

Migratory Moods and Temporary Employment of Students of Central and Eastern Europe

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Migratory Moods and Temporary Employment of Students of Central and Eastern Europe

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Abstract

The article is devoted to the research and analysis of the migratory moods of students of higher education institutions of Central and Eastern Europe and their temporary employment (paid work and volunteering) during studies as an important factor of their life prospects. Countries that are interested in 'brain gain' and know their economic cost are pursuing an active and purposeful migration policy to attract highly qualified specialists from developing countries. These countries have a facade of the democratic regime, general inefficiency of economies, the decline in the level of culture and education in society, corruption, criminal capitalism, the 'oligarchic' concept of governance, all of which become the push factors driving the migration of young people with higher and post-university education. The results of the international study are

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based on a sample database of surveyed students in the 2018/19 academic year in the Eastern higher education regions of the European Higher Education Area. The study was conducted in higher education institutions in five countries (Slovakia, Romania, Ukraine, Serbia and Hungary). According to the study results, the more economically developed country the lower the level of migratory moods of young people. They rather tend to plan to leave the country for a short time for training and gaining work experience. More than half of the students in Hungary, Slovakia and almost half of the students in Ukraine do paid work, while most Romanian students volunteer. The work done by Ukrainian students is most often related to their field of study, while Hungarian students make up the largest proportion of those whose work is not related to study. Based on the results of the research, we observe that the respondents' professional plans are directed towards external labor migration, which will negatively affect the economic development of the regions due to the loss of prospective workforce.

Keywords: students, migratory moods, part-time job.

1. Introduction

In recent years, Central and Eastern Europe has been experiencing particularly acute problem of labor migration processes that are going in one direction. Young working population is leaving the country and is not coming back. It should be noted that such a vector of economic migration is always directed from the periphery towards the center, and from developing to more economically developed countries.

At present, there is an intensification of migration processes in the world, and these processes increasingly involve the population with high level of human capital (people with university and post-university education). In the scientific literature, this process is referred to as 'elite migration' and implies mass migration of highly skilled professionals, which is associated with an increase in the role of multinational corporations and, consequently, a decrease in the role of the national economy in the global economy (Burdelny, 2011).

The American researcher R. Florida pointed out that the development of a region depends on the availability of the creative class (Baranyi, 2005), which, according to K. Mannheim, is made up of young people (Anderson, Shmytkova, 2013). Relying on considerable empirical material, R. Florida argued that the basis of regional development is human capital built on education. In other words, regions and states where there are well-educated young people with high expectations and strong motivation for achievement are developing.

While agreeing with this statement, we note that young people are the main subject of not only regional, but also national development: the ir professional

plans make it possible to outline the trajectory of change and to diagnose the likely dangers and problems that may be encountered in a given region in the future. Hence our interest in whether university graduates plan to stay and work in their own country, or migrate and return or stay abroad.

In our paper we examined different aspects and types of work among students in Central and Eastern Europe. The purpose of the article is to carry out a comparative analysis of the migratory moods and temporary employment of students of higher education institutions in Central and Eastern Europe as an important factor of their life prospects. Because of the special political, social and economic situation in Ukraine caused by the conflicts in the Eastern regions of the country and the economic crisis the study puts more emphasis on Ukraine.

2. Migration trends in Central and Eastern Europe

If we talk about Central and Eastern Europe, the problem of labor migration of young people is extremely acute. The number of people involved in labor migration is steadily increasing. The survey shows that among those who intend to leave Ukraine, 55% are young people aged from 18 to 29, 44% are from 30 to 39 years old, and 33% are from 40 to 50 years old. The country in its current state cannot close this gap. Ukraine is experiencing a severe shortage of intellectuals and high-skilled specialists today. Of those who are ready to emigrate, 40% are people with higher education; 27.6% with vocational, 23.2% with secondary and 17.8% with incomplete secondary education (Mostova, Rakhmanin, 2018). So it is necessary to distinguish three waves of migration from the early 90s of the 20th century (Sadova, 2010). The first stage refers to the end of the 90s and is mainly represented by men with higher or secondary education from urban areas. To some extent, these people were the pioneers in the process of development and deployment of labor migration. They were able to settle down abroad, thus creating social networks of migrant compatriots, and to facilitate movement abroad for other citizens. Some of them became news channels that made it easier to find work abroad for their compatriots ('clientism' in the Czech Republic).

The second wave begins in the early 21st century and is more massive than the first. Migration subjects are represented by middle-aged men, usually involved in the so-called pendulum migration.

And now, the third wave, which began at the end of the first decade of the two thousands. The financial and economic crisis of 2015-2018 led to a new migratory wave of Ukrainian workers in European countries, characterized by the departure of young highly qualified professionals abroad with the desire to

legalize their official status in the employer country. Ukrainian experts now state that during the crisis, the number of our compatriots abroad has increased significantly (Libanova, Pozniak, 2012).

Thus, the recent crisis and events that are taking place in Ukraine today have further intensified the process of economic escape.

We can predict that in the future the share of migrant workers from Ukraine to the EU will continue to grow, given the current difficult relations between Ukraine and Russia related to the annexation of the Crimea and military conflict in Eastern Ukraine. Changes in the scale of labor migration have also been affected by visa-free regime between Ukraine and the European Union (Khadzhimanuel et al., 2007).

In the case of Hungary, there are three important era of immigration. During the half-year of the 1956 revolution against Soviet occupation nearly 200000 Hungarians left the country, mostly young men of working age. After the suppression of the revolution, the borders were closed until the change of regime in 1990. The emigration of Hungarians did not jump because of the fall of the iron curtain and the migration rate still low in 1990s year. Although in 2004 Hungary joined the European Union, the reason for the rising number of Hungarians leaving their homeland was not the EU membership but the financial crisis after 2008. The main destination countries are Austria, Germany and the UK and the average Hungarian migrants are young skilled workers and graduates.

Unlike Hungary, after Slovakia joined the EU in 2004, many young graduated people left the country to work in the UK, Czech Republic, Ireland or Austria. In spite of the post-accession brain drain, since 2008 more and more Slovaks moved home, and by 2017 Slovakia has become more of an immigrant than an emigrant country. In Romania after Ceaușescu regime started a big wave of emigration, so between 1989 and 1992 116000 Romanian applied for asylum. The second big Romanian emigration wave was between 2002 and 2008, when the masses of low-educated people went to Italy and Spain. Destination countries changed after Romania became EU membership: many Romanian chose the UK or Germany (Bándy, 2018).

3. Prerequisites for youth migration

Today, the majority of labor migrants are young and middle-aged people, who account for about 77%, i.e. the most employable and most socially active categories prevail. However, they realize their potential abroad. Thus, 41% of labor migrants are under the age of 35, compared with 34% of the total

population. This is even more pronounced in Poland, where 47% of Ukrainian migrant workers are under 35 years of age. (Zaha, Luecke, 2020).

Accordingly, these forms of mobility can be identified as brain drain, as they involve the departure of social elite from the country for a long period.

In addition, an active and purposeful immigration policy to attract highly qualified specialists to those countries that are interested in brain gain and know its economic cost, also has an impact on the geography and scale of intellectual emigration from developing countries. The analysis shows that the policy of attracting skilled personnel is being activated in Europe as well. Germany has been the center of attraction by the number of migrants over the last 50 years. The country accepts 36.2% of all EU migrants. It is followed by France (18.7%) and the United Kingdom (11.35%). These countries account for 63.6% of all EU migrants. Then come Switzerland (6.9%), Italy (6.3%), Belgium (4.2%) and Spain (4.0%) (Sadova, 2015).

According to A. Bozoki, the most talented people often leave because the social elite in their home country formed in a transitional period that is plagued by corruption and criminal capitalism. The 'oligarchic' concept of government created there cannot be attractive enough for a normal life (Botnarenco, Cebotari, 2011).

According to expert estimates, migration of individuals with high level of social capital is determined not only by social and economic problems that are characteristic of countries in a transitional economy, but also by political and sometimes cultural factors. Often, the migration of the social elite is a response to the systemic crisis that these countries are experiencing in the process of democratic formation. Facade democratic regime, the general inefficiency of the economy, the decline in the level of culture and education in society, as well as the lack of clear prospects, all become push-factors that determine the departure of such individuals. Most people with high level of human capital often choose the countries of North America and the European Union. This becomes a kind of financial investment for them and is connected with plans of permanent residence abroad. They could be so called knowledge brokers, too, who build networks between their home country and their destination country. They can play an important role the knowledge transfers and became a source of information and development (Pusztai et al., 2016).

For example, the following factors attract migrant workers in the European countries at the present stage: high level of socio-economic development and material well-being of the population; increased aging of the region's population and a corresponding increase in the number of disabled people on the continent; availability of vacancies and low-paid jobs that are unpopular among the European population; relatively favorable conditions for employment and illegal performance of certain types of work; acceptable employers' demands

for foreign workers and the opportunity to receive cash for their work; hiring in the private sector without accounting controls and a public register; simplified opportunities for foreigners to start their business and obtain certain preferences, including the official right to acquire European citizenship, education, housing, etc. Thus, there are prerequisites for the emergence of mass uncontrolled labor migration to European countries, sometimes referred to as economic refugees in the media. According to an official expert opinion from the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Europe has been transformed into a continent of older people, migrant workers and asylum seekers in recent decades (Kostashchuk, 2004).

There are no adequate offers in the Ukrainian labor market for university graduates. According to statistics, only 10% of Ukrainian graduates find a job in their profession due to the mismatch of the national higher education system to the needs of the labor market (excess of lawyers and economists, as well as the lack of demand for specialists in exact sciences). The level of incomes and average wages in the region are much lower in comparison with those in neighboring Slovakia and Hungary where the average salary is 1000 Euros. Due to this, for 39.5% of respondents the main reason for going abroad to work was higher wages, while for 36.4% it was the lack of any work at all¹

The problems in the Hungarian economy were caused not only by the decline in the number of births or by the employment of professionals abroad, but also by the fact that the structure of higher education training did not meet the needs of the economy (Ailer, 2017). The major issue is not only from an economic point of view, but also from the point of view of human capital theory, is in what extent the labor market and education match, and the return on investment in education at both individual and national level. Research on the coherence of education and employment policies shown the importance of workforce planning which purpose is to match supply and demand (Fényes, Mohácsi, 2019).

The main consequences of labor migration for the country are manifested in a number of negative social phenomena, such as depopulation of territories; corruption and crime (trafficking), transit of illegal immigrants; social orphaning or the problem of distant families; brain drain, that is, the migration of people with higher education (Lapshyna, 2014).

Analyzing the reasons for this situation, the issue must be considered in both socio-economic and subjective personal, ideological and moral aspects. It should also be noted that in the process of transition to a market economy, the upward social mobility channels were closed for most Central and Eastern Europeans. This created ideal conditions for 'pushing' working population

¹ <https://www.epravda.com.ua/news/2019/08/13/650543/>

abroad, according to the E. Lee's 'pull/push' concept (Lee, 1966). These conditions coincided with other necessary conditions: 'attraction', convenience and openness of migration routes. Today, the common socio-economic causes of cross-border labor migration in Ukraine are the economic crisis and the uncertainty of ways out of it, high unemployment, significant differences in living conditions and wage levels between Ukraine and the recipient countries of Ukrainian labor migrants.

4. Paid and voluntary work among students in Central and Eastern Europe

The second main question of our research is the characteristics of voluntary and paid work of students, so the next paragraph summarize some important research results from the examined region. Based on previous results, employment of higher education students is increasing (Masevičiūtė, 2018; Pascarella, et al., 1998, Perna, 2010; Riggert et. al., 2006, Teichler, 2011). According to EUROSTUDENT VI. data, there is no significant difference in the frequency of student employment in the countries under study. While in Hungary, Slovakia and Romania at least 35% of students work regularly, in Serbia this proportion is 11%. According to the Hungarian survey, the number of paid employees is gradually increasing (Markos, 2014; 2018). While 26% of the employed were high school students, 42.8% were university graduates (Engler, Rusinné Fedor, Markos, 2016; Markos, 2018).

Earlier studies of students who dropped out, found that less than a quarter of students who refused to study, had performed paid work each week in addition to learning (Markos, Kocsis, Dusa, 2019). Thus, more than half of the students in Hungary, Slovakia and almost half in Ukraine have temporary employment, while about 70% of Romanian and Serbian students do not do paid work.

Research that examined the characteristics of youth volunteering shows that the proportion of volunteers, studying in tertiary education, is gradually increasing with the number of volunteers more than doubling from 2005 to 2010 (38.82% of students in 2015 volunteering) (Markos, 2018). Research has shown that there is a correlation between dropout and volunteering; a smaller proportion of dropped out students do voluntary work (28%) than students who do not interrupt their study (Kovács et al., 2018; Markos, Kocsis, Dusa, 2019).

In Hungary, at least half of less intensively working students are public support receivers. However, public sources account for less than 30% of their monthly budget. Meanwhile, the majority of students who work more

intensively in most countries (more than 20 hours a week) fall into the category where the group of support receivers is small, and the input of support is below the EUROSTUDENT VI average (Masevičiūtė et al., 2018: 45).

Paid work is primarily motivated by the cost of education and living, although it may be a targeted way of earning money. However a student may also choose paid work through parental support (Markos, 2012; 2014).

In terms of volunteer work, there are traditional and new types of volunteering. Although the former is more altruistic, the latter is individualistic motivational (Bocsi et al., 2017; Fényes, 2015; Markos, 2014). In terms of volunteering motivations, students are also characterized by self-interest, professional experience motivation and altruistic motivation, in addition mixed motivations too (Bocsi et al., 2017; Fényes, 2015; Markos, 2014). In the study of volunteering motivation among Romanian, Ukrainian, Serbian and Hungarian higher education students, five clusters of students were distinguished by cluster analysis, namely: postmodern, altruistic, eminence, puritan and helping new types of volunteering motivations (Markos, 2017).

Volunteers living in Ukraine are characterized by Puritan volunteering, which means that they attach great importance to both altruistic and individualistic motivational elements. Except that their narrower environment (their friends and family) do voluntary work, and that they can enter their volunteering later in their CV. Postmodern volunteering was most prevalent in the Romanian sample. It is important for them to spend their free time, gain new knowledge, develop their skills, build relationships and gain work experience. At the same time, they do voluntary work because they would like to feel better and useful, to help others, to understand others, and to change the world. For them, learning a language, learning about new cultures and preserving traditions are important. Altruistic volunteering was more common among Hungarian students, suggesting that a new type of volunteering, individualistic motivation, is not yet widespread in Hungary. Eminence volunteering, so high importance of both old and new types of volunteering, was typical of Serbian students. The helping volunteering: the proportion of this new type of volunteering is the highest in Ukraine, but a little left behind the other countries (Markos, 2017).

The relationship between work and studies is an important analyze point. Some research does not consider the type of work to be relevant rather than a horizontal fit of work and study that positively affects academic performance. (Fényes, Mohácsi, 2019; Yanbarisova, 2014). Contradictory results have been obtained regarding the impact of student work on academic performance (Astin, 1993; Pascarella et al., 1998; Perna, 2010; Riggert et. al., 2006). In all

countries, master students are more closely linked to university work, with the exception of Romania and Slovakia, where there is hardly any difference between undergraduate and graduate students (Masevičiūtė et al., 2018). According to research into the impact of student employment, it enhances academic engagement and has a positive impact on soft skills and future labor market performance (Perna, 2010; Pollard et al., 2013; Sanchez-Gelabert et al., 2017).

5. Methodological background of the study

The results of the study were obtained from a large sample database of interviewed students in the 2018/19 academic year (PERSIST 2019, N = 2324), conducted by the Center for Research and Development of Higher Education of the University of Debrecen (CHERD-Hungary). The survey was conducted in one of the Eastern higher education regions of the European Higher Education Area. The research² was carried out in universities of the Eastern region of Hungary³ and in universities of four countries (Slovakia, Romania, Ukraine, Serbia)⁴. The sample in Hungary (N = 934) is based on quotas and represents the faculties and the field of study. In cross-border institutions, we searched for samples, and students went to groups for university/college courses, where they completed a full survey (N = 1381). The sample included full-time BA/BSc second-year students and second- or third-year students enrolled in combined Bachelor's and Master's degree programs⁵.

² 'The role of social and organizational factors in students' dropout from the educational process' within the framework of Project no. 123847 has been implemented with the support provided from the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund of Hungary, financed under the K_17 funding scheme. Research leader: Prof. dr. Gabriella Pusztai.

³ University of Debrecen, University of Nyiregyhaza, Debrecen Protestant Theological University.

⁴ The Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, University of Oradea, Emanuel University in Oradea, Partium Christian University, Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (Romania), Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, Janos Selye University (Slovakia), University of Novi Sad, Novi Sad and Hungarian Teaching Language Teacher Training Faculty, Subotica (Serbia), Uzhhorod National University, Ferenc Rákóczi II. Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute, Mukachevo State University, Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, Odessa National Polytechnic University (Ukraine).

⁵ In the courses with low number of students, students of senior years of study were included in the additional sample.

Data analysis was performed with SPSS 22 software using χ^2 test and variance analysis.

In our study, we compared the prerequisites, motives, frequency and characteristics of students' paid and volunteer work in five countries by analyzing closed questions.

6. Results

6.1 Comparative analysis of students' migratory moods

It should be noted that migratory moods in sociological perspective should be considered as a combination of the desire to leave with a degree of readiness of its implementation. In this study, we analyze students' migratory moods in the context of possible emigration.

The survey results show that Ukrainian students make up the highest proportion of respondents who plan to work abroad. More than two-thirds of respondents would like to work abroad, and the share of those who are willing to work outside their specialty field is extremely high (33.8%). Hungarian and Slovak students accounted for the largest share of those who did not plan to go abroad at all (58.0% and 56.2%). The share of Ukrainian and Serbian students who want to leave the country is extremely large: every fourth respondent among Ukrainian and every fifth among Serbian students (Table 1).

If we talk about Ukraine, today labor migration of young people is characterized by irreversibility, especially because finding a job back home with the wages they received in Europe is almost impossible. The problem of youth labor migration is significant in Ukraine because apart from migration processes, there is a huge demographic decline. It should be noted that the migration of young people can be both positive and negative. It is positive when young people return home from abroad, having received a good European education, life and work experience there. It is a negative phenomenon when young people do not return from abroad, and the country loses educated, mobile and active population.

After graduation, 22.6% of Hungarian and 22.0% of Romanian students would like to work abroad for some time. 25.8% of Ukrainian and 21.5% of Serbian students want to move forever (Table. 1). These results are similar to CHERD data of the previous years. In the 2012 study, mobility for education and work was more common among Ukrainian students (Dusa, 2012). A similar result appeared in 2015, although students were asked only about getting higher education abroad: while the percentage of students who planned to study abroad (partially) was 30.9% at Debrecen University and 38.8% at Romanian universities, in Ukraine it was 63% (Dusa, 2015).

TABLE 1. *Distribution of plan and type of work abroad by country (%)*. Source: PERSIST 2019.

		Hungary	Romania	Ukraine	Slovakia	Serbia	χ^{2**}	N
Do you plan to work abroad in the future?	Yes, I plan to work in my profession	28,3	33,4	34,2	28,1	36,2	123,085	2235
	Yes, but not in my profession	13,7	16,4	<u>33,8</u>	15,7	17		
	No	<u>58,0</u>	50,2	32	56,2	46,8		
Do you plan to work abroad after graduation?	Yes, I want to move abroad	7,6	9,4	<u>25,8</u>	5,7	<u>21,5</u>	188,944	2261
	Yes, for a long time, but I do not want to live there	12,9	16,4	16,3	18,7	7,5		
	Yes, for a short time	<u>22,6</u>	22	12,8	13,8	16,1		
	I definitely do not want to	19,5	17,1	18,5	16,3	22,6		
	I do not know	<u>37,4</u>	35,1	<u>26,6</u>	<u>45,5</u>	32,3		

* Underlined values indicate that this cell has a much larger value than it could be expected in a random layout

Therefore, it can be concluded that there is a certain correlation between the economic development and welfare of the country⁶ and the migratory moods of its youth. The greater the economic development of the country, the lower the migratory moods of the youth, or they plan to leave the country for a short time to study or gain experience.

6.2 Temporary employment: paid work and volunteering

One of the questionnaire blocks in the international sociological survey was devoted to the study of students' opinions on part-time employment (paid work or volunteering) while studying at university.

For young people, precarious employment is a kind of stepping stone for integration into the labor market. It provides an opportunity to combine work and training, gain the necessary experience, which is nowadays one of the most important employer requirements for young employees. The greatest risk of actual underemployment exists for people of retirement age (60-70 years old) and for young people (15-24 and 25-29 years old). On the one hand, they are less than other age groups interested in getting full-time jobs, on the other hand, other things being equal, employers prefer to hire members of other age groups for such jobs⁷.

The main tasks of temporary employment can be the following: engaging

⁶<http://url.ie/17su3>

⁷http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/operativ/operativ2017/rp/eans/eans_u/arch_nzn_smpv_g_u.htm

in work, gaining professional experience, which can help in the future choice of profession and field of activity, expanding the scope of services provided by young people in the labor market and improving the quality of these services, an opportunity to adapt to the staff members and learn to be responsible for the work, to spend their time for the benefit, while also receiving material remuneration.

Employees who have fixed-term employment contracts or a certain amount of work, as well as seasonal, precarious or part-time jobs, are considered to be partially employed (Kapeliushnikov, 2014). A large part of the employed students work unofficially, especially in Ukraine (34,7%). Unofficial, part-time employment allows to some extent to ensure mobility and higher employment rates, reducing the risk of unemployment and increasing the chances of employment. This is certainly in the interests of the employees because it gives them the opportunity to earn money, get their first wage and feel independent. However, it should not be forgotten that informal employment is primarily related to the lack of social protection. The objective disadvantages of informal employment for workers include low pay, lack of control over workplace safety, and in most cases, lack of career prospects. Temporary, precarious or casual employment (fixed-term employment contracts, contracts for a certain amount of work, seasonal employment, etc.) has become widespread in transition economies as a strategy for adapting people to changing conditions. In terms of rational use of working time these forms of non-standard employment were only beneficial to the employers because they allowed: to hire workers for a short term, not to 'keep them on staff', not to pay constant wages, not to overload full-time employees, which would lead to a deterioration in the quality of products or services. For temporary, non-permanent or casual workers, the rationality of working time does not play any role, and non-standard employment may worsen their position in terms of job security, wages, etc., but not for students.

According to our research, paid work was most often performed by Slovak students (30.9%), and every fifth Hungarian student also worked every week (Table 2). In Slovakia and Hungary, too, a great number of people do paid work every summer (almost every third respondent). Monthly frequency is most common among students in Ukraine and Hungary (14.7% and 13.4%, respectively). The number of those who never work is the greatest in Romania (almost 70%), Serbia (two thirds) and Ukraine (56.3%) (Table 2).

However paid work can be interpreted as a risk factor that confirm social inequalities and the chances of dropping out (Darmody, Smyth, 2008; Kovács et al., 2019). The dropout rate is higher among students who have a permanent, long-term job, and long paid working hours (McCoy, Smyth, 2004). From the Central European countries, Croatia had the highest dropout rate (15%). In

Hungary, the proportion of students interrupting their studies is in the EUROSTUDENT VI. average. The lowest proportion (less than 5%) of them discontinued their studies in Slovakia (Masevičiūtė et al., 2018).

Volunteering is the least common among Hungarian and Ukrainian students (63.0% and 64.2% respectively never volunteer); in contrast, the proportion of Romanian and Slovak students volunteering every year (33.8% and 36.4%) is the highest, while Romanian students do volunteering both monthly and weekly (Table 2). According to preliminary research results, the share of regular volunteers among Hungarian university students is gradually increasing. The number of volunteers more than doubled from 2005 to 2010, with 38.8% of students volunteering in 2015 (Markos, 2018). The results of previous studies also confirm that the proportion of volunteers in Hungary is much lower than in higher education institutions outside the country. This can be explained by the fact that volunteering as a concept has different meanings in different countries (Fényes, Markos, 2016). Weekly frequency is highest among Serbian students (16.3%), but also too high among Ukrainian students (9.5%) (Table 2). The high proportion of Romanian students involved in volunteering is likely to be attributed to the presence of two religious institutions in the sample. In Romania, strong religious values can explain the decision to help others, and religion (which can be understood as a kind of keeping the traditions) enhances preservation of other traditions, which also play an important role in Romania (Markos, 2017).

6.3 Relationship between paid work and volunteering with the field of students' study

We also examined the extent to which paid and voluntary work was related to the field of students' learning. Although Ukrainian students have a smaller share of paid work, most of them are those who work in their study field (10.1%) (Table 2). The reason for this is economic emigration caused by economic recession lasting for years, pushing a significant proportion of the population to work abroad (mostly in Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary). As a result, labor shortages in many cases are reduced by the employment of students who have not completed their studies. According to previous studies, a fifth of Hungarian students do work related to their studies. (Bocsi et al., 2018; Pusztai, Kocsis, 2019; Markos et al., 2019). The proportion of Hungarian students whose work is not related to their studies, is the highest (78.6%). With regard to Romanian students, we can see that not only does the highest percentage work voluntarily, periodically and regularly, but also their work is always (18.4%) or mostly (34.1%) connected with their studies. Among Hungarian and Ukrainian students, there is the highest percentage of those

whose voluntary work is not related to their studies (75.2% and 71.1%) (Table 2).

TABLE 2. Frequency and background of paid and voluntary work by country (percentage, $p = 0.000$). Source: PERSIST 2019.

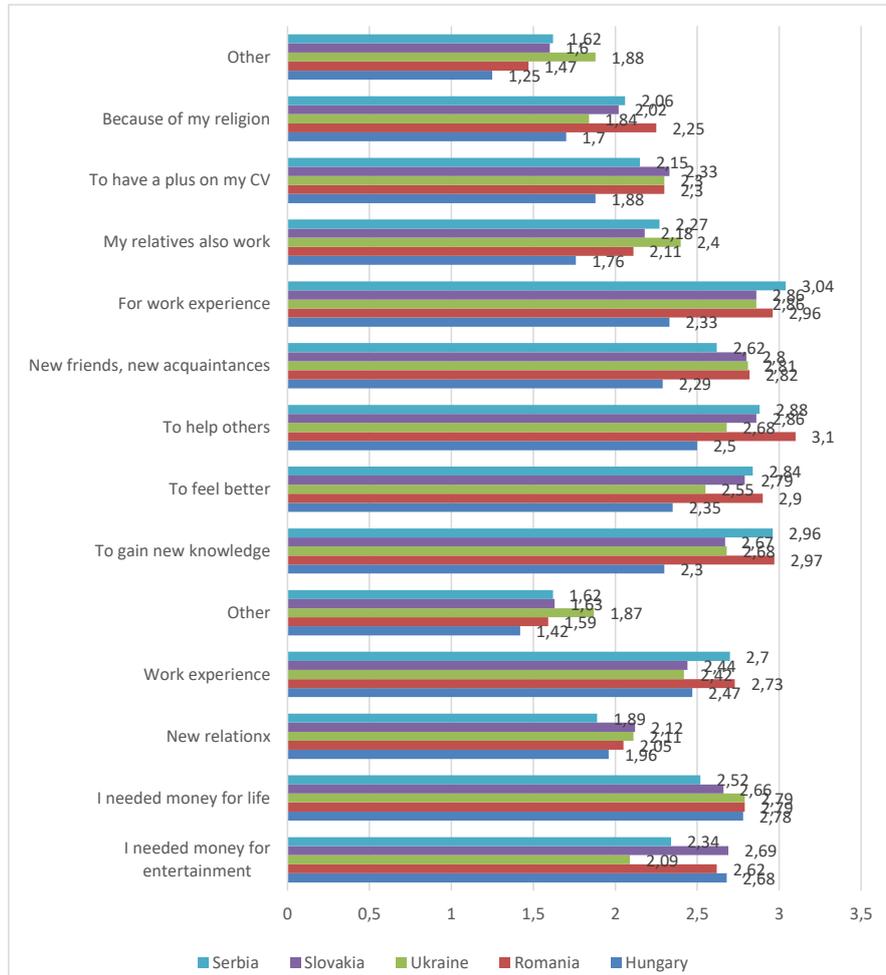
		Hungary	Romania	Ukraine	Slovakia	Serbia	χ^2	N
Do you work for a fee?	Never	38,8	<u>69,3</u>	<u>56,3</u>	29,3	<u>66,7</u>	205,818	2257
	Every year	<u>28,2</u>	14,5	19,7	<u>29,3</u>	17,2		
	Every month	<u>13,4</u>	5,9	<u>14,7</u>	10,6	4,3		
	Every week	<u>19,8</u>	10,4	9,3	<u>30,9</u>	11,8		
Do you volunteer?	Never	<u>63,0</u>	39,6	<u>64,2</u>	50,0	52,2	162,810	2243
	Every year	26,4	<u>33,8</u>	14,4	<u>36,4</u>	18,5		
	Every month	6,8	<u>16,2</u>	11,9	10,2	13		
	Every week	3,7	<u>10,5</u>	<u>9,5</u>	3,4	<u>16,3</u>		
If you worked, was it related to your field of study?	Yes always	4,3	8,8	<u>10,1</u>	3,4	10,8	29,417	2047
	Yes mostly	17,1	20,1	16,6	25	18,9		
	No	<u>78,6</u>	71,1	73,3	71,6	70,3		
If you volunteered, was it related to your field of study?	Yes, always	8,4	<u>18,4</u>	8,7	7,6	11,3	127,009	2003
	Yes mostly	16,5	<u>34,1</u>	20,2	31,4	27,5		
	No	<u>75,2</u>	47,5	<u>71,1</u>	61	61,3		

* Underlined values indicate that this cell has a much larger value than it could be expected in a random layout.

6.4 Motivation for paid work and for volunteering

We have found out what motivates students in the countries studied for paid work, as these are countries with different economic development. Significant differences were found in the motivation for paid work in different countries, while there was also a significant difference in volunteering between countries. Building relationships and earning for leisure activities is most common among Slovak students (2.69 and 2.12 points, a scale ranging from 1 to 4 points, the higher the score, the more consistency). The latter is the most important motivation for Hungarian students as well as earning a living (2.78 points). Paid work is the most important source of income for Ukrainian and Romanian students (2.79 points). Romanian and Serbian students worked to gain work experience (2.73 and 2.7 points). Among other reasons most often cited by Ukrainian students, the most common were to lay the foundation of a future profession, to achieve financial independence from their parents, and to earn money for summer vacations (Figure 1).

FIGURE 1. Motivation for paid work and volunteering (average points on a scale 1-4, $p \leq 0,05$).



Source: PERSIST 2019 (N = 1055-1990)

So we see that motivation is different. In Hungary and Slovakia the motive for paid work is earning for leisure activities, while for Ukrainian, Romanian and Serbian students these are mainly material factors, the opportunity to earn for themselves and their families, that is, consideration of work as a means of achieving material well-being prevails. For this, young people will probably have to sacrifice their professional expectations and orientations because of a difficult employment situation.

Romanian students volunteer at the highest speed and frequency, they are also the most motivated by a number of factors, mainly helping others (3.1), gaining new knowledge (2.97) and making them feel better (2.9), which contributes to their subjective welfare. But they also achieved the highest score in making new contacts through volunteering (2.82 points) and religion (2.25 points), which can also be explained by the religious institutions in the Romanian sample. Serbian students have the strongest motivation to gain work experience (3.04 points), but it is also important for them to improve their well-being and help others, while Slovak students are more interested than others to have a plus in their CV (2.33 points) (Figure 1). We found a similar result in typifying the motivation of volunteer activity of university students: for Serbian students both traditional and new types of motivation for volunteer activity were important. (Markos, 2017). The most important thing for Ukrainian students is that their acquaintances also volunteer (2.4 points), but they are also motivated by making new contacts and gaining work experience (2.81 and 2.86 points). Ukrainian students most often gave other reasons of which the most important motivation was conscience and goodwill (Figure 1).

7. Conclusions

The key to the development and prosperity of any country is the high level of human capital (young people with university and post-university education). In this article, we have analyzed the factors of life prospects – migratory moods and temporary employment of students during the educational process, which have a significant impact on whether experienced young people will stay at home tomorrow or leave their country forever, which will cause a decline in living standards and potential development.

Thus, the problem of migration of young people is important in Central and Eastern Europe, especially in Ukraine and has the character of ‘economic escape’. Today, the common socio-economic causes of cross-border labor migration in Ukraine are the economic crisis and the uncertainty of ways out of it, high unemployment, significant differences in living conditions and wage levels between Ukraine and recipient countries of Ukrainian labor migrants.

The results of the international survey were obtained from a sample database of interviewed students in the 2018/19 academic year of the Eastern higher education regions of the European Higher Education Area. The study was conducted in institutions of higher education in five countries (Slovakia, Romania, Ukraine, Serbia and Hungary). The comparative analysis of students’ migratory moods indicates the students’ interest in their future employment and labor migration. According to the results of the study, Ukrainian students make

up the highest share of respondents who plan to work abroad and among those an extremely high proportion are willing to work outside their specialty field. The share of Ukrainian and Serbian students who want to leave the country is extremely high: every fourth respondent among Ukrainian and every fifth respondent among Serbian students. Hungarian and Slovak students make up the largest share of those who do not plan to go abroad forever (58,0% and 56,2%).

Paid work was mostly performed by Slovak students (30.9%), but every fifth Hungarian student also worked every week. Monthly regularity is most common among students in Ukraine and Hungary (14.7% and 13.4%, respectively). The number of those who never work is the greatest in Romania (almost 70%), Serbia (two thirds) and Ukraine (56.3%).

Volunteering is the least common among Hungarian and Ukrainian students (63.0% and 64.2% never volunteer), with the highest proportion of Romanian and Slovak students volunteering every year (33.8% and 36.4%); however, Romanian students do volunteer work both monthly and weekly. On the whole, volunteering is not popular with students, but the percentage of youth involved in it is increasing every year.

Ukrainian students most often did work related to their field of study (10.1%), while Hungarian students make up the largest proportion (78.6%) of those surveyed whose work is not related to their studies. Romanian students make up the highest proportion of volunteers and those whose activities are always (18.4%) and mainly (34.1%) related to learning. At the same time Hungarian and Ukrainian students make up the highest percentage of respondents whose voluntary work is not related to their studies (75.2% and 71.1%).

The results of the study show significant differences in the motivation for paid work of students in the countries studied. Thus, for Hungarian and Slovak students, the main motives for paid work are financing leisure activities and making new contacts, while for Ukrainian, Romanian and Serbian students, these are mainly material factors, an opportunity to earn for themselves and their families.

Students' volunteering motivation is both traditional altruistic and individualistic. If for Romanian students the main motivation is to help others and feel better, then for Serbian and Ukrainian students the strongest motivation is to gain work experience and make new contacts, while for Slovak students to have a plus in their CV is more important than for others.

Thus, analyzing the life prospects of students of Central and Eastern Europe, we characterized the migratory moods in the context of possible emigration, identified and compared the prerequisites and motives of the students' paid and volunteer work, as well as found the connection between the

students' field of study and their type of work. Based on the results of the research, we can state that the respondents' professional plans are directed towards external labor migration, which will negatively affect the economic development of the regions due to the loss of promising workforce. This study outlines only one aspect of such a significant issue as labor migration and youth employment. This problem requires further disciplinary exploration involving specialists from various scientific fields. Only joint research will enable the development of socio-economic technologies to regulate migration processes.

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