK, Labour Market Access for Students and Graduates, 01.07.2013

⁴⁷ See appendix on the end of the study.

We will come back to his critic later, first we will focus on the theory of international politics. If we take the actors into consideration and according to the theory of international politics, we need to use the neo-institutionalism to explain the reactions of the actors.

Two approaches emerged from the neo-institutionalism. The first was international institutionalism and the second one was embedded liberalism (Düvell, 2006). According to international institutionalism, the domestic policy is influenced by international contracts. As we saw above, Austria signed and also implemented almost all strategies or declaratives from EU. So, that means that the Austrian policy is strongly influenced by the international contracts. The embedded liberalism suggests that the domestic discussion of the policy-making actors make the national law. We saw before that the RWR Card is a native product, but the Blue Card, in contrast, was a EU product. So that means that both of the approaches are true in the case of Austria. The experts were of the same opinion, according to which the Europeanization is recognizable.

Box 13. Europeanization or own way?

For Bichl even if it was two parallel discourses, the RWR Card is clearly a process of Europeanization.

According to Marhold the impetus came from the EU, universities, the Chamber of Labour and the entrepreneurs.

For Kreuzhuber is the RWR Card Austrian image.

As we can see, the experts have a different opinion when it comes to the question of Europeanization. They recognize the EU influence in the Austrian policy but Marhold and Kreuzhuber are not of the opinion that the Europeanization process is recognizable in Austria.

From the statements up to now, we can see as well that the Blue Card didn't reach the Austrian needs and therefore the RWR Card was implemented. Does that mean that the goals of EU and the goals of Austria are not the same? What are differences between the RWR Card and The Blue Card? And which are the pros and cons of the RWR/Blue Card? We asked our experts and their answers are presented in Box 14.

Box 14. Differences and pros and cons from RWR/Blue Card,

Bichl is on the opinion that the new immigration system is a very complex because it includes four different groups. But the advantage he is seeing in the option the migrants to reach the points or to come in Austria even if they don't have an employer.

The RWR Card and Blue Card pursue the same objective according to Kreuzhuber. "The RWR Card is more attractive, because with the RWR Card are directed several columns to different target groups, and it takes more relevance to the requirements of the Austrian labour market. There's also no labour market test. The Blue Card provides benefits for individuals who would like to have an employment for max. two years in Austria, beyond their family members don't need to prove the mandatory German language skills before entry", said Kreuzhuber. According to her the disadvantage is the unrealized mobility within EU.

Marhold is not seeing any differences between the RWR and the Blue Card, he is on the opinion that the RWR Card has made the EU Blue Card uninteresting, because the RWR Card is cheaper. "The Blue Card is still good for permanent authorization because it is easier to get it.", said Marhold

As we can see from the statements the experts, with exception of Kreuzhuber, are not optimistic concerning the impact from RWR/Blue Card. But if we analyse the results of the Blue/RWR Card, we can verify that the effects from the RWR/Blue Card are not satisfactory until now (see Figure 20).

Figure 20. Granted permits RWR/Blue Card for 2012

Vom AMS bearbeitet Anträge (Stand DWH 31.5.2012)			
	Gesamt	positiv erledigt	abgelehnt
RWR-Karte für besonders Hochqualifizierte	141	94	47
RWR-Karte für Mangelberufe			
RWR-Karte für sonstige Schlüsselkraft	1.341	1.058	283
RWR-Karte für Studienabsolventen	207	179	28
Bluecard	106	100	6
Gesamt	1.815	1.431	384
Jobseeker-Visum	67	35	32

*Source: Medienservicestelle, 27.07.2012

The top 5 countries which participate for the RWR/Blue Card are: Russia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, USA, Croatia and Serbia (Medienservicestelle, 27.07.2012). The top professions are: manager, IT professional, sport professional, office professional, electro engineer and mechanical engineer (ibid). As we can see from figure above the highly skilled, students and Blue Card holders are all together almost 300 people in Austria (in absolute numbers) and if we consider the top five professions, we can argue that most of them require specific knowledge. But anyway, 300 people cannot reach the goals of the EU, or even of the Austrian government. Experts argued that the Austrian goals are not the same as that of the EU, because Austria doesn't need high qualified workers, but skilled workers. It is also interesting, to emphasize that the east European countries or more concrete, but the south east countries are the biggest participants for the RWR/Blue Card. If we come back to the theory of international politics (see chapter 3) and take the classification of Triandafyllidou into consideration (2001:81), we can point out that Austria belongs to the civic nations, which are principally liberal, but selective on economic and political reasons. According to all that, which was said before, the Austrian civic nation has a communitarian character, which is expressed with strong affiliation on the community.

All in all we can notice that the situation of the students or high skilled is better in comparison to before, but is still too restrictive. Because of that, we can say that the Austrian migration conditions for students and high skilled are still not so well prepared for the real world known to the migration flow.

* * *

In the chapter 5 we analysed the effects of the Austrian policy on the students until 2006. The RWR Card and the Blue Card came in force in 2011 and we can't value the effects from that time, because only 2 years have been passed until their publication. Because of that, we focused more on the RWR Card and Blue Card in this chapter and also made expert interviews to value the actual situation in Austria according to our subject. But even if there is existed a survey, which's effects of the new migration policy cannot be valued, because the impacts of the new system need more time of habituation. That was the main reason for carrying out the expert interviews, where the experts tried to give a critical review of the actual situation and tried to give a future presumption. We tried to assume, how the new system will develop but this should be part in some other studies. But it left other unanswered questions, like what the concrete and the actual student's conditions in Austria are and what the differences are between the student's condition in Austria and other world known student's migration destinations like United Kingdom, Germany and France. as well if Austria can take a part in the world competition of brain gain. These questions are our main subject in the next chapter.

Austrian student's condition in comparison to the student's condition in United Kingdom, Germany and France

In this chapter we will see the student's conditions in Austria and we will try to compare with the student's conditions in the most favourite destinations in Europe as well. For this purpose we chose the United Kingdom, Germany and France. We made the comparison of the student's conditions according to seven criteria, which

according to our perception, emerged as the most relevant for the decision of the movement during the research for the purpose of this study.

The chosen criteria are the following: tuition fees, living standard, university rating, health insurance, residence permit, work permit and future opportunities to stay after graduation.

The tuition fee is very important criteria according to which the students orient their decision for the movement. The migration is low when the fees are high, or the opposite, the migration is high when the fees are low. This is especially the case if we take the United Kingdom. Since 2010 (since the new fee record was achieved) the number of the international students dropped for almost 3% and for almost 7% from the home students, reports The Guardian (Rebecca Ratcliffe, the Guardian, 30.04.2013).

But this criterion is not the only one if we took into consideration. The second criterion is the living standard, which functions the same as the fees, high standard - low migration and the opposite. How much money do the students need per month is a big decision criteria. But even this criterion alone is not enough.

The university rating plays a very big role in the game. Graduation on a renowned university brings good perspective for the future carrier development on the labor market.

The next criteria is the health insurance, which is one of the most important object when we know that no residence will be accepted without an insurance, but also in almost all European countries the health treatment is very expensive if you pay private for every treatment.

The residence permit is maybe for the EU-citizens not a decision criterion, but is very important for the third nationals' countries, just like the work permit.

The work permit is very important because the students can fund part of their cost through part - time jobs and with it the costs will be reduced.

The last criterion is the future opportunities in the target country. Which rights do the goal countries offer for the foreign students who graduated at their own domestic universities? How do they influence the students to stay or to leave is the question

whose answer is in figure 21 and we will further try to explain. Before we come into explanation of figure 21, we need to notice that all information considering figure 21 are actual information from this moment. It is important to notice here that not all of the countries have the same university system. United Kingdom, for example, has three semesters in one year, which starts always in October until December, than January until March and April until July. This means that it is not possible to start in summer. Great Brittan didn't accept the Bologna system, but built something similar to it named CATS (Credit Accumulation and Transfer Scheme), where two CATS-point can be convert in one ECTS (European Credit Transfer System). In the UK there are three degree programs as in the Bologna System: Bachelor, Master and PhD, where Bachelor lasts three years (exception is Scotland where the Bachelor takes four years), the Master is only one year (with some small exceptions), the PhD takes three years at most universities⁴⁸. In Germany, Austria and France the high educational system is created according to the Bologna System. There are Bachelor (usually three years), Master (usually two years) and PhD studies (usually three years). In France, the Bachelor is named License but it is the same as the Bachelor in the other countries. The differences between France and the other two (Austria and Germany) and in the UK as well is that the studies can start only in winter and not in summer, that is because in France there is a study year and not semester, which starts in September and ends in June⁴⁹. The art of studying is also different in all of the countries; some of them are more focused on the exams and some on the home works and seminar papers⁵⁰. After this short explanation of the systems of studying, we can continue with the valuation of figure 21 and the comparison of the countries according to the chosen criteria.

⁴⁸See more: Horndasch, 18.02.2013.

⁴⁹See more: Horndasch, 29.08.2013.

⁵⁰See for more: Horndasch, 18.02.2013;Horndasch, 29.08.2013.

Figure 21. Student's conditions in Austria, Germany, France and United Kingdom

Country	Student fee	Living costs	Health insurance	University rating	Residence permit	Work permit	Opportunity to stay after graduation
Austria	No fee, but for third country nationals from 363,63-726,72 per semester	Around 800 euro	0- 51,55 euro per month - depends on the country and situation	World QS rating(best place 160th), on Thompson world rating (best place 69)	Only for the third nationals with max duration of 1 year, all others compulsory registration	Only for the third nationals and EU-3 (Bulgaria, Croatia and Romania) compulsory permit. For bachelor 10h, for master 20h per week	Job seeker in duration of 6 months. After that, RWR Card or Blue Card EU.
France	From 188,10-393,10 per a year, depends on the graduate program(Bachelor, Master, PhD)	600-1000 euro	0- 211 euro per year, depends on the country and situation	World QS rating (best place 34), on Thompson world rating(best place 14)	Only for the third nationals with max. duration of one year (exception are the Algerians)	Only for the third nationals and EU-3(Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia). No extra permit. 19,5h per week and full employment in holidays	Temporary residence for special groups of students
Germany	No fee, but in Niedersachsen and Bayern 500 per semester	600-700 euro	0- 80 euro per a month. It depends on country and situation	World QS rating (best place 53), on Thompson world rating(best place 10)	Only for the third nationals with max. duration of two years, all others compulsory registration	Only for the third nationals and EU-3(Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia). No extra permit. 120days full employment per year or 240days part time employment per year	Job seeker in duration of 18 months. After that EU Blue Card.
United Kingdom	Maximum 11, 500 euro, depends on the universities and states.	950-1.100 euro	It is free for almost everyone but does not cover all the costs	World QS rating (best place 2), on Thompson world rating(best place 1)	Only for the third nationals with max. duration of 1 year, all others need to bring special documents for the entry.	Only for the third nationals and EU-3(Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia). 20h per week and full employment in holidays with Tier 4 visa.	Job seeker for PhD in duration of 12 months. Transfer of visa in Tier 2 for bachelor and master, Tier 5 temporary visa and tier 1 own business.

*Source: Author, different sources from the country authorities and student's unions or agencies⁵¹

⁵¹OeAD, 24.10. 2013; DAAD, 04.11.2013; Campus France, 04.11.2013; Horndasch, 29.08.2013; Die Universität Wien, 01.11.2013; BMI, 25.10.2013; UK Council for International Student Affairs, 23.08.2013; workpermit, April 2013; Coughlan, 03.11.2010; Campus France, 25.10.2013; UK Border Agency, 25.10.2013; Work permit, 19.04.2012; DAAD, 27.10.2013; Horndasch, 18.02.2013; UK Border Agency, 20.10.2013; Campus France, 07.11.2013; DAAD, 27.10.2013; Arbeitsagentur, 29.10.2013, top universities, November, 2013; world-university-rankings, 2013; Sussane Schaffrath from Phillip Lechleiter, August 2012.

7.1. Comparison in tuition fees

As we can see from the figure above, the tuition fees are very different. Each country has a different amount. We need to notice here that the private universities are excluded from the valuation. The private universities in all the goal countries are very high or better over 10 000 euros per year.

Austria, at the moment, has generally no tuition fees for the Austrians, EEA- citizens and citizens who hold a temporary residence permit since 2012/2013. But all the universities and high educational institutions have the right to require a tuition fee. The free tuition is for the groups from below if they don't fail over two semesters of their ordinary study. If they fail two semesters, they need to pay tuition fee of 363, 63 euro. Exception of this role is about the students in specific situation, like pregnancy, difficult sickness or others (see more on [help.gov.at/ Studiengebühren](http://help.gov.at/Studiengebühren)). The third-nationals students need to pay a tuition fee from 726,72 euro per semester, an exception of this this are the students from undeveloped countries which are free of charge⁵².

In France, there are matriculation fees, which are set from the government and not from the institutions. For the academic year 2013/14 the tuition fees looks as following: for Bachelor 188,10 euro, for Master 259,10 euro and for PhD 393,10 euro⁵³ per year. An exception of this are the engineering degrees which have a tuition fee of EUR 611.10 per academic year, or the average tuition fees for doctor of medicine amount to EUR 452 per year⁵⁴. The Grande Ecole or the private universities in France are out of these roles and the costs are much higher and achieve even 15 000 euro per a year. But anyway, France, at this moment, counts as a European country with the lowest tuition fees in Europe. Also in France there are no differences in general between the international student and the domestic students in the context of the tuition fees, which means that all the students pay the same amount.

Germany has 16 federal states, which have independent educational policy. Because of that, the tuition fees are different in the different states. The tuition fees in

⁵²The list of the undeveloped countries whose students don't need to pay a tuition fee is available on: oeh.at, 15.01.2013

⁵³See more: studyineurope.eu, 11.2013.

⁵⁴Ibid.

Germany range from 100-2000 per year. In figure 53 we can see the differences in amount and per state in Germany. We need to notice here that in Germany there were and still are lots of discussions in the states about the tuition fees⁵⁵, and with it the amount of the fees will grace in some states in next years. Most of the states do not charge tuition fees, but they charge semester contribution (Semesterbeitrag), some of them include in the charges even the tickets for the public transport, but there are states which charge fees like: Bavaria, Baden Württemberg or Lower-Saxony. Most of the states do not make any difference between the international students and the domestic students, but some of them do that, like for example, Bavaria or Baden- Württemberg⁵⁶.

The United Kingdom achieved the highest level of tuition fees in 2012. Since 2012, all the students in the United Kingdom need to pay up to 11 500 euro per year. An exception of this reform is Scotland, which for the Scots and for the EU- citizens (except the English) there is no tuition fee for the Bachelor degree; in Wels and North Ireland the fees go up to almost 4 160 euro per year⁵⁷. In the UK, the universities can decide alone about the amount of the tuition fee, some of the universities at the moment charge 6-7000 Euros. The new reform takes with it a lot of reactions. There were protests on the streets as well, but the government promoted the new reform anyway, or like the Universities Minister David Willetts argued that the fees package would put the universities' finance on a sustainable footing with extra freedoms and less bureaucracy⁵⁸. The other side reaction was that such high fees will damage participation and social mobility⁵⁹. Prof. Ebdon has right, in 2012 the statistics show that the participation fell down in some universities for 2,5% in only 2 years and in some up to 10% which counts for the domestic and at the same time for the international students, and a lot of courses are cancelled as well⁶⁰. With the newest reform, the UK became the most expensive country for studding in Europe.

As we can see from the results, all the countries have a different amount of tuition fees. The UK has the highest amount and France has the lowest.

⁵⁵More about that on the official web site of DAAD/Studiengebühren.

⁵⁶See more on: <http://www.mastersportal.eu/articles/358/overview-of-tuition-fees-in-germany.html>

⁵⁷Horndasch, 18.02.2013

⁵⁸By BBC News, 03.11.2010.

⁵⁹Million+ chair, prof. Les Ebdon, for BBC, 03.11.2010.

⁶⁰See more: Heise Online: <http://www.heise.de/tp/artikel/37/37989/1.html>,13.11.2012.

7.2. Comparison in living standards

The second criterion was the living standard of the students. For that purpose we took the research from Susanne Schaffrath⁶¹. According to that analysis, the average of the living standard in Austria for the students is around 800 Euros per month. In France, it is from 600 until 1000 Euros, which depends on the place where the students live, for example in Paris it costs until 1000 Euros, but in the other cities or in the peripheries of Paris is up to 600 Euros. In Germany the living standard is around 600-700 Euros, which depends on the federal state. In the UK is the highest living standard, whose average is from 950-1100 Euros, where London has the highest standard and achieves up to 1 100 Euros per month. But anyway, we need to take into consideration that the prices are very sensitive according to the inflation or some other factors and they may change according to the market factors. This information about the living standard of the students is from 2012, some of the data may have changed, but according to our perception that would not be a drastic change and because of that reason, we take this information for the purpose of the study as an absolute.

According to this criterion, all the countries have similar living standards. The differences are very small. The capital cities have higher standard in comparison to the other cities. But anyway, Germany has the lowest living standard and the UK the highest.

7.3. Comparison in health insurances

The third criterion was the health insurance. For the students, this criterion may be less important, but not unimportant. In Austria, as in the other three countries, is the health insurance free of charge for the holders of EHIC (European Health Insurance Card). The health insurance is also free of charge for the students from Turkey, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia if they hold a Health Translucent (Krankenschein) from their domestic country, which is according to the bilateral agreements. All other students have the opportunity of student insurance if

⁶¹Susanne Schaffrath , August 2012.

they have enrolled at one of the Austrian universities. The amount of the student self-health insurance is in Austria 51, 15 per month⁶².

The French health insurance system is very complicated and it changes all the time, but also is one of the cheapest health insurance systems for students in Europe. Securite sociale is the general state French insurance. All the students who are holders of an EHIC can use the French insurance benefits without charge, which includes: medical treatment, emergency treatment and medicine. All other students can take the French insurance if they fulfil the following criteria: to be younger than 28 years and to be enrolled at one of the French universities. The costs for the French insurance for 2013/14 are 211 Euros per year⁶³. If the students are older than 28 they have two options: 1. CMU (Couverture Maladie Universelle) is a free insurance for the persons who earn less than 8 774 Euros per year⁶⁴ and two Private insurances, which are more expensive than the state insurance.

In Germany, as in the other countries, the holders of an EHIC can use the German insurance free of charge. In Germany, some of the foreign insurance are also accepted if there are bilateral agreements, but not always are all the cost of the treatments covered⁶⁵. If the students have no insurance, they can participate in the state health insurance which at the moment costs 80 Euros per month. Other option is to take a private insurance, but if the students have a private insurance, they cannot transfer after that on the state insurance⁶⁶. The insurance for the international students, as in all other countries, is obligatory.

The NHS (National Health Service) is the UK's state health service which provides treatment for UK residents. The NHS is free of charge for all the holders of an EHIC and for the students with whose home countries the UK made reciprocal health agreements. The countries with reciprocal health agreements are:

- Nationals of countries in the European Economic Area

⁶²See more: www.wgkk.at

⁶³See more on the official web side of Campus France.

⁶⁴See more: DAAD, Horndasch, 11.2013.

⁶⁵See more: www.daad.de/deutschland/in-deutschland/regeln/de/8839-krankenversicherung/

⁶⁶Ibid

- Nationals of: Armenia; Azerbaijan; Georgia; Kazakhstan; Kyrgyzstan; Moldova; New Zealand; Russia; Tajikistan; Turkmenistan; Ukraine; and Uzbekistan
- Residents of Anguilla; Australia; Barbados; Bosnia and Herzegovina; British Virgin Islands; Channel Islands; Croatia; Falkland Islands; Gibraltar; Isle of Man; Macedonia; Montenegro; Montserrat; Serbia; St Helena; and Turks and Caicos Islands⁶⁷.

The UK health insurance is free of charge, but it does not cover all of the costs. Free for everyone are: emergency treatment, family planning services, diagnosis and treatment, compulsory psychiatric treatment⁶⁸. If the students don't have insurance of any of this a kind, they need to take a private insurance.

According to the health insurance, it is not easy to compare the countries because all of them have different insurance systems. But if we need to evaluate the systems according to the most favourable for the students, we can say that the French system is maybe the most favourable, but for the less favourable we cannot decide, because all the other systems are more or less on the same level. In the UK it is free, but it does not cover everything and in Germany and Austria costs more than in other countries, which mean that according to our opinion, all of them are on the same level, with little more positive points on the Austrian health system.

7.4. Comparison of the university rankings

The fourth criterion was the universities ranking. This is maybe the most important criterion for the students. For the purpose of that we took two world- rankings from 2012/13. The first one is the QS World University Ranking,⁶⁹ whose methodology was made according to the following criteria: academic reputation, employer reputation, faculty students, international faculty, international students, and citations per faculty. According to this ranking, 14 universities from the UK took place in the first 100 best universities, where on the second, fourth, fifth and sixth place from the top world universities were from UK. In the best 100 top universities 4 German universities are ranked on the 53rd, 55th, 60th and 87th place. The French

⁶⁷See for more: UKCISA- UK Council for international Student Affairs

⁶⁸Ibid

⁶⁹On line available: <http://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/world-university-rankings/2012>

universities take also part in the top 100 best universities, and that is the 34th and 41st place. Unfortunately, Austria takes no place in the best 100 universities. The best Austrian university – University of Vienna takes the 160th place and the Technical University and University of Innsbruck takes the 274th and the 276th place, respectively. According to this ranking, Austria is far from the other three countries. Maybe this ranking does not offer the best scores and analytical methods, but we are not going to analyse it deeper and we will take as it is.

The second ranking was Times Higher Education World University Rankings 2012-2013 powered by Thomson Reuters⁷⁰. This ranking was also criticized because of its methodology⁷¹ but we will take it as it is. The methodology of this analysis was made according to 13 indicators grouped in 5 areas:

- Teaching: the learning environment (worth 30 per cent of the overall ranking score)
- Research: volume, income and reputation (worth 30 per cent)
- Citations: research influence (worth 30 per cent)
- Industry income: innovation (worth 2.5 per cent)
- International outlook: staff, students and research (worth 7.5 per cent)⁷².

To answer on the subject of our study, we focused only on the European universities which take part in the ranking. Looking only at the European best 200 universities from this ranking, we can notice that in the best 200 European universities, the UK takes 48 places, where in the first top ten are 7 universities. In the best 200 European universities Germany takes 24 places and France 12 places. Again, Austria is at the last place in comparison to the other three countries. University of Vienna this time takes the 69th place and only 6 universities take part from the best 200 European universities. The best German University takes the 10th place and the best French university takes the 14th place. Even according to this ranking is Austria far from the other countries.

⁷⁰Online available: <http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/world-university-rankings/2012-13/world-ranking/region/europe>

⁷¹ Sebastian Horndasch, Studieren in Großbritannien, studisonline, 18.02.2013.

⁷² Online available: <http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/world-university-rankings/2012-13/world-ranking/region/europe/methodology>

According to this criterion, it is obvious that the UK is in the first place with best ranking universities, where Austria is on the last place. Germany has also very good results on the ranking which makes Germany the second place between our target countries in best universities ranking.

7.5. Comparison in the conditions of granting a residence permit

The fifth criterion was the residence permit. This criterion is maybe not so important for the international students from the EEA countries, because all the students from these countries have a free entry into our four focus countries, but is very important for the international students from the third countries.

In Austria the entry for the EEA students is free; the only obligation is the registration with the local civil authorities. The required documents for the registration are: personal ID, Proof of admission to an educational institution, proof of sufficient financial resources, health insurance and valid registration. The costs of the registration are 15 Euros⁷³. All the other students need a residence permit. The required documents for the residence permit are the following: Passport, birth certificate, criminal record from the country of origin, confirmation of admission at the Austrian educational institution, proof of sufficient financial resources (up to 24 years – 462,60 Euros; over 24 years – 837,63 Euros), proof of legal claim of housing, proof of health insurance, record of debt, where applicable. The costs for the application are 120 Euros. The validation of the visa is for one year. After a year, the visa can be extended and the following documents are required: Passport, proof of sufficient financial resources (up to 24 years – 462,60 Euros; over 24 years – 837,63 Euros), proof of legal claim of housing, proof of health insurance, currently enrolled record, confirmation of registration for continuation of studies and proof of passing grades of the study (16 ECTS). The costs of the extension of residence permit are 120 Euros⁷⁴.

In France, as in Austria, the students from EU do not need a residence permit and can apply directly to the university or graduate school of their choice. All other students need a visa which can be given from the French consulate or via Campus

⁷³ Österreichischer Integrationsfonds, Studieren und Arbeiten in Österreich, Rötzer Druck GmbH, März 2013

⁷⁴ Ibid.

France. The residence permit for the third-nationals students is for validation of one year which can be extended. The criteria for granting an extended-stay student visa are built on “some general factors including the likelihood that the applicant's training in France will result in "professional success," the likely contribution of the student's plans to the economic and social development of his or her home country, and France's relationship with that country”⁷⁵. But the circle also lays out on more specific criteria like: applicant's academic background; the applicant's level of preparation and the reliability of the grades and evaluations claimed by the applicant, and the overall fit between the applicant's international study plans and his or her prior preparation and background; the institutional framework of the applicant's international study plan and Language proficiency.

But also there are additional criteria like:

- the absence of any threat to France's security or to public order
- the authenticity of the documentation produced by the applicant (such as diplomas and grade reports)
- evidence of sufficient financial resources (min. 615 Euros)⁷⁶.

In Germany is the same case as in the other countries, the EEA students don't need a residence permit and can enter in the country free. The students from EU/EEA have but the obligation of registration with the local authority (Bürgeramt) within two weeks after the arrival. They need to have a legal ID, proof of health insurance and proof of sufficient financial resources⁷⁷.

All other students or third-national students need to have a residence visa. The students that are planning residence more than three months need a so called „national visa“. For the national visa they need to submit: confirmation of admission to one German educational institution, health insurance, proof of eventually study yielded performance, proof of German language knowledge or planning language course in German and proof of sufficient financial resource through the study⁷⁸. The duration of the visa is two years which can be also extended, where beyond the all documents from below they need to show study performance.

⁷⁵Campus France, Extended-stay student visa with residence permit (VLS-TS)

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷See more: www.daad.de

⁷⁸Ibid.

In Germany there is also a language course visa, whose duration is according to the duration of the language course.

In the UK, as in all other countries the EU/EEA and Switzerland students don't need a residence permit. The third nationals need a residence permit and they need to pass a point-based assessment. In the UK exists a five tier visa system⁷⁹.

According to the UK student's immigration system, the third national students have two options for residence permit in UK. The first one is a student visitor and is for students who wish to study in UK but without working in the UK, and second option is Tier 4 from the point system where the students need to fulfil the required conditions/points⁸⁰. For Tier 4 the students need to fulfil 40 points so they can apply for a student visa. They can achieve it if they have a course confirmation from the sponsor (the educational institution); An acceptable level of ability in English and the last condition is the funding (to provide an evidence of funding to pay for both course tuition fee and monthly living costs). If the students achieve the required conditions they can apply for student visa. The student visa in the UK is in duration of one year which can be extended⁸¹.

According to the fifth criterion, all the countries have more or less the same roles for granting a residence permit, the only difference is the system, but the conditions are very similar. Because of that reason, we cannot say which country has better or worse conditions in granting a residence permit.

7.6. Comparison in the conditions for work permit

The sixth criterion was the work permit. This is also very important criterion for the student's decision for studying abroad. Most of the students practice working during the studies so they can afford better life. Generally, all of the countries allow working during the studies, but the conditions under which they can work are different.

In Austria, all the students have the right to work but the students from EEA/EU and Switzerland (exception are the students from Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia) don't

⁷⁹See more for the five tier visa system on: <http://www.workpermit.com/uk/uk-immigration-tier-system.htm>.

⁸⁰Online available: <http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/visas-immigration/studying/>

⁸¹See for more on the official web sides of: UK Border Agency or on <http://www.pointsbasedvisa.net>

need a work permit. The students from Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia and third nationals' countries need a permit. The transitional rule for Romania and Bulgaria ends on January 1, 2014 after which they can work without a permit. The criteria to apply for the acquisition of a work permit are: work permit for 10 hours per week without labour market test for the students in Bachelor studies and 20 hours per week without labour market test for the students which graduated the Bachelor studies or continue their studies⁸². The employment for more than 10, i.e. 20 hours per week respectively, is generally permitted after a labour market test. The students from Croatia, Romania and Bulgaria can be awarded with free access to the labour market after working for the same employer for one year, which must be confirmed by the AMS (Austrian Labour Market Service)⁸³. The work permit is only valid for the specific job with the specific employer.

In France, generally all the students are legally allowed to work up to 19,5 hours per week during the semester and full time during the holiday period as long as they are enrolled at one of the French universities⁸⁴. Non EU-citizens no longer need to apply for a separate work permit and can work as long as they hold a valid student visa or residency card. The third countries' nationals can work also 19,5 hours per week during the semester and full time during the holidays,⁸⁵ or according to the law 964 hours in a given year, which corresponds to 60 % of full-time employment per year⁸⁶.

Since July 1 2012, France has a national minimum hourly wage, known as SMIC. SMIC stands by 9,4 Euros per hour where it will be reduced with 20% until the net wage⁸⁷.

In Germany is similar as in France. All the students have a right to work, where the students from EEA and Switzerland (exception Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia) are allowed to work as much as they wish without a permit. These students should not work more than 20 hours per week during the semester (the same is also for the German students), because otherwise they will be required to pay a pension insurance contributions⁸⁸. The students from Romania and Bulgaria have no free

⁸² Österreichischer Integrationsfonds,, März 2013: 18-21

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ See for more: <http://www.campusfrance.org/en/page/working-while-enrolled>

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ See more on the official web site of DAAD: [https://www.daad.de/deutschland/in-deutschland/arbeit/en/9148-](https://www.daad.de/deutschland/in-deutschland/arbeit/en/9148-93)

access to the labour market until 2014 and until then they can work only 120 whole or 240 half days a year. These students are subject to the limitations that apply for the students from the third nationals' countries including Croatia⁸⁹. The third nationals' students are permitted to work only 120 full or 240 half days a year and if they wish to work more they need a permit from the Federal Employment Agency (Agentur für Arbeit) and the foreigners' authorities⁹⁰. That means that they are permitted to work more than 120, i.e. 240 days a year respectively, after a labour market test⁹¹. The students in Germany usually earn 5-10 Euros per hour.

In the UK, as in the other countries, there are no restrictions on the labour market for students from EEA and Switzerland except Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia, and they can work without a permit. All other third nationals' students and the students from Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia have a limited access to the labour market. They are subject to the Worker Authorization Scheme, which means that they have to apply for a registration certificate as students before they start work. The employment is limited to 20 hours per week during the semester and full time during the holidays⁹². All third nationals' students can work in UK if they hold Tier 4 visa and with it they are allowed to:

- work for up to 20 hours per week during term time;
- work full-time during vacations;
- do a work placement as part of your course;
- work as a postgraduate doctor or dentist on a recognized Foundation Programme; and
- work as a student union sabbatical officer for up to 2 years⁹³.

These rules are for the students enrolled at Bachelor or a higher degree program in the UK.

According to this criterion, we can notice that France, Germany and UK have almost the same conditions of granting a work permit. Austria is the only country which

[earning-money/](#)

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹See formore:§16 Aufenthaltsgesetz (AufenthG) and §284 Sozialgesetzbuch Drittes Buch (SGB III).

⁹²See more UK Council for International Student Affairs: <http://www.ukcisa.org.uk/International-Students/Study-work--more/Working-during-your-studies/EEA-and-Swiss-students-working-while-studying/#>

⁹³Work permit, 19 April, 2012

makes a distance according to this criterion and with it has the most restrictive labor market roles for international students.

7.7. Comparison of the offers for opportunity to stay after the graduation

The last criterion was the opportunity to stay after the graduation. This criterion is very important for the students who would like to stay in the country after their graduation. All of our target countries offer opportunities for these students so they can keep them as high skilled workers in the labour market.

In all the countries the EEA students and the students from Switzerland, with exception of the students from Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia, have free access on the labour market and can stay to work and live in the country without any restrictions. Because of this reason, we will focused now only on the offers of the countries for the graduate students from Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia and other nationals.

In Austria, the third country nationals have right after the graduation to stay in the country for six months with the purpose to find a job according to their qualifications. For this period of six months, the students need to apply for a confirmation (the students must have at least master graduation). If the students don't find a job in this period, they need to leave the country. If the students find a job in the time of six months, they will be granted a RWR Card in duration of one year. The requirements for RWR Card are: job related to the education, minimum salary of 1 998 Euros plus special payments, proof of entitlement to accommodation and proof of health insurance with full coverage⁹⁴. All other students can apply for Blue Card⁹⁵. The students from Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia have free access to the labour market if they were employed for at least one year at one employer⁹⁶.

In France there are three options to get a work permit after the graduation. The first option is for the students who hold a master or some equivalent degree. These

⁹⁴See for more chapter 6.1.5. of this study.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶See for more: Österreichischer Integrationsfonds, März 2013: 23-24.

students can apply for a one-time temporary residency authorization (APS, autorisation provisoire de séjour) valid for 12 months⁹⁷. The authorization enables the students to work at any job up to the limit of 60% of the official work week. The students who will find a job related to their academic program at rate of compensation equal to at least 1,5 times the national minimum wage may enter full-time employment, changing the status from student to employee. The second option is for all other students to take a full time employment under other conditions. They can change the status from student to employee after the confirmation of the application of employment authorization. They submit an employment contract or an employment offer from a French firm. The authorities will take also into account the firm's motives, the applicant's background, and the amount of time the applicant has spent in France's higher education⁹⁸. Because of the high unemployment rate in France, the employment of these students is limited to the following 14 occupations (decree of August 11, 2011):

- Audit and financial control manager
- Furniture and wood products manufacturing equipment operator
- Mechanical product planner / designer
- Quality conformity inspector
- Building and public works draftsman
- Merchandiser
- Information systems production and operation engineer
- Glass manufacturing equipment operator
- Remote service and sales agent
- Operator of basic mechanical production unit
- Electrical and electronic products designer
- Manufacturing processes intervention technician
- Chemical and pharmaceutical manufacturing equipment operator
- Furniture and wood product processes intervention technician⁹⁹.

⁹⁷ See for more: <http://www.campusfrance.org/en/page/working-after-graduation>

⁹⁸ See for more: <http://www.campusfrance.org/en/page/working-after-graduation>

⁹⁹ Ibid.

The third option is for skilled and talented persons the so called "*Compétence et talent*" permit¹⁰⁰. This permit is granted in view of the content, nature and interest of the applicants' plan and is in duration of 3 years which can be extended¹⁰¹.

All the students from the new EU member states and all other international third nationals' students have the right to stay additionally 18 months after the extension of the residence permit – students with successfully finished studies, with purpose to find a job related to their education¹⁰². As graduates, these students are allowed to work up to 120 full days or 240 half days while looking for an appropriate employment. If the students find a suitable position, their residence permit will be converted in temporary residence permit for the purpose of employment. After five years working, they have the option to receive a permanent residence permit¹⁰³. The rules and regulations listed above apply to graduates of Bachelor's, Master's and Doctoral studies at German universities, irrespective of the field of study taken for the degree¹⁰⁴.

The UK offers two types of visas for graduates who would like to stay in the UK. The first one is Tier 2 visa, which is open for graduates with Bachelor or Master's degree and PhD. To apply for this type of visa it is not required to leave the country if the students have an offer of skilled job from an employer that is UKBA licensed sponsor¹⁰⁵. The job must meet a minimum salary criterion, which depends on the job. The duration of this visa is 3 years which can be extended. The second option is Tier 5 visa or temporary worker visa¹⁰⁶. For this visa the applicants need to leave the country and to apply from abroad. To apply for Tier visa 5, the students must have a job offer from a licensed sponsor and passed a points-based assessment. The duration of this visa is 12 months.

There is also one other option for the students who would like to start up own business in the UK. That is Tier 1 visa (Graduate Entrepreneur). For this visa the students need to be endorsed by a UK higher education institution participating in

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²See for more: http://www.internationale-studierende.de/en/finishing_your_studies/staying_in_germany/

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴DAAD, Information on the Statutory Frameworks applicable to the Pursuit of Gainful Employment by Foreign Students, Academics and Scientists, Oktober 2007.

¹⁰⁵See for more: <http://www.educationuk.org/global/articles/work-visas/> and <http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/visas-immigration/working/>

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

this scheme. The duration of this visa is 12 months which can be extended for a further 12 months¹⁰⁷.

There is also other option in the UK which is available only for doctoral students, where the doctoral students can stay to search for skilled employment for up to 12 months after the graduation¹⁰⁸.

The students from Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia which were legally employed without break for 12 months have a free movement and no longer have the need of work permit¹⁰⁹.

According to the last criterion, we can notice that Germany has maybe the simplest offer in comparison to the other countries which offer more options. We can notice here again very big similarities in the offers. The differences between the offers according to the countries are very small, but if we need to decide, maybe Germany has the most favourable offer and France and Austria have the most restrictive offers.

* * *

We already argued in chapter 3.3. that the combination of micro and macro link forms the meso link, which we tried to analyse according to the comparison of the conditions in four different countries which are known as the most favourite for the international students. In this chapter, we will combine the macro and micro links in that way, that from the micro link we will take the most important criteria for the migration decision making and from the macro link we will take the offer of conditions of the nationals' states for the international students.

Those links (micro and macro) we will combine with each other and at the same time we will compare with other countries.

According to the network theory, the international migration tends to expand over time until network connections have diffused so widely in a sending region that all people who wish to migrate can do so without difficulty (Massey et al, 1993: 450). In connection to this, we need to notice that the networks like internet make the

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹See for more: <http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/eucitizens>

migration very easy, all the information that we needed to make a comparison of the countries according to different criteria we found on internet, and with it, all the information that one potential foreign student needs can find alone without difficulties with putting two words on one of the search engines.

Also, Massey et al (1993) in this connotation argues:

“The migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination area through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin (Massey et al, 1993)”.

Comparing Austria with the other international student's migration destinations, we can notice that Austria has the potential to be a favourite destination for the international students, but Austria still needs to work on it. From the comparison we can notice that Austria has very restrictive labour market roles for international students and very low ranking universities' quality. Maybe the situation will change in the next years with the promotion of the new migration system, but Austria still needs to work hard on the market liberalization and educational quality.

Summary

Migration has become a global phenomenon. More and more people migrate with the aim of better conditions. In the last 10 years, particularly the migration of highly educated students increased. According to the statistics the number of students increased five times from 1975 to 2009, where 4.1 million students were migrating worldwide (OECD, 2012). The most favourable countries of international students, according to the statistics, are the following countries: USA, Great Britain, Germany, France, Australia (UNESCO, 2011). Austria belongs to the countries with the highest percentage of international students in comparison to the number of local students (ibid) and in 2013 Austria had almost 88,440 international students (Austria Statistics, 2013). The main objective for this study was to analyse the circumstances under which migration of students from SEE to Vienna/Austria happens. In the present study only the students from East Europe were taken as target group.

For characterizing the migration flow of the international students to Austria we built a three-level model, which corresponds to the model of Thomas Faist (2000). The three-level model describes the research object from three different perspectives which are : micro-, macro- and meso level. These three levels were supported by three theories of migration, each corresponding to one of the levels.

On micro level, we used the new economics theory to explain which the main motives for the migration are. To come to the main motives for migration of the international students from East Europe we used the survey from Hackl et al (2006) According to the results of the survey language skills and better market chances emerged as main motives of the students. The main reasons for choosing Austria as destination for migration were: already existing networks, reputation of Vienna's universities and geographical distances. According to the new economics theory the migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors, but by larger units of related people as family or households (Massey et al, 1998). Our study shows, that the new economics theory is compatible to results obtained by the study from Hackl et al (2006). The results also show that most of the students have financial difficulties and

difficulties with integration to the Austrian society. We linked these facts to the macro level.

On macro level, or the level of the nation state respectively, the migration policies considered the development and the actual position of the Austrian migration policy. On this level we analysed the legal framework and actors of migration. Besides the theory of international politics, we also carried out expert interviews. The results showed that the Austrian policy is influenced by international contracts and inspired by the American and Canadian point system. But at the same time Austria presented an own system with the RWR Card, parallel to that on the EU level with the Blue Card.

The results showed also that Austria has a history of restrictive labour market policy. This analysis showed that the Austrian policy is influenced by the EU migration policy up to the point of the labour market. When it comes to the labour market rules, the internal discourses are more intensive and Austria puts the focus on the labour market protection and the current needs of the market. According to these facts and the classification of Triandafyllidou (2001:81), we can point out that Austria belongs to the civic nations, which are principally liberal, but selective out of economic and political reasons. This means that the Austrian civic nation has a communitarian character, which is expressed with strong affiliation on the community.

On the meso level, we made a combination of the two previous levels (micro and macro) and analysed the current conditions of the Austrian policy for the international students. At the same time we compared it with the conditions for international students in the UK, Germany and France. On this level we took the main criteria (or the main factors for the decision making) of the students from East Europe to come to Austria and we compared the conditions in every single criterion with the conditions in the other favourable migration destinations, in this case the UK, Germany and France. On this level we took the network theory into consideration. According to this theory the international migration tends to expand over time until network connections have diffused so widely in a sending region that all people who wish to migrate can do so without difficulties (Massey et al, 1993: 450). For our research we used a lot of on line sources (web sites from students unions, authorities or even NGOs), using the internet. Therefore it was very easy to get access to the needed information. We compared all the crucial factors of the four most favourable

countries for migration in Europe. The results showed that Austria has the potential to become a favourable migration destination for the international students, but is still not ready for that. Austria still needs to work on the quality of the educational system and the labour market policy. According to these two criteria Austria took the last place and was far behind the other three example countries.

The new migration system that Austria promoted in 2011 is one step further and is very similar to the systems of the traditional migration countries. But this system needs time to establish. If this new system leads to a further migration flow of the international students to Austria, is a question which will maybe take part in some other research.

We must not forget the fact that Austria has more than 88 000 international students, which present a high number, in comparison to the domestic students. The migration of international students, especially East European students is present, but if this migration can be seen as a flow on a global scale is one doubtful subjective question, which maybe will be answered as continuation of this study.

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Interviews

Student's interviews

Interview - Anastasia

1. Why you left your country? Why you came in Vienna? Why Vienna? What were your expectations for your stay in Vienna? (Language, standard, carrier, opportunity ...)

As a representative of a post-Soviet country, I can't help but notice Russia's poor development not only in terms of the economic situation, but most importantly in terms of its human factor. The situation, where the negligence of injustice of everyday life lies at the roots of simple citizens, can be hardly altered. It is difficult to survive in a country, where the government does not support oneself; neither does it merely abandon him or her. On the contrary, it tries to take the most advantage of its

obedient workforce, pulling out the financial element and, of course, the will to resist the pressure from the above forces. All of these poor conditions pushed me to the edge of leaving the country. While the time in the United States, where I have spent a year after completing my time in Russia, has left a pleasant impression on me, Vienna became a comfort bubble with a set of helpful prerequisites, such as: a good university, health insurance, Schengen visa and others. When coming to Vienna, I had absolutely no expectations, as I had no plans of staying here for a long time. However, certain factors have convinced me that it would be a good place for a living and building my career in this city.

2. Are you satisfied with your stay in Vienna? (With university, opportunities, jobs and etc.) What is your opinion about the Austrian mentality and people? What bother you and what is good in Vienna? Did your expectations come true? What you would like to be change?

I personally see Vienna as quite a convenient place to live. Its infrastructure is well-organized, its health insurance policies are reliable, there is variety of representatives from many countries and its architecture is, indeed, astonishing. However, as the end of my studying is about to come, it becomes more difficult to see only the positive sides. There is a number of disadvantages to live in Vienna as well: first of all, no connections – means no job for a foreigner; second of all – no matter how much one integrates into Viennese culture, he or she will in 98% of cases remain an “Auslander”; and last but not least, the difference in culture (political and religious beliefs, mentality, sense of humor, etc.) often disturbs the very integration as well as the will to integrate of a new-comer. Moreover, personally for me, the language was a difficult point to achieve. Studying in English and living in a dormitory; hence, being involved in an English speaking community at all times, did not make it easier. However, with a proper amount of time and efforts, German language is realistic to learn fluently.

If I look at Vienna as a perfect city for a living, I do not see it in any different form, except for a different mentality of people in a more open manner. In this case, New York definitely holds the advantage for me. There is an enormous number of immigrants, which are respected in the same way as the local citizens. I can assure that as before coming to Vienna, I lived in New York, but for personal reasons had to

leave that city.

3. What are your plans for the future? Would you stay in Vienna or you would go back in your country or maybe in some other country (if yes which)? What are the reasons for your decision?

I would love to stay in Vienna as long as there are people that I want to stay there with. The city plays a minor role in this case. Even if there was a perfect place on earth, living there without close people would never let it be perfect. That is way I have doubts about staying in Vienna. I am trying to find a way, where I would be able to live closer to my family. Russia is certainly not the way for me, regardless the fact that it will always remain my homeland.

Interview - Aleksander

1. Why you left your country? Why you came in Vienna?; Why Vienna? What were your expectations for your stay in Vienna? (Language, standard, carrier, opportunity ...)

I left Bulgaria, because I was assured that in Austria I can get a better education and in general, there are many more opportunities for personal and professional development. Thus, I decided that Austria offers much better environment than Bulgaria.

2. Are you satisfied with your stay in Vienna? (With university, opportunities, jobs and etc.)What is your opinion about the Austrian mentality and people? What bother you and what is good in Vienna? Did your expectations come true? What you would like to be change?

I consider Vienna as one of the best cities in Europe, which provides its citizens with very well-organized social services. The salaries are high, the standard of living too. The problem is that there are many people like me, coming from different Eastern Countries, and it is very hard to integrate among Austrians due to the prejudices related to the people like me. Sometimes, Austrian people are really cold, but it is understandable. What mostly bother

me are those prejudices about Eastern Countries, which are the main reasons of why it is so hard to find job in Vienna. I would love to have more working opportunities for students, because apart of the theoretic education we got, we need to gain practical experience too.

3. What are your plans for the future? Would you stay in Vienna or you would go back in your country or maybe in some other country (if yes which?)? What are the reasons for your decision?

My plans are to try to integrate to the Austrian society and hopefully to find a normal job and live for certain time here in Vienna. If it doesn't work, I will move to another country, either back to Bulgaria or going to U.S.A./Canada.

Expert's Interviews

Basic questions:

- Wie ist Ihre Meinung nach die Intensität der Debatte bezüglich ausländischer hochqualifizierter Personen, die in Österreich Beschäftigung finden wollen und seit wann hat sich diese Debatte intensiviert? Was sind ihrer Meinung nach die Gründe dafür?
- Mit der Lissabons Strategie hat die EU das Ziel der Entwicklung der Technologien, IT etc. vorgestellt und um dieses Ziel zu verwirklichen wurden erhebliche finanzielle Mittel eingeplant. Um diese sektorale Entwicklung voran zu reiben wurde hinter diesem Hintergrund die Blue Card eingeführt. Nämlich, dass die Blue Card bestimmte Gruppen „angelockt“ werden sollen und andere Gruppen (die mitunter – aus ökonomische Sicht – mehr nachgefragt werden, dies wären ArbeiterInnen in der Landwirtschaft, SaisonarbeiterInnen, etc., nicht Beachtung finden). Welche Gründe würden Sie diese schiefe Wahrnehmung nennen?

- Die Blue Card findet nicht in allen Mitgliedsstaaten Anwendung, Staaten wie England oder Dänemark sind partiell ausgestiegen. Die meisten Mitgliedstaaten, wie Österreich haben die Richtlinie in nationales Recht implementiert. Wie hat Österreich die Blue Card umgesetzt?
- In der Direktive hinsichtlich der Blue Card hat die EU im Art 3 der Entwicklung bzw. Etablierung von nationalstaatlichen Aufenthaltstiteln explizit nicht ausgeschlossen. Ist diese nicht explizite Ausschließung dieser Option der Grund für die Entwicklung eigener Aufenthaltstitel? Stehen diese beiden Ansätze in Konkurrenz zueinander?
- 2010 wurde Österreich von EU wegen zu restriktiver Migrationspolitik in Bezug auf die Beschäftigung der Hochqualifizierten sanktioniert. Im Juli 2011 hat Österreich die RWR (Rot-Weiß-Rot) Karte vorgestellt. Gibt es eine Verbindung hier?
- Die RWR Karte sollte die Beschäftigung der hochqualifizierten Migranten erleichtern. Welche Motivationen stecken Ihrer Ansicht nach in der Entwicklung eines anderen Systems (Kriterien anstelle von Quoten)?
- Wo besteht eine Verbindung zwischen der RWR Karte und der Blue Card? Für welche Karte sollten sich potentielle Bewerber entscheiden.
- Wie wirkt Ihrer Meinung nach die Blue Card bzw. die RWR-Karte auf die wohlfahrtsstaatliche Ausgestaltung Österreichs aus. Ist das Mehr an Belastungen oder das Mehr an Einzahlungen argumentativ stärker in den Vordergrund zu stellen?

The answers compatible on the questions:

Norbert Bichl

1993 hat Österreich de facto ein Einwanderungsregime geschaffen mit Quoten und relativ strengen Regeln und der große Unterschied zu vorher, man musste vor der Einwanderung im Ausland einen Antrag stellen, da wurde geprüft und dann gab es erst die Erlaubnis, dass man sich in Österreich niederlassen konnte. Parallel mit dieser Einführung hat gleichzeitig Österreich gesagt, in der Arbeitskräftezuwanderung, es ist ja nur ein Teil oder meines Erachtens ist die Arbeitskräftezuwanderung aus Drittstaaten ja nur der kleinste Teil, wenn man ehrlich ist statistisch gesehen lächerliche Zahlen.. fahren wir ein bisschen spazieren bis zum Prater und wieder zurück dann haben wir alle gesehen die nach Österreich gekommen sind, das ist eine lächerliche Geschichte was da läuft aber ist egal.. gut für uns weil dann kann man immer wieder neue Bücher auflegen..(Bichl, 2013)

Schlüsselkräfte war definiert am Anfang Leute die gewisse Fertigkeiten haben die der österreichische Arbeitsmarkt benötigt und das hat das Arbeitsmarktservice geprüft. Hat man die Leute im inländischen Potenzial nicht gehabt, dann hat man die Chance bekommen diese aus dem Ausland zu holen. Nachteil war: es hat eine Arbeitsmarktüberprüfung gegeben und gleichzeitig eine Einwanderungsquote, also doppelt eigentlich. Mensch wollte kommen, er hat vorher eine Firma benötigt, Firma hat zustimmen müssen, dann hat die Firma de facto einen Vorantrag gestellt, ob man kommen darf, Arbeitsmarktservice hat ja oder nein gesagt, ich sage tendenziell nein, wenn ja musste man noch auf die Bundesländerquote schauen. Wenn ja durfte ich kommen. Das heißt wenn man sich jetzt alleine dieses Verfahren anschaut, tendenziell war das sowohl für Menschen die eine gute Qualifikation haben, die angeblich am Weltmarkt benötigt werden schwierig und auch andererseits war es für Firmen schwierig solche Leute zu holen. Tendenziell dieses Recht hat's gegeben, war aber zahlenmäßig sehr gering (Bichl, 2013).

.. es hat ein bisschen einen Diskurs gegeben, die Grünen haben das begonnen, die Wirtschaftskammer und dann hat's irgendwann einmal eine Reise gegeben, von Sozialpartner und von Regierung, also von Ministeriumsvertretern, von Parteienvertretern nach Kanada. Und die Österreicherinnen waren so begeistert vom kanadischen Punktesystem. Kanada ist schon ein bisschen anders wie Österreich aber egal jetzt, man war so begeistert vom Punktesystem und sagte man möchte so was auch in Österreich haben, dass eine Zuwanderung nur mehr nach Punkten geht, das ist das eine und auf europäischer Ebene war gerade der Diskurs zur blauen Karte EU. Da hat's einen Paralleldiskurs gegeben auf europäischer Ebene und auf österreichischer Ebene. Man braucht ja hohe Voraussetzungen, gleichzeitig ist man auf die einzelnen Nationalstaaten angewiesen, das ist keine Einwanderung nach Europa sondern eine Einwanderung in einen Nationalstaat. Und diese Kräfte dürfen nicht automatisch wechseln, also von Deutschland darf man nicht gleich nach

Österreich, man ist also in Deutschland eingesperrt und es ist ein relativ hohes Niveau und Österreich hat das so übernommen. Aber Österreich hat parallel dazu, weil so hätten sie ihre Schlüsselkräfte nie bekommen, haben sie die RWR Karte eingeführt (Bichl, 2013).

wenn Wirtschaft redet, oder es Presseaussendungen gibt „Österreich fehlen Arbeitskräfte – wir brauchen hochausgebildete Arbeitskräfte“, wenn man das zweimal liest, und wenn man sich die Begründungen und Statistiken ansieht, das sind immer Facharbeiter... Ein blödes Beispiel in Europa ist immer der EDV-Fachmann aus Indien, der kommt doch nicht nach Österreich als hochqualifizierter Mensch, muss eine neue Sprache lernen und soll da für 2000Euro brutto arbeiten wo er so wichtig ist und er den ganzen Wirtschaftszweig in Österreich retten soll. Der geht doch in einen ganz anderen Staat, wo er keine neue Sprache lernen muss und wo er vermutlich das Fünffache verdienen wird. Also so gesehen ist das ein bisschen eine scheinheilige Diskussion über sogenannte hochqualifizierte in Österreich weil in Wirklichkeit braucht man eher diesen Mittelbau, äh aber auch nicht die Hilfsarbeiter, die holt man sich anderes, aber eher diesen Mittelbau (Bichl, 2013).

Da hat's einen Paralleldiskurs gegeben auf europäischer Ebene und auf österreichischer Ebene. Aber ja, ich glaube die RWR Karte ist eindeutig das Ergebnis eines Europäisierungsprozesses. Eindeutig! (Bichl, 2013)

Das Argument Quote ist natürlich berechtigt aber nachdem vorher diese Schlüsselkräftequote nicht ausgelastet war d.h. man hat sie nie erreicht. Natürlich ist Quote ein Argument, aber wenn man sie nie auslastet ist es Wurscht. Stattdessen ist ein sehr differenziertes System hinzugekommen, also vierfach: Sonstige, Besondere, Studierende, Mangelberufe, also vier, ein sehr komplexes System, vier Arten von RWR Karte die innerhalb sehr differenziert sind. Vorteil ist, tatsächlich für besondere Schlüsselkräfte, weil zum ersten Mal Österreich ein System hat, das klingt schon ein bisschen nach kanadisch, amerikanisch, australisch, dass ich ohne konkrete Firma zumindest einmal kommen darf. Das sind die besonderen Hochqualifizierten, wenn die bestimmte Punkte erreichen – tendenziell sind das Akademiker aus den naturwissenschaftlichen technischen Bereichen die zumindest Deutsch und Englisch können und noch nicht zu alt sind aber trotzdem Berufserfahrung haben....Wenn sie das kleine Land aber der großen Weltkugel finden können sie ein halbes Jahr kommen und spazieren gehen und schauen ob sie einen Job finden, das ist der Vorteil. Und ein zweiter Vorteil ist.... da gibt es eine eigene Verordnung dazu die jedes Jahr gegeben wird, ich glaube ca. 20, das ist der Vorteil: habe ich eine konkrete Firma dann darf ich kommen, es gibt keinen Arbeitsmarktpolitische Überprüfung. Da sind wir beim Thema: Was sind in Österreich sogenannte Hochqualifizierte? Wenn man sich das anschaut dann sind das in Wirklichkeit Facharbeiter. Eigentlich wenn im Österreich und auch jetzt im politischen Diskurs über Hochqualifizierte geredet wird und man genauer hinhört, sind damit nicht die Akademiker gemeint, im Endeffekt sind Arbeiter gemeint, Facharbeiter... Man hat auch keine Sicherheit das ist einer der Gründe warum Österreich nicht so attraktiv ist, weil wir haben einerseits

ein strenges selektives Aufnahmeverfahren, haben aber dann trotz alldem wenn ich da bin nicht die Sicherheit. (Bich, 2013).

Peter Marhold

2008 kam die Debatte von der EU über die Blaue Karte, die von der Green Card inspiriert war. Vorher gab es kein Problem die Quoten zu erfüllen, aber die Quoten wurden erhöht und somit kamen die Probleme. Deswegen kam das RWR Kriterien System, welches sich aus der Blaue Karte Diskussion entwickelt hat.... Wofür brauchen wir die Blaue Karte, wir machen eine RWR Karte. Das EU Ziel ist schön aber wir verpassen es. Die RWR Karte ist dasselbe wie die Niederlassungsbewilligung. Die Niederlassungsbewilligung hat sich jetzt in die RWR Karte transferiert.... Das Motiv für die RWR Karte kommt von den Universitäten- und der Industrie als potenzieller Arbeitgeber: „Wir brauchen Leute aus dem Ausland, welche die Länder kennen, wo wir Geschäften machen.“ (Marhold, 2013)

2002 begann allgemein die Debatte über die hochqualifizierten Ausländer. Die erste Aufgabe war, zuerst einmal die Voraussetzungen für Schlüsselkräfte zu definieren, welche damals quotengebunden waren. Aber erst im Jahr 2006 ist zum ersten Mal der Titel definiert worden und damit hat sich die Debatte intensiviert. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt wurde die Voraussetzungen für Schlüsselkräfte durch die Niederlassungsbewilligung genauer konkretisiert (Marhold, 2013)

Die Anstöße kommen von der EU aber auch von den Universitäten, der Arbeiterkammer und den Unternehmern. Aber Österreich ist zu langsam. Die EU sagt: „Bitte bewegt euch endlich!“ (Marhold, 2013)

Die Blaue Karte hat nur andere Einkommenskriterien, wenn wir nur die Hochqualifizierten anschauen, gibt es keinen Unterschied zwischen den beiden. Ich bin sehr pessimistisch, dass die RWR Karte funktionieren wird... Die RWR Karte hat die Blaue Karte der EU uninteressant gemacht, da die RWR Karte billiger ist. Die Blaue Karte ist aber gut für die dauerhafte Bewilligung, da sie leichter zu bekommen ist (Marhold, 2013).

Margit Kreuzhuber

Ich hab den Eindruck, dass die Debatte über die Hochqualifizierten im Moment stagniert. Ursprünglich fing die Debatte mit dem Vorschlag der EU Kommission an, der sehr ambitioniert wurde. Bei dem ging es nicht um die Einwanderung der Hochqualifizierten aus dritten Länder in einen EU Staat, sondern um die Weiterwanderung, mit dem Ziel einen europäischen Markt zur Verfügung zu stellen... aber auch im internationalen Wettbewerb mit den klassischen

Einwanderungsländern wie USA, Neuseeland oder Kanada etablieren zu können. Der Vorschlag der Kommission war sehr, sehr positiv und weitreichend, aber leider wurde der Vorschlag im Zuge der Verhandlungen über Richtlinien viel verändert.... In Österreich kommt das Thema einerseits aus der EU durch die Diskussion über die Blaue Karte, aber andererseits auch aus dem Kanadischen Punktesystem, da wir die WKÖ von der Reise in Kanada sehr inspiriert wurden. Wir, die WKÖ beschäftigen uns mit dem Thema schon seit 2007/8 als der Vorschlag von der Kommission kam. Wir haben großen Hoffnungen auf die Blaue Karte gesetzt, bis wir bemerkt haben, dass die ursprüngliche Idee der Kommission nicht realisiert werden kann. Die Blaue Karte ist für sehr hochqualifizierte Akademiker, bei uns in Österreich geht es nicht um sehr hochqualifizierte Akademiker da der Markt nicht so stark danach fragt, sondern um Fachkräfte. Zudem wurde auch die Bruttoentlohnung in der Blauen Karte sehr hoch angesetzt, hatten wir bemerkt, sodass unsere Forderungen durch die Blaue Karte nicht erfüllt werden können... Wir haben an einem parallelen zukünftigen Zuwanderungssystem gearbeitet (RWR Karte). Der Vorschlag der Kommission war am Anfang sehr liberaler aber die Länder wollten selber bestimmen was auf dem Markt nachgefragt wird. (Kreuzhuber, 2013)

Österreich ist ein eigener Fall, ein anderen Weg aber nicht Europäisierung. Die Blaue Karte hat für Österreich nicht gepasst und deswegen haben wir die RWR Karte entwickelt. Die RWR Karte hat Priorität für Österreich. Von das was wir haben, die RWR Karte ist die beste Lösung, die weiter entwickelt wird. Mit der RWR Karte haben wir uns ein Image aufgebaut (Kreuzhuber, 2013).

Die RWR Karte und die Blaue Karte haben das gleiche Thema. Die RWR Karte finde ich attraktiver, da es mehrere Säulen gibt und es ist leichter sich genauer zu finden. Es gibt auch keine Arbeitsmarktprüfung. Die RWR Karte hat die Blaue Karte EU vernichtet. Ausnahme davon sind die Deutschkenntnisse und das ist das Hauptgrund sie zu beantragen. Auch die Mobilität ist kein Vorteil, da diese Visionen die EU nicht erreicht haben. Zum Beispiel, eine hochausgebildete Ukrainerin hat keine besseren Chancen auf dem österreichischen Markt, wenn sie ehemalige Blaue Karte-Inhaberin aus Deutschland ist. Für sie gelten die gleichen Regeln wie für jeden anderen, der zum ersten Mal einen Antrag für die Blaue Karte stellt. So ist es zumindest in Österreich.

Die Blaue Karte der EU war sehr leicht umzusetzen, das ist ein Paragraf. Die Umsetzung der RWR Karte war viel schwieriger. Die Hochqualifizierten sind eine Bereicherung, wenn es um Entwicklung der Forschung und Technologie geht (Kreuzhuber, 2013).

Appendix I

Zusammenfassung

Die Migration der Studierenden ist ein globales Phänomen geworden, besonders, wenn man die Statistiken anschaut, die Anzahl der Studierenden hat sich von 1975 bis 2009 verfünffacht, sodass es 2009 weltweit 4,1 Millionen Studenten gab (OECD, 2012). Die beliebtesten Länder der internationalen Studierenden, laut UNESCO, sind die folgenden Länder: USA, Groß Britannien, Deutschland, Frankreich, Australien (UNESCO, 2011). Österreich gehört zu den Ländern mit größtem Anteil von ausländischen Studierenden im Vergleich zu der Anzahl heimischer Studierenden (Hackl et al, 2006). Laut Statistik haben 2013 insgesamt 88 440 ausländische Studenten in Österreich studiert (Austria Statistics, 2013). Warum die ausländische Studierende Österreich als Zielland der Migration wählen und ob Österreich überhaupt ein gewünschtes Einwanderungsland ist, waren die Hauptthemen dieser Arbeit.

Damit ich auf die Forschungsfragen antworten kann, habe ich das Drei- Ebene – Modell von Thomas Faist (2000) verwendet. Das Drei-Ebene-Modell besteht aus drei Niveaus der Analyse: Micro, Makro und Meso Niveau.

Das Micro Niveau, oder das individuelle Niveau zeigt die Hauptmotive und –gründe der Migrantinnen für die Migration. Die Analyse hat gezeigt, dass am meisten Studierende aus Osteuropa die folgende Motive als entscheidend ausgewählt haben: bessere Sprachkenntnisse und bessere Marktperspektiven. Nach den Ergebnissen wurden die bestehenden Netzwerke, der gute Ruf der Wien Universitäten und die geografische Nähe als Hauptgründe der Migration genannt.

Das Makro Niveau ist das Niveau vom Staat. In diesem Teil wurde die österreichische Migrationspolitik analysiert. Die Ergebnisse zeigten, dass Österreich

eine Geschichte von restriktiver Ausländerarbeitsmarktpolitik hat. Diese Analyse zeigte auch, dass die österreichische Politik durch die Migrationspolitik der EU sehr stark beeinflusst wird bis zu dem Punkt der den Arbeitsmarkt betrifft. Wenn es um die Arbeitsmarktregelungen geht, sind die internen Diskurse intensiver und Österreich legt den Fokus auf den Arbeitsmarktschutz und den aktuellen Bedürfnissen des Marktes, woraus gleichzeitig eine restriktive Ausländerbeschäftigungspolitik resultiert.

Die Meso-Ebene ist eine Kombination der beiden vorherigen Ebenen (Micro-und Makro). Auf dieser Ebene habe ich die Bedingungen für die internationalen Studierenden in Großbritannien, Deutschland und Frankreich (als meist gewünschte Zielländer der ausländischen Studierenden) mit den österreichischen Bedingungen für Studierende verglichen. Die Ergebnisse haben gezeigt, dass Österreich Potenzial hat, aber noch immer die Qualität des Bildungssystems verbessern muss und an der Arbeitsmarktpolitik gearbeitet werden sollte, damit es sich den meist gewünschten Ländern annähern kann.

Das neue Migrationssystem, das Österreich im Jahr 2011 beschlossen hat, ist schon einen Schritt weiter und sehr ähnlich der Systeme der traditionellen Migrationsländer. Aber dieses System braucht Zeit, um sich zu etablieren. Wie sich die Situation entwickeln wird, muss man abwarten und in einer neuen Analyse erforschen.

Appendix II

Resume

The migration of students has become a global phenomenon, especially if we look at the statistics, the number of students from 1975 to 2009 has increased five times, so in 2009 it was 4.1 million worldwide (OECD, 2012) . The most popular destination countries of international students according to UNESCO are the following countries: USA, UK, Germany, France, Australia (UNESCO, 2011). Austria is among the countries with the largest share of foreign students in the comparison of domestic students (Hackl et al , 2006). According to the statistics in Austria, in 2013 there were a total of 88 440 foreign students enrolled at the Austrian universities (Austria Statistics, 2013). Why the international students choose Austria as a destination of migration and whether Austria is desired destination country, were the main occupations of this research.

So that we can respond to the main occupations, we constructed a three- level – research-model. This model was linked to the three - level model of Thomas Faist (2000). The three- level model is composed of three levels of analysis: micro, macro and meso level.

The micro level or the individual level shows the main motives and reasons of the students for their migration. The analysis has shown that most of the students from Eastern Europe have selected the following motives as crucial: better language skills and better market chances. According to the results, the existing networks, the reputation of the universities of Vienna and the geographical proximity were cited as the main reasons for the decision of the movement.

The macro level is the level of the state. In this part was analyzed the Austrian migration policy. The results showed that Austria has a history of restrictive alien

labor market policy. This research showed that the Austrian policy is influenced by the migration policy of the EU to the part of the labor market. When it comes to labor market regulations, the internal discourse are more intense and with it Austria focuses on the labor market protection and the current needs of the market.

At the meso - level, we made a combination of the two previous levels (micro and macro). On this level we compare the conditions for the international students in the UK , Germany and France (as the most desired destination countries for foreign students) with the student's conditions in Austria. The results have shown that Austria has the potential to take a part in the group most desired destination countries for the international students, but Austria still needs to work on the quality of the education system and labor market policy. According to these two criteria(quality of the educational system, according the world/European ratings and the labour market policy according to the international students) Austria took the last place respectively the other three countries (Germany, France and Great Britain).

The new migration system that Austria has promoted in 2011 is a step further and is very similar to the systems of the traditional migration countries. But this system needs more time to be in all implemented. How the situation will develop left on us to observe and explore in a new research.

Appendix III

CURRICULUM VITAE – Slavica Köckert

Education:

1. 2011 -.....: Master degree, Institute of Political science at the University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria
2. 2006-2009: University of St. Cyril and Methodius ", Skopje, R. Macedonia, Faculty of Law" Justinian Prima ", Skopje, Institute for Political Sciences
3. 2007: International Summer University Macedonia in public management, Bitola, R. Macedonia
4. 2002-2006: Gymnasium "Koco Racin" – state high school, Veles, R. Macedonia

Work experience and practice:

1. 2006: Market research, employer SWOT, Skopje, Macedonia
2. 2008-2009: Public relations (PR Office), Mayor's Office, Veles, R. Macedonia
3. 2010 - 2011: Analyst and translator at the "Revolution" - weekly magazine for politics, economy and culture, Macedonia

NGO activities:

1. 2002 -2013: Foundation for Local Development and Democracy "Fokus", a member of the board, Veles, R. Macedonia;
2. 2010 - ...: Organization for inter cultural exchange "Grenzenlos", trainer for Integration, Vienna, Austria
3. 2011 -2012: Macedonian Institute for Integration, International Project Officer, Skopje, Macedonia

4. 2011 -.....: NGO “ Im Ausland”, Administrator, Vienna, Austria
5. 2013 -: Organization of integration "Malo Movce" (Little Bridge), Co-founder, Veles, R.Mazedonien

Grants:

06.08-06.09.2012: "Temporary assignment" in Macedonia, MIDWEB - IOM, Hague, Netherlands.

Language Skills:

1. Macedonian (mother language)
2. English (fluent speaking, writing and reading)
3. German (fluent in speaking, writing and reading)
4. Serbian (fluent in speaking, writing and reading)
5. Russian (basic knowledge)