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Exit, voice, and loyalty: Exploring social, political and institutional determinants of the migration decisions in Central and Eastern Europe

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Summary (maximum: 700 characters)

The aim of the thesis is to analyse whether social, political, and institutional factors are seen as determinants of migration decisions in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). While migration studies are dominated by economic explanations, this thesis used Hirschman's 'exit', voice, and 'loyalty' (EVL) framework to look for alternative relationships between emigration and its potential drivers. As such, the research used the empirical EVL framework to test whether relationships holds true as Hirschman assumed. The analysis showed that political trust, voting, and discontent with government performance can be linked to exit decisions in CEE countries when controlling for non-attitudinal effects.

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Introduction

Migration is an integral part of human civilization and has been present in all societies throughout the history of human kind, although it does not often get the attention it deserves. The notion that migration is an insistent reality of the twenty-first century has only fuelled the claims that it might be one of the drivers, which are changing our world. Since the end of the Cold War, a globalisation has incurred the changes on the patterns of human migration and they gained a renewed interest for research among various economists, historians, sociologists, demographers, and political scientists.

Many Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries have been subject to major political and economic transformation that were accompanied by significant population shifts throughout the last century up to the current days. In more general sense, the region of CEE may consist of former states of the USSR (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, and Ukraine), countries of the Visegrad Group (Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, and Czech Republic), along with southern post-communist states, namely Bulgaria and Romania (Castles and Miller, 2003). The last wave of the intense mobility could be arguably seen with the accession of Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia to the European Union (EU) in 2004. Many skilled and unskilled workers migrated in the hope to find jobs with better career opportunities and increased earnings. In terms of free movement within the EU and substantial structural inequalities in earning potentials between Eastern and Western Europe, migration between these states and higher wage regions has been significant and arguably dependent on economic factors (Burrell, 2009). As such, labour inflows to Western Europe has induced further economic development to these countries (Blanchflower et al., 2007), although the home countries of migrants have undergone "a negative supply shock with emigration adding to labour market bottlenecks and wage and inflation pressure" (Martin and Radu, 2011, p. 3). Needless to say, while some CEE countries have been also subject to higher immigration flows, especially the Visegrad Group and Ukraine, the overall migration net rates of CEE have been relatively low compared to other counterparts in Europe although varying on different degrees in separate countries. For instance, only slightly positive net migration rates were seen in Czech Republic (1,1%), Hungary (0,6%), Slovak Republic (0,4%), and Ukraine (0,6%), whereas negative rates are seen among Estonia (-1,6%), Latvia (-8,1%), Lithuania (-9,7%), Poland (-1,7%), Moldova (-0,3%), Romania (-3%), and Bulgaria (-0,7%) according to 2016 data (UN DESA, 2019).

There exist numerous drivers that motivate people to migrate: they migrate in search of better career opportunities, better life quality, higher earnings or as the outcome of political oppression (see Klagge and Klein-Hitpaß, 2007, p.1). Extensive volumes of research have been devoted to analyse people movements from a receiving rather than a sending country perspective (Blanchflower et al.,

2007). What is more, the major part of such studies emphasise positive and negative economic, political and social implications for receiving countries due to the substantial inflow of new immigrants (Messina and Lahav 2005; Portes and DeWind, 2008; Geddes and Boswell, 2011). While most of the migration studies have been focused on economic explanations on the outmigration, these studies could not enclose all the patterns, drivers and implications for emigration from CEE countries. As such, although CEE countries can be claimed having similar living standards, the variation in migration from these countries cannot be explained so easily, thus taking us to revisit the interrelated underlying social, political, and economic changes taking place in this region.

The international migration has its origins also in the political, social and economic transformations (Massey, 2009). In this regard, CEE region exhibited major political change with renewed democratic states and empowering potential has been turned into an unpleasant socio-economic and political situation in which the best alternative for people is defecting. Even prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union, there was an expectation that most post-communist states would undergo major migration outflows due to the profound economic, social, and political changes that these countries would experience when the regime ends (Park, 2015). Meanwhile, the socio-economic and politic conditions all over the region are very displeasing even up to these days. According to the Pew Research Center survey (2017), most citizens throughout the region identify their country's current economic situation as remarkably bad and similar shares claim that they are displeased with the state of affairs in their country. Furthermore, CEE citizens relationships with the government is rather problematic, since many of the people within this region are very sceptical of their governing elite as well as thinking that elected officials do not really care what they think (Pew Research, 2019). In addition, most of CEE countries are at the lowest echelon among other in terms of the scores on social justice index (Hellmann et al, 2019), based on poverty prevention, social inclusion and non-discrimination, and intergenerational justice. Furthermore, civil society organisations while proliferated since the start of transition, they still stayed week in contrast to their counterparts in more established democracies, showing low degree of interpersonal trust and atomisation in the society (Kutter and Trappmann, 2010). Lastly, citizens from post-communist countries are claimed to be unhappy due to what transition induced: decline of public goods; inequality and unfairness; higher uncertainty; and alterations to aspiration levels (Guriev and Zhuravskaya, 2009).

Most of the studies covering the migration in Central and Eastern European countries only emphasise the economic aspects and dimensions as the primary drivers and factors for such process. For instance, even the official reports by the World Bank and the OECD (2014) have concentrated on and mainly emphasized economic explanations of migration from these countries. A universal reasoning throughout these reports is that marginalised groups of post-communist societies emigrate for economic reasons. Knowing the unique political and social features of these countries and the

aftermaths of prolonged economic and political transformation, it is considerable to investigate non-economic sources to reveal societal and political disenfranchisements that accrued over the past two decades in the CEE countries.

In these terms, academic literature specifies that institutional and political factors could explain migration process. As such, it was shown that the quality of institutions are quiet important in encouraging migration flows even when financial benefits are high enough in the origin country (Bertocchi and Strozzi, 2006). Whereas corruption and civil rights (Poprawe, 2015; Cooray and Schneider, 2014; Rowlands, 1999) are also playing in the migration decisions. Besides, political discontent was demonstrated to be a feasible driver of emigration (Meardi, 2012; Triandafyllidou and Gropas, 2014). Nevertheless, these studies do not explicitly define the relationship between the state and citizen as in specific societal terms. While institutional relationship is claimed to have a basis for emigration, specifics of each society should be also considerable to have these effects.

Thus, in order to reflect the socio-political realities of CEE region to migration process, the **purpose of this thesis** is to explore whether social, political, and institutional factors are seen as determinants of migration decisions in Central and Eastern Europe.

Thesis objectives are as follows:

- Investigate how the social, political, and institutional factors might be intermediating emigration from CEE countries.
- Find an appropriate theoretical framework which could help to provide explanations on how migration is determined by these factors and how they are interrelated.
- Use quantitative methods in order to draw inferences about such relationships existing on population level

For the purpose to guide this research in line with objectives, **research questions** are formulated as following:

- Do social, political and institutional factors determine decisions to migrate in CEE countries?
- How social and political determinants interact when influencing one's decision to migrate?
- What explanation can be provided to such relationships

After reviewing migration literature and identifying the gaps for clearly defined theoretical frameworks to address the research questions, Hirschman's EVL framework was chosen as the potential theoretical basis. For the purpose to make to an empirically testable EVL model for exploring international migration, several conceptualisations were taken from the 3E3VL model and other relevant studies. Thus, factors of political, social, and institutional nature were formulated as

following: exit as emigration, voice as individual complaints, voting and unconventional political participation, loyalty as social capital and political trust, dissatisfaction as in terms of provision of public goods and services and government performance.

Dependent variable in this research is intention to migrate; **dependent variables** are conceptualised factors of voice, loyalty, and dissatisfaction along with Relative deprivation, which comes as an alternative explanation.

Hypotheses are formulated to reflect the relationships between conceptualised factors and emigration in relation to what Hirschman assumed. Additional hypotheses are constructed to test whether the conceptualised EVL framework holds in the CEE context.

Research methods are of quantitative nature to make generalisation and potential inferences on the relationships between migration decisions and conceptualised factors. Logistic regression analysis and structural equation modelling are employed to test the hypotheses on the LiTS III survey data.

Literature Review

The real world elements of migration comprise of all sides with remarkable complexity and closeness in terms of their impact to individual lives. As Jørgen Carling and Francis Collins (2018) put it, the study of migration quit frequently continues to be "fragmented and compartmentalised in predictable ways: between quantitative and qualitative research, different geographical contexts, forms or types of migration and theoretical influences". They claim that migration theory should take into account the multiplex elements of migration, the ways they are placed in imaginative geographies, emotional dimensions, social relations and politics. Nevertheless, since migration is a complex phenomenon, the aim has not been achieved yet and it is researched from a numerous theoretical approaches across different disciplines. What is more, each discipline raises different research questions, which results in concentrating on different aspects of migration with distinct dominant theories and different hypotheses. By way of illustration, economists examine the importance and centrality of a human capital along with the rational theory and push-pull factor analyses in order to explain the likelihood to migrate and its effects, whereas anthropologists employ structuralist or transnational theories and assert that cultural difference is sustained with the help of social networks to concentrate on "how migration effects cultural change and affect ethnic identity" (Brettell and Hollifield, 2000, p. 3). On the other hand, political science research on migration is primarily driven on emigration policies and immigration policies with the aim to reintroduce an importance of the state in the politics of international migration (Park, 2015).

In the light of severe migration and unfavourable socio-economic and political conditions in the region of Eastern Europe, not many theoretical approaches could explain the drivers of outmigration. Nevertheless, the predominant way to examine these patterns of migration in the region has been attributed to economic explanations (see Barcevicius and Zvalionyte, 2012; David McCollum, Elina Apsite-Berina, Maris Berzins & Zaiga Krisjane, 2017).

The most predominant theoretical area of research is attributed to the neoclassical theory of migration, which highlights that migration results from actual wage differentials across markets or countries that originate from different degrees of labor market concentration (Harris and Todaro, 1970). In line with this theory, human migration is caused by geographical differences in labour demand and supply and the consequent differential in wages between countries, which are rich in labour, as opposed to capital-loaded countries. Thus, the centrality of this approach comes around wages and probability of employment. While this theory is seen as macro-level elaboration, it can be also displayed on the micro-level by the human capital theory of migration. It embellishes the neoclassical framework by integrating the socio-demographic characteristics of the individual as a key factor at the micro-level (Bauer and Zimmermann 1999). As such, human capital endowments,

gender, occupation, skills, age, and labour market status along with expectations and preferences have a major impact on the decision to whether migrate or not. Thus, it is clear that diversity among individuals is an essential determinant while distinct individuals from the same country indicate different propensities to migrate along with different destination countries that are chosen (Bonin et al. 2008). In light of this, it also has been demonstrated that the propensity of migration diminishes with age and usually increases with the level of educational attainment (Bauer and Zimmermann 1999).

Most of the migration studies, which have been conducted for the Eastern European countries, rely on such factors as an inflexible labour market, high rates of unemployment, the increasing living costs, which are not aligned with minimum wage level, and better career opportunities abroad among the primary drivers of migration (Bauer and Zimmermann 1999; Dustmann et al. 2003; Layard et al. 1992). Among such explorations neo-classical approach with pull–push analysis and human capital framework are arguably the most conductive ways to explore the emigration from East–Central European. For example, Thaut (2009) discovered that emigration from Lithuania is primarily driven by both demand and supply, namely push and pull factors. He claims that after the accession into the EU in 2004, labour shortages, a drop in the working age population, and demand for cheaper labour in Western countries stood out as the key drivers that led to massive emigration. On the supply side, wage discrepancies, high rates of unemployment, and underdeveloped economic conditions also motivated people to leave the country. Another research (Elina Apsite-Berina, Maris Berzins & Zaiga Krisjane, 2017) reaffirms that these factors could similarly be attributed to the whole post-communist countries. Besides, the study of Barcevicius and Zvalionyte (2012) has proved that pull-push analysis and human capital could explain not only an outmigration but also a new trend of return migration.

Nevertheless, numerous scholars now argue that neo-classical economic approach, which is premised on the push-pull factor framework, is not able either to uncover or to explain such phenomenon. For example, Massey et al. (2005, p. 8) claim that:

"At the micro-level, [social scientists] question the conceptualization of migrants as rational actors responding to economic disparities between countries because economic disparities by themselves appear to be a necessary but not sufficient condition for labour migration to occur." "At the macro level, [social scientists] question the 'push-pull' approach, which views migration as a means of establishing equilibrium between regions of labour supply and demand. With seeds of doubt planted about the primacy of economic motives, the conceptual edifice of neoclassical economics has begun to wobble as never before".

Furthermore, Smith and King (2012) criticise this approach on the basis that it isolates migration processes from the variety of social and political factors in which they are embedded. Complicated economic transition and push–pull factors according to these scholars could not only be

seen as major causes for large migration in the Eastern Europe. Besides, according to Park (2015), if such theoretical approach holds its assumptions well, then large outmigration waves should be present in all post-communist EU states, while it is not a matter of case.

Another way to explain this migration patterns in Eastern European countries is to use the transnational approach. This approach has become one of the most dominant interventions into migration scholarship as it restated the necessity of analysing the transnational dimensions of migrating in the world. Unlike the dominant migration theories, transnational approach has allowed a research of migration to move ahead from looking at migrants within either sending or receiving countries as distinct geographical entities (Fomina, 2019). Besides, according to Jørgen Carling and Francis Collins (2018) the essence of this approach is to reconfigure our perception of the drivers of migration since transnationalism highlights how processes of migration, the establishments and maintenance of connections to home country and other locations happen simultaneously and mutually reveal each other. In other words, this approach claims that migration and even return migration is only a part of the whole migration story and not seen as the final stops of the migration cycle. Migrants establish strong social and economic links to their home country as they develop transnational identity, and these links are created by regular contact with members of the native society, frequent trips to the home country and the sending of remittances to family members. According to Cassarino (2004, p. 264), return migration only happens when "enough resources, whether financial or informational, have been gathered and when conditions at home are viewed as being favourable enough".

This approach has been proved to be successful in the context of Eastern Europe. The work of Barcevicius and Zvalionyte (2012) provided that transnational approach considerably helps to explain the migration patterns at least in Lithuania. The claim that recent migration to the Western countries could be seen as the outcome of globalised world and the belonging to one's country highly depends on how strong are the ties with members of the society. Nevertheless, this approach does not take into account of many political and socio-economic realities of a country, thus it cannot provide the whole picture of the migration. Moreover, rather than providing the explanations for possible motives to migrate, transnational migration research mainly describes a new reality that, according to Kurekova (2011, p.27) is "in the modus of migrating and integrating into host societies by proposing an emergence of dense networks across political borders created by migrants in search of economic and social advancement". While the concepts of transnational migration have brought new ways of understanding various forms of adaptation among 'transnational' individuals, they do not really touch upon the root causes of migration phenomenon.

The aforementioned two theoretical branches of migration studies not only include several additional theories and concepts within the framework but also represent the mainstream part of

migration literature. While numeral critiques have been raised in response to these theories of migration, even in Eastern European context, migration research as a whole endures a range of more general deficiencies. Since the study of migration have tremendously advanced in the light of increased circularity of movements in an era of globalisation, trade interdependence and simpler transportation, the discipline itself has been also challenged by variety of factors, quite a few are inherent in its subject matter. According to Kurekova (2011), migration theories usually neglect immobility and fail to explain both a lack of migration and a degree to which it perpetuates or alleviates. Moreover, these theories have not explicitly accounted for change and they rather are unable to explain migration processes over a period of time. Similarly, very limited number of theory testing has been incorporated in comparative quality work (Hollifield 2008). Finally yet importantly, there was a lack of cumulative theory building for interdisciplinary research purposes while connecting it to general social theory and investigating it in the light of greater social processes and changes (Arango 2000, 283).

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the range of research on the region of Eastern Europe has been predominated by the neoclassical theory, which also shows that numerous of particular characteristics of Eastern Europe have been disregarded. More importantly, as Massey (2009) argued, the international migration has its roots in the political, social and economic transformations, which can be matched by capitalist market expansion into non-market or pre-market societies. Besides, migration does not originate insufficient economic development in the short run, but from development itself. In the context of Eastern Europe, there is a clear relevance here as rapid transition to market economies have created a lot of frustration for the citizens of the region. Therefore, the experience of political, social and economic transformations brought by the fall of the Soviet Union and communist states as well as the accession to the EU are crucial contextual determinants that could make the migration in the region as a very interesting area for unconventional research.

One of the rare examples of such kind research in the context of Eastern Europe is the work conducted by Kurekova (2011, p. 15-205). She employed more holistic approach as a complex process by combining elements of various theories of migration and developing on literature outside of the field of migration such as transition studies, labour market research, welfare state studies and comparative political economy. Moreover, the whole framework put an emphasis on migrants as actors in the migration processes along with the fact that migration flows and migrant profiles are shaped in combination of structural, political and individual-level determinants. Research found that in Central and Eastern Europe the structural transition to market economy was unprecedented in its extent and required major reallocation of labour, which in turn came out as migration in order to deal with labour market problems, imbalances, risks and insecurities. Besides, the most emphasis was put

on Welfare system provisions by showing that hardship migrants were more prone to migrate from those countries where unemployment insurance systems and social schemes aimed at assisting the workers adjust were underdeveloped or underfunded.

In addition to this research, there has been a growing body of research lately, which emphasise the role of institutions and institutional setting in the decision to migrate. One of the latest interdisciplinary example is Menz's political economy of managed migration approach, where he investigates the interplay between economic structures, policies, legacies and institutional determinants in producing certain migration outcomes (Menz 2009). Identically, Ariu et al. (2016) used more specific quantitative tools and found out that net migration flows are determined by asymmetric factors, including the quality of institutions. As such, based on their definition of quality of institution, they proposed that high-skilled emigration occurs more in countries with bad institutions. Correspondingly, Bergh et al. (2015) discovered that institutions are a strong push factor of emigration by using a gravity model with spatial approach. According to their research, institutions may have a greater explanatory power than current income as a decision to migrate is solely based on long-term prospects. Lastly, Poprawe investigated the effect of corruption in sending countries on bilateral migration flows and found out corruption is a significant push factor, "countries with high levels of corruption provide a less secure business environment and worse working conditions and encourage individuals to move to countries where less corruption is present" (Poprawe, 2015, p. 339).

While the number of empirical studies has increased in the last year, there has been very few attempts to conceptualise these findings in an appropriate theoretical framework. It is certain that social, political and institutional factors may intermediate the migration decisions, especially in the region of Central and Eastern Europe where the rapid transition has taken its toll through all these dimensions.

1. Theory

1.1. Hirschman's concepts

As the primary theoretical ground for this work, I use Hirschman's (1970) concepts of 'exit', 'voice', and 'loyalty', which were originally formulated to classify people's alternatives when discontented with an organization. In 1970 Albert O. Hirschman published a book entitled as "Exit, Voice and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations and States". His book has almost reached the status of a classic once it was published and had an instant effect upon academia in multiple disciplines including political science, social psychology and management.

Hirschman's opening line in the book is the exploration how people behave when they are dissatisfied. The main argument of this book was rather straightforward. When there is deterioration in the quality of product or service of a firm, then there are two basic ways in which consumers might respond. They might exit from their relationship with the brand or organisation or they might complain about such deterioration. Although this relationship is initially brought upon customers and firms, Hirschman (1970, p. 3) indicated that theory is also applicable to dynamics between the state and a citizen.

On the one hand, exit is fundamental part of this framework as it is one of responses to dissatisfaction of a binary nature. If individual is dissatisfied he or she can either leave or not (Ibid, p. 15-16). Thus, decision to exit is rather straightforward as its effectiveness is not dependent on decisions of other people (Hirschman, 1993; p. 194). In Hirschman's terms, it rather depends on the voice itself since the exit response to quality deterioration appears more likely when the expected benefits of voice drop as the cost arise.

Opposite to exit, voice is less straightforward since it carries out multiple and complex options as a response to quality decline. Hirschman (1970, p.3) denotes the voice namely as 'any attempt to change, rather than escape from, an objectionable state of affairs, whether through individual or collective petition to the management directly in charge, through appeal to higher authority with the intentions of forcing a change in management, or through various types of action and protests, including those that are meant to mobilize public opinions'. As such, voice can be as more nuanced option where an individual not only demonstrate dissatisfaction just as well the degree of it but he or she can state what the organisation needs to change in order to address such dissatisfaction. Similarly, voice is fully co-dependent on exit since voice option could only truly be present if the exit option is accessible as an implicit threat. Thus, even though the presence of exit option will diminish the likelihood of voice response, the existing threat of exit is the only thing that might make a voice as an effective option (Ibid, p. 76).

Another addition to this framework comes as a third element, 'loyalty', which is meant to mediate the relationship between both response options. Hirschman notes this element as psychological factor, which essentially shows that when an individual is loyal to an organisation or state he or she might be less ready to exit than if such loyalty is not felt (Ibid, p. 78). In simple terms, loyalty encourages one's propensity to select voice or silence over exit as a result of tighter affective ties as well as trust in the organisation (Burgess, 2012). Furthermore, loyalty can be understood easily in cost terms when one's loyalty is a measure of how likely an individual will exit, knowing the relative benefits and costs of exiting and voicing. When there are no strong attachments to an organisation, exit response is the default option as voice becomes more costly due to the time and effort it requires in contributing to collective action or other activities.

Coming back to the relationship between citizens and the state, Hirschman (1980) elaborates that when especially voice is complicated, the state's failure or reluctance to provide public goods, involving political liberty and justice as well, is what can reduce loyalty and motivate to exit. As such, once a citizen perceived that the quality of government policies or public provision of services (public education, social security, healthcare etc.) have declined, he or she might get dissatisfied which would lead to three options: either exit from the existing relationship with the state (migrate to another country) or complain about it directly or via other ways such as casting a vote in the election.

Hirschman's exit, voice and loyalty idea is very important as it treats mobility and participation as alternative responses for the ones who are dissatisfied with an organisation or community and proposes hypotheses about the effect of one response upon the other. In spite of providing only mere specifications of exit, voice, and loyalty as potential consequences of perceived dissatisfaction, Hirschman is rather explicitly interested in the interlinkages of these responses. Hirschman's own original application of these hypotheses and accounts have set a valuable base for future research conducted across various disciplines. His framework has been taken to formulate specified models on logically drawn hypotheses on particular contexts with some modifications that went quite differently than the creator could envisaged them. Thus, before applying Hirschman's ideas to the thesis research, I will overview the explanatory frameworks, which have been based on Hirschman's idea.

1.2.   Explanatory frameworks derived from Hirschman's concepts

Hirschman's concepts has found its place in the work of labour economists, management researchers, sociologists and social psychologists, and political scientists, yet there has been surprisingly little empirical data to fully test Hirschman's hypotheses on the relationships between voice, loyalty and exit. What is more, of the broad variety of publications claiming to use Hirschman's

idea empirically only two types of explanatory frameworks aim to measure the interactions similar to Hirschman's. According to Dowding et al. (2000), most of research publications focus on behaviours labelled as the terms 'exit' and 'voice', while 'loyalty' is usually completely ignored. Thus, this section will overview both explanatory frameworks used to examine empirically the EVL relationships.

1.2.1. 'Exit, Voice, Loyalty and Neglect' (EVLN) framework

'Exit, Voice, Loyalty and Neglect' (EVLN) model stands as the most influential model, which lays ground for many other empirical studies concerned with Hirschman's concepts. Initially it was developed by Caryl Rusbelt and her colleagues to examine psychological responses to different sources of dissatisfaction (Rusbelt et al. 1982; Rusbelt and Lowery 1985; Rusbult and Farrell 1982; Farrell (1983). It has been applied in numerous contexts of different nature, ranging from marriage and romantic relationships (Rusbult et al. 1982; Rusbult and Zembrodt 1983), relationships between employees and management (Rusbult and Farrell 1982 ; Farrell 1983 ; Rusbult and Lowery 1985), psychotherapy (Derlega et al . 1993) and many more.

Such social-psychological EVLN research can be seen as both an analytical framework and a predictive method used in different social relations at work, within and between classes, and in romantic circumstances to analyse responses to disappointment. Hirschman's ideas were used to produce a model, which is comprised of four different types of behavioural reactions to dissatisfaction used from relation to romantic involvement to organisational workplace studies: exit – leaving a relationship or organisation, thinking about quitting; voice – discussing issues and seeking help, taking action to solve problems; loyalty – waiting for the situation to get better or committing to good citizenship within the organization; and neglect – putting less work into it and maintaining negative attitudes to relation or partner. Following Rusbult et al., those four types of responses vary from each other through two evaluative dimensions: activity and passivity, constructiveness and destructiveness. At the time when loyalty and neglect are seen to be passive responses to dissatisfaction, exit and voice are believed to be active. Besides, exit and neglect are considered destructive responses, while voice and loyalty are thought to be constructive.

The social-psychological EVLN literature has reinforced the empirical basis of Hirschman's initial claims. Nevertheless, Hirschman's concepts have been used quite differently in such research while the operationalisations did not adhere to the original definitions of EVL framework. As such, there are significant differences between the original EVL framework and EVLN model, which are much greater than just a mere addition of 'neglect'. Firstly, Dowding and John (2012, p.59) find the EVLN model conceptually odd as instead of using loyalty factor as an psychological condition

mediating the relationship between dissatisfaction and exit/voice, the model treats a loyalty as a behavioural response to dissatisfaction. Furthermore, there are serious doubts whether loyalty should be considered as an alternative response since some studies demonstrate little empirical support for such claim. For instance, Rusbult & Lowery (1985) observe that loyalty correlates substantially negatively with exit and highly positively with voice. Secondly, putting exit and voice as exclusive responses does not go well with Hirschman's framework. According to Hirschman (1970, p.38), wanting to leave as a response to dissatisfaction but not being able to do so may still encourage voice responses. In general, Dowding et al (2002) ascribe many conceptual issues and methodological difficulties to the EVLN studies that set this model relatively far from original Hirschman's framework.

In relation to the identified conceptual issues in the EVLN model, there are some indications that this explanatory framework would be poor fit to explain the exit response along with other factors in CEE countries. Firstly, the model goes beyond original Hirschman's concepts, which may not be helpful to unravel the relationships between citizens and the state. Hirschman's framework lays down a basis where exit, voice, and loyalty factors are interconnected and altogether are crucial in the event of experienced dissatisfaction. On the contrary, the EVLN model tries all these factors exclusively, thus the exit option would only be related to the dissatisfaction itself, omitting the potentially important relations with loyalty and voice. Besides, there is only a few studies in political science that used this framework on similar research as in this thesis. Among the few is the research by Lyons *et* al. (1992), which used to examine why citizens become displeased with public services in the two urban areas in the US with a primary focus on the institutional effect on such satisfaction. Their empirical analysis shown that when prior satisfaction and social investment are poor citizens may leave a government jurisdiction if there are no viable alternative. Besides, it also found that prior satisfaction works for loyalty too, yet the effect on voice and other alternatives was nothing of significance. Lastly, the authors implied that the analysis results only provide a moderate support for the EVLN model. On the other hand, Dowding *et al.* (2000) gave a lot of criticism to their model, especially on the use of neglect, which was not particularly in the calculus of political participation.

1.2.2. The 3E3VL Framework

The Three Exit, Three Voice and Loyalty (3E3VL) framework is a very novel application of Hirschman's concepts, which gave a ground to a more systematic approach in empirically testing the EVL relationships. Originally it was developed by Keith Dowding and Peter John (2008) to capture the public goods aspect, building on already conceptualised 'two exit, two voice' model by Dowding *et al.* (2000). The primary aim of this framework was to address the shortcomings of Hirschman's

original framework. As argued in Dowding *et al.* (2000), original EVL framework is rather too simple as it neglected both the tangling elements of public goods on the exit-voice interdependence and dynamic feature of this process. As such, there were no implications made on whether the effects of this process are seen on political participation of past exit and voice opportunities. For instance, if voice was exercised in the past but it proved to be unsuccessful, then a greater exit should be expected.

The 3E3VL framework modified original EVL framework by splitting the voice and exit classifications into three distinct responses each and turning the loyalty factor into an observable structural factor. Firstly, in order to entangle the complicating factor of public goods, authors of the model separated the ways by which citizens may leave a public service into three separate modes. As John and Dowding (2008) put it, based on empirical findings and existing research three modes of exit from public service are as follows: internal exit – withdrawal from one public provider to another; private exit – withdrawal from public service provision for private provision; Tiebout exit – geographical departure where the reason for leaving is to change provider. Such distinction has been made as these forms of exit are different in character and produce different types of signals to operators of public services and goods, where especially private exit and Tiebout exit are seen having detrimental consequences for Hirschman's voice. In line with Hirschman's EVL claims, John and Dowding (2012, p.42-43) argue that when inferior local governments turn away more prudent and educated citizens to neighbouring jurisdictions, then the voice of remaining people could be irreversibly harmed, following that services will continue to deteriorate without the incentives for local governments to improve. Secondly, 3E3VL framework splits voice into three categories based on the individual and collective notion to reflect the nature of the exit-voice relationship. This distinction is similar as in Luchak's work (2003), where *direct voice* is understood as direct contact between employee and his workplace while *representative voice* shows that complaint is communicated indirectly through a mediator. As shown in the Table 1, voice in the 3E3VL model is comprised of individual voice, collective voice voting and collective participation. Lastly, 3E3VL framework treats loyalty as captured by social capital and past social investment rather than unobservable psychological variable. In this sense, Dowding and John (2008) suggest that citizens are less likely to leave a local jurisdiction if they have established social ties to that area, meaning that local networks or ties as a form of social capital induce voice rather than exit.

Table 1. Summary of voice from the 3E3VL framework. Retrieved from John and Dowding (2012)

Type of voice	Description
Individual voice	Individual communication about service either direct to provider or to some public body, e.g. letter to hospital; conversation with elected representative
Collective voice voting	Voting in election
Collective voice participation	Participating in some collective voice activity, e.g. belonging to some lobby group, signing a petition, going on a demonstration

The 3E3VL model proved to be successful when applied to empirical research in the area of public services. John and Dowding (2008) demonstrated that there certainly exists exit–voice trade-offs and making exit opportunities wider will have an influence on anticipated individual complaints about public services and certain types of collective participation. Besides, they are also suggested that such neglected framework can be employed in political science for the examination of exit and voice in relation to political participation and public services. In later work published as a book, John and Dowding (2012, p. 130-140) investigated more deeply these relationships and shown that dissatisfaction makes both exit and private voice to happen, whereas it can also associated with collective voice. Besides, among many other findings they demonstrated that those who intend to leave are less prone to use collective voice than those who do not have any intention. As this model is still novel, there exist only few researches using it. One of them, used the 3E3VL model to find out that gaps between public service expectation and actual service delivery is linked to the widespread protests in South Africa's Sedibeng District (Akinboade et al., 2014).

In relation to the aim of this thesis, it is certain that 3E3VL model could produce a valuable basis to conduct an empirical research on whether observed social, political and institutional determinants are effecting migration decisions for citizens of CEE countries. Nevertheless, there might be some issues when applying this model to migration between countries. Firstly, the 3E3VL framework is more focused on the various exit modes which happen either from one provider of public goods and services to another, leaving for private provider or moving to different jurisdiction. Therefore, this has not been particularly explored in the setting of international migration where selecting a different provider might be a difficult decision. Secondly, as it relates to the aforementioned issue, the model rather operates on micro level and the relationships take place within one local community or jurisdiction.

1.3.   Research theoretical framework

Not many theoretical approaches could encompass complicated socio-economic and political realities of Central and Eastern European countries. Hirschman's concepts of 'exit', 'voice' and 'loyalty' are particularly fit to explore such realities since they comes as a very helpful framework to establish the relationships between prevailing political discontent in the region, political apathy and even migration decisions.

Even few studies have employed this framework to investigate the migration causes in some Central and Eastern European countries. For instance, Sippola (2013) analysed the Baltic States with application of these concepts to certain extent, and theorised that exit from the Baltic countries occurs in the absence of voice, where disillusionment caused by deteriorating conditions and limited political choices generate a particular type of loyalty without a sense of influence. Similarly, Ådnanes (2004) used Hirschman's theoretical constructs to investigate Bulgarian youth and the idea of citizenship. Her findings indicated that a normative separation between 'exit' and 'voice' as theoretical concepts does not cover the complexities of the Bulgarian students' emigration and political involvement plans. Nevertheless, such studies did not either tried to use the EVL framework on empirical grounds or not fully apply a conceptual structure of it.

While there are already modified frameworks that use Hirschman's concepts, both ENVL and 3E3VL frameworks are not particularly suitable to be directly in applied to the particularities of emigration in CEE countries. The ENVL framework as being mostly accommodated in organisational and psychological studies became too distant from Hirschman's concepts, especially in exploring the relationships between citizens and the state. Whereas, the 3E3VL framework is mostly focused on different modes of exit from public services, although the conceptualised relationships could be adapted to some extent on the migration between countries. Having this in mind, in the following subchapters I intend to expand Hirschman's EVL framework in order to address the objectives of this thesis.

1.3.1.   Exit

While conventionally Hirschman's exit was used as withdrawal from use of services or goods, later it was applied to moving from one public service to a better one in number of studies (see Tiebout 1956; Dowding et al., 2012). As already shown in the 3E3VL framework, most exit modes are described on local level and have not been particularly ascribed to the movement between countries. However, the framework also includes the option of geographical exit, namely as Tiebout exit, which defines a relocation of household from one local government jurisdiction to another. The concept was

drawn from Tiebout's (1964) research since it demonstrates that local public goods problem can be solved when citizens move to a better local government jurisdiction as a response to poor quality public services. Dowding and John (2012, p.116-126) used this mode of geographical exit, yet they only found a week relationship with dissatisfaction. While their research omitted international migration as relocation from one public services provider to another, it does not mean it cannot be defined like this since Hirschman (1975; 1995) himself already considered a relocation of citizen across borders from one country to another as geographical exit. In this sense, states can be understood as welfare services and public goods providers, where a potential exit is caused if citizen is unsatisfied with the provision of the state. For instance, one can be dissatisfied with public education, healthcare system, or local roads and decide to move to another country, which has a better provision of these goods and services. Nevertheless, the concept of exit in this thesis is not entirely attached to such understanding since exit from state provision can happen even when citizens are satisfied with that provision and have other grievances.

1.3.2. Loyalty

As it was shown Dowding et al.(2000), many studies especially within ENVL area have used the concept of loyalty inconsistently and as behavioural response to dissatisfaction rather than psychological intervening effect as in original Hirschman's terms. The only empirically measurable conceptualisation of loyalty used to explain the interdependence between exit and voice is provided by the 3E3VL model. Thus, I base this concept mainly on Dowding and John (2008, 2012) work where the loyalty is seen as social capital with the important role of past social investment. By that work they made a slight addition to the EVL model by conceiving of loyalty as a form of investment into communities and groups that reduces the trade-off between exit and voice. More precisely, it was claimed that strong social ties to the area is motivating citizens to voice their concerns rather than leave their jurisdictions due to sentimental reasons (Dowding and John, 2008). It is worth to note that such factors as knowing one's neighbours and belonging to neighbourhood was seen as most empirically proved in relation to exit. On the whole, social capital in this research is based on Putnam's (2011) conceptualisations where the social investment in one's community is established by the efficiency of social structures. As such, it can be measured by the nature of the networks, their strength and such factors maintaining them as social trust.

The loyalty concept established by now partly fulfils he idea provided by Hirschman (1970 , p. 77–8) where loyalty to citizen's country is seen through his identification with the cause of that loyalty which have makes that loyalty. Loyalty now captures citizen's identification with the community through his investment in it, e.g. social ties, membership, social trust, but it rather neglects

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the larger structure. Dowding and John (2012, p.49) suggests that loyalty not only should be treated as past behaviour such this citizen's investment, but also as institutional which vary across institutional settings, although they do not explicitly provide any example of this. Such conceptualisation can help to broaden the concept to state level where loyalty to the state is built upon trust. For instance, if a citizen trusts the institutions of the country, then identification whether he is loyal to that country can be made by that trust. Thus, I add a new layer to this concept in the name of political trust in order to reflect not only citizen's relationship with the community, but also with the state itself. Notably, this is not a novel interpretation of loyalty seen in the literature. Lyons et al.(1992) use trust in institutions and authorities as one of loyalty factors in his research, although they did not find any significant relationships in the setting of public services. To summarise, along with social trust and social investment I attached the political trust factor, which is usually associated with social capital, although cannot be equated to it on full terms (Gabriel and Walter-Rogg, 2008).

Drawing on these conceptualisations it can be argued that people who are not structurally included within the political and cultural systems of their nation-state are politically alienated, lack social investment, and participate at very low levels in the political system. Therefore, ambivalent attachments to the nation-state could attribute to the decision of emigration. As follows, the relationship of loyalty with exit in Hirschman's terms is rather simple. In the context of CEE countries, if citizen is less loyal to one's country or community, he or she might be more willing to exit such state. Since social capital was seen as empirically justified factor of loyalty in outlined literature, the migration decision of citizen in CEE region can be determined as in the following hypothesis: *H1: People with lower social capital are more likely to emigrate.*

1.3.3. Voice

Voice is conceptualised along with 3E3VL framework where voice is separated into individual voice and collective voice. As already noted, individual voice is comprised of complaints about goods or services. Dowding and John (2012, p. 45) highlights that individual voice does not have inherent collective action problem involved with it, e.g. when person's complaint is made about poor quality of public service, the purpose of it is partly related to either gaining compensation or some personal psychological satisfaction. The relationship between exit and individual voice can be displayed as in rather complicated manner. In Hirschman's terms, only if exercising voice is complicated or the expected benefits of voice are significantly diminished, then the exit could be encouraged. When applied of CEE countries, if people are dissatisfied with public services and goods, e.g. such as public education, healthcare system, social security or local roads, and cannot make their complaints or they or not addressed, then people would be encourage to leave country in CEE region.

In contrast, collective voice consists of voting and pressure politics. The whole aim of this voice is to defend the nature or demanded level of services or improve them as it is not mainly focused on falling quality. Dowding et al. (2000) denotes, the voting can be understood as voting against an elected local government based on poor services, or against the national government in reliance on its action record on public services. For instance, citizens could be encouraged to support one party or particular politicians if they stand for maintaining the demanded level of services through either implementing certain policies, increasing spending on some services and so on. Nevertheless, while I intend to use the EVL framework beyond public services, voting should be also understood on broader level. As such, people not only might vote for certain services, but for general provision of goods within that country.

In terms of pressure politics, voice is conducted through joining in collective demonstration, boycotts or signing petitions. While sometimes this type of voice is seen as requiring more costs, Dowding et al. (2000) deliberated that relationship between exit and both types of voice might not be the same.

In general, collective voice as well as individual voice are expected to encourage more exit choices if conducting such voice is costly and problematic. In Hirschman's terms, if voting or unconventional political participation is costly, or ineffective as the government does not respond, then citizens may choose emigration. Some citizens in CEE countries are particularly politically alienated and therefore participate at very low levels their in political systems (Mierina, 2014). Low participation in politics in this region can be explained as citizens think that their voice is ineffective as complaints about the level of welfare provision in their counties. Therefore, this relationship between emigration and voice can be hypothesised as follows: *H2: Those who exit are less likely to engage in voice activity.*

1.3.4. Dissatisfaction

Until now, the relationship between political discontent and migration in Europe has not been systematically explored. Few recently published studies identify that political discontent could be seen as one of the outcomes of underlying socio-economic inequality and political instability in a state, which leads to emigration (Bygnes and Flipo, 2017, Triandafyllidou and Gropas, 2014). On this note, Hirschman's EVL framework can help to conceptualise such political discontent since it highlights dissatisfaction as the main driver of the exit. Although it was originally applied in the context of organisations when customers dissatisfied with products or services exited from such dependence, it was also used for public services and goods.

As previously outlined, it was demonstrated that dissatisfaction with the quality of public goods and services are encouraging people to leave a government jurisdiction to seek for a better alternative (Tiebout 1956; Dowding et al. 1994). In the context of migration between states, the dissatisfaction with public goods and services can be also seen as a potential driver of migration. Citizens unsatisfied with the level of provision of public services and goods, such as public education, healthcare system, social care system and other, could be motivated to move to another country, which has a better provision of these services.

Nevertheless, the dissatisfaction with services might not be sufficient to explain international migration decisions completely. Citizens might often express their dissatisfaction with provision of services they depend upon as directed to those who are responsible for them. Government is usually susceptible to the various forms of dissatisfaction, which can be accidental, ideological or decline in standards. More specifically, dissatisfaction can also be much related to the performance and quality of government and perception of it. Such notion of dissatisfaction in relation to government might be really fit in examining its relationship with migration decisions in CEE region. In fact, Otrachshenko and Popova (2014) demonstrated that people of Eastern Europe are unhappy not due to the poor overall regulatory and business climate in their countries, but as they do internalise how their governments perform and behave.

Based on Hirschman's ideas and particularities within CEE region, I present the following hypothesis: *H3: People who are less satisfied with government performance or public goods or services are more likely to exit.*

1.3.5. Relative Deprivation

While the concept of dissatisfaction is at the core in driving exit and voice in the EVL framework, I use the relative reprivation concept as a contender to dissatisfaction being a trigger to both exit and voice. The basic idea of this theory, thus, implies that people compare and contrast their existing life situation with ascribed expectations of such situation and the feelings of deprivation build up based on social comparison with particular individuals (Runciman, 1966). In line with relative deprivation theory, only when social comparisons follow in a subjective notion of injustice, then the collective action may arise to restore the initial injustice. Therefore, a numerous studies indicated that this notion could be link to political protest and vigorous efforts to alter social system (Walker and Smith, 2002; Pettigrew et al., 2008). On the other hand, relative deprivation can also give interesting accounts in explaining conventional forms such as voting. Some evidence suggests that deprived individuals can become apathetic to the system and, thus, withdraw from institutionalised activities as a response (Clarke et al., 2004, p.225).

Drawing on such evidence, I suggest that relative deprivation can be similarly treated as dissatisfaction Hirschman's sense to some extent. This concepts asserts that citizens of various social groups appraise how fairly and equitably they are treated by political, social, and economic systems (Ibid, p.225). It is similar to the Hirschman's dissatisfaction in a sense that a feeling of deprivation can also drive a political action that could resemble voice, e.g. political protest or voting, and probably exit as well. Although leaving one's country is very rarely considered as a form of protest in the field of collective action, some scholars started to examine emigration as an act of political protest using the concept relative deprivation (Bygnes and Flipo, 2017). More importantly, qualitative empirical research performed by Triandafyllidou and Gropas (2014) indicated that relative deprivation can be seen as one of the causes for migration in Greece.

It is worth to mention that relative deprivation may be perceived with respect to either one's society, other countries, or in absolute terms (Czaika & de Haas, 2011). Knowing this, Becchetti et al. (2013) demonstrated that citizens in Eastern Europe assess progress in their well-being not only compared to themselves and to other people in the past, but also compared to other countries. Besides, according to Guriev and Zhuravskaya (2009) citizens in the post-communist countries are unhappy due to what transition brought, namely unfairness and inequality and change in aspiration levels. Thus, it can be hypothesised that citizens of the region are more than anyone prone to feel deprivation, which could then result in emigration: *H4: People who are feeling of being deprived are more likely to exit.*

1.3.6. Interrelationships

Hirschman's EVL framework and the 3E3VL model clearly displayed that concepts of exit, voice, loyalty and dissatisfaction are not isolated from each other, but rather interrelated influencing one upon another. Thus, in order to ensure that EVL framework holds to be true and explains the relationships between these factors for the citizens of CEE region, the validity of such relationships should be tested. One of the simplest and most evident relationships are seen between loyalty, voice, and exit as suggested by Hirschman. More importantly, Dowding and John (2008) with the use of 3E3VL model proved that such relationships holds as their concept of loyalty was shown to cause greater voice activity relative to exit. Thus, it is important to repeat the validity of such relationship in CEE setting. Consequently, the hypothesis is formulated as follows: *H5: Loyalty should increase voice activity compared to exit.*

This relationship does not include the concept of dissatisfaction as Dowding et al (2008) emphasised that relationship of this concept with various forms of voice is rather uncertain. Nevertheless, the role of dissatisfaction to the EVL framework should be also tested for its suitability

in the CEE context. Given that, the model consisting of exit, voice, loyalty, and dissatisfaction should be conducted where interrelationships between these factors should be clear and evident. As indicated before, Relative Deprivation could come as challenging explanation in the building relationships at least among exit and voice. Thus, if dissatisfaction is suited in such model framework, it should also be a better explanation to existing relationships compared to Relative Deprive. Consequently, the hypothesis is formulated as follows: *H6: Dissatisfaction is valid explanation to voice, exit, and loyalty interrelationships when exploring migration decisions in CEE countries.*

1.4. Summary

In the absence of clearly defined theoretical frameworks that could explain how social, political and institutional factors may intermediate the migration decisions in the CEE countries as shown in the Literature review part, Hirschman's EVL framework was chosen as the potential theoretical basis to address these shortcomings in the literature. The prominence of Hirschman's exit, voice, and loyalty concepts is that they establish a clear relationship between the state and citizen as well as the potential cause of why citizens choose to end their relationship with the state by emigrating. After reviewing empirically applied frameworks based on Hirschman's concepts, I decided to take few conceptualisations from the 3E3VL model and other research to make empirically testable EVL model for exploring international migration. As such, exit as emigration, voice as individual complaints, voting and unconventional political participation, loyalty as social capital and political trust, dissatisfaction as in terms of provision of public goods and services and government performance have been formulated to reflect empirically Hirschman's ideas and particularities of CEE region. Relative Deprivation explanation have been added as both explanation of migration and potentially competing explanation instead of Hirschman's dissatisfaction. Following the objectives of this thesis, all formulated hypotheses can be summarised in the table below.

Table 2. Summary of Research Hypotheses

H1	People with lower social capital are more likely to emigrate
H2	Those who exit are less likely to engage in voice activity
H3	People who are less satisfied with government performance or public goods or services are more likely to exit.
H4	People who are feeling of being deprived are more likely to exit
H5	Loyalty should increase voice activity compared to exit.
H6	Dissatisfaction is valid explanation to voice, exit, and loyalty interrelationships when exploring migration decisions in CEE countries.

2. Research Methodology

After reviewing relevant literature and outlining the theory, I further focus on methodology of the thesis. Thesis addresses a two-fold problem of practical and theoretical nature. There is no explicit empirical research on the social, political determinants on the emigration choice in CEE region, whilst some existing empirical research is not fully grounded by a well-conceptualised theoretical basis. In the absence of extensive empirical studies, which seek to unravel how non-economic factors are interacting with mobility patterns in CEE countries, the primary aim of thesis research is to provide a novel empirical study, which could help to close the gap in the existing literature while also provide a support for Hirschman's theoretical framework. In order to do so, the research is based on quantitative method to identify migration causes and make generalisations whether migration is also influenced by social, political and institutional determinants. Thus, the following chapter will include detailed description of such research design and corresponding parts such as data description, data preparation, methods used and validity tests.

2.1. Research design

In order to address research questions, quantitative approach is employed for the thesis. Since the primary object of interest is emigration while Hirschman's concepts can be captured in the form of distinct variables, quantitative approach is very equipped to address the research objectives. As such, having an appropriate data sample the statistical analyses can be used in order to make inferences on general populations in CEE region and draw causal relationships between emigration and concepts of voice, dissatisfaction, and loyalty. By doing so, not only cause and effect relationships can be reinstated for these factors as in original hypotheses by Hirschman, but structural explanation can be provided. As such, complicated interaction between emigration and other conceptualised factors could be located within a larger structure of migration process.

As follows, thesis is premised on deductive reasoning as the most common approach to theory and empirical research (Bryman, 2012, p.24). In particular hypotheses are formulated based on Hirschman's theory and other existing literature and tested in the sample of citizens in the CEE region. Furthermore, the cross-sectional research design is chosen in order to follow the research objectives and stay aligned with the available data. While this design examines the information at one point in time, it allows observing events that are occurring naturally and not directly intervened by stimulations of third parties (Field, 2009).

The whole point of this empirical research is to test social, political, and institutional effects on migration. For this reasons statistical analyses are conducted on cross-sectional data to seek for the possible inferences in that particular point in time. Dependent variable is treated as the intention to migrate, whereas independent variables are constructed on the conceptualised factors. Prior to analysis, explanatory factor analysis (EFA) is used to construct potential variables by reducing variables of interest to a smaller set to explore the fundamental structure of the conceptualised factors. After setting out the variables, logistic regression is used to test the relationships between Dependent variable and Independent variables while also holding the non-attitudinal effects with control variables. Logistic regression analysis is employed to test H1, H2, H3, and H4 hypotheses and seek which predictors are important and whether model fits the data well.

If these effects are seen, structural equation modelling (SEM) is conducted to explore how the factors are interrelated to each other and do they stay in line with the suggested theoretical framework by Hirschman. Variables confirmed by EFA are into SEM model to test H5 and H6 hypotheses. Relevant diagnostics are undertaken after each procedure is conducted to demonstrate the validity of findings.

2.2. Data description

Research data is taken from Life in Transition Survey (LiTS) III, which was conducted between the end of 2015 and the beginning of 2016 by The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). Overall, the LiTS has been carried out in the transition region prior to this twice by collecting information on the socio-economic status of respondents and asking perception-based questions on social, political and economic topics. LiTS III data covers 34 countries, comprising 29 transition countries that belong to either Central or Eastern Europe, Central Asia, the Western Balkans and more.

The LiTS III survey (EBRD, 2017) was conducted face-to-face in each selected household while the target number of interviews was set at 1,500 households per country (see Appendix 1). The survey was designed with a use of a multi-stage random probability stratified clustered sampling. In particular, such sample was stratified by geographical region and level of urbanity while distinguishing urban or rural areas. In terms of the topics covered, the data encompasses a wide range of them including corruption, household finance, views on markets and democracy, public services, social inclusion and trust, and many more.

This large cross-country data as a cross-sectional survey is deemed to be appropriate to maximise the objectivity of the research while providing some generalised findings. While the representative subset on individual level was taken at the junction between 2015 and 2016, it should

be corresponding to the relatively recent trend in a point of time. Besides, it should help to see the final quick glance of interested variables in the interplay to explore the natural reactions to the survey questions, which ultimately gives some insights on researched social phenomena (Fields, 2009).

Nevertheless, Dowding et al. (2000) suggests that the best way would be to use longitudinal or experimental studies in order to test EVL relationships throughout the time, when intentions and their realisation can be examined. Accordingly, this would allow to ask people at one point in time about their satisfaction and whether they exercised voice, while afterwards they could be asked on their current level of satisfaction and whether they have moved. With this in mind, while there are no panel studies available to investigate research questions yet, the LiTS III survey provides the data to examine whether perception on government performance has changed, people voted in the elections and whether they plan to emigrate. These things are sufficient to test the past behaviour in line of the current attitudes. Besides, the most of studies that used Hirschman's concepts employed cross-sectional surveys for a research (Rusbult et al., 1988; Turnley and Feldman, 1999).

2.3. Data preparation

R statistical programming software was used for data preparation, including converting data from STATA data file, specifying and filtering data, checking variables and missing data, coding variables for the analysis.

In order to make the data sample for the CEE region, observations from the LiTS III survey were filtered by central European countries, such as Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, and Slovak Republic, and eastern European countries, namely as Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Ukraine, Romania, and Bulgaria. By doing so, the total sample for analysis was reduced from 51026 to 16612 observations with the preliminary analysis set of 90 variables.

Most of variables are self-explanatory, although further deliberations and justifications are provided. While the retrieved data are of categorical, ordinal or continuous nature, values of the variables needed to be treated either as categorical or interval for conducting logistical regression analysis (Smithson, Merkle, 2013). While many questions from the survey represent Likert scale or Likert type scale, values were converted to intervals as it was shown that ordinal variables with five or more categories could be used as continuous without much harm to analysis (Norman, 2010). Besides, for constructing indexes from ordinal variables, taking sum or mean of them was used to create an approximately continuous variable as general practice (Sullivan and Artino, 2013). Lastly, categorical variables were coded as dummies. For SEM analysis, data was saved as correlation matrix (Joreskog, 2002).

While the raw data did not possess missing values initially, there was no way of using all observations within groups of variables after recoding questionnaire answers into appropriate variables. These terms such as *not applicable, don't know, difficult to say, refusal, have not heard enough to say* have been recoded as missing values to perform all analyses. To deal with the missing data without imputation, threshold of 15% was set for variables to be used for analyses as some quantitative research utilises (Dong and Peng, 2013). The appendix 2 summarises all the variables used and missing data.

I listed the variables into six groups: exit, loyalty, voice, relative deprivation, dissatisfaction, and control variables. Formation and coding of these variables are presented in the following subsections.

2.3.1. Exit variable

Only one variable represents exit factor (emigration), which is represented by the intention to move abroad in the next 12 months. While this exit is not simply showing if someone has left one's country but rather thinking about leaving, it is better suited for the research. Firstly, studies have shown that there is a strong relationship between real exit and intention to exit (Rossi, 1980). Secondly, it is more equipped to meet behavioural consequences in line with Hirschman's original sense. For instance, individual who has emigrated cannot fully express voice in one's home country, but a would-be emigrant could have more reason to express one's voice. While this variable is of binary nature, it was recoded like a dummy variable taking values of 0 and 1, where 1 represents intention to emigrate. Important to note that only 488 overall observations has shown the intentions to exit among the selected sample, which is somehow resembling the emigration rates within the CEE countries. Such low number of observations can pose some difficulties while suffering from small-sample bias due to rare event occurrence, especially while the variable will be used as the dependent variable in the logistic regression. Nevertheless, according to King and Zeng (2001), the number should be sufficient knowing that it makes at least of 3% of cases, and no alternative estimation method instead of logistic regression needed to be used. Although, such low number is not sufficient to do analysis for the individual countries, only rather on the whole regional level.

2.3.2. Loyalty variables

In terms of loyalty factor, it was represented by political trust, social capital, and social investment factors that were elaborated in the theoretical framework chapter.

Political trust is depicted as a trust in various institutions: the presidency, the government/cabinet of ministers, regional government, local government, the parliament, courts,

political parties, armed forces, the police, banks and the financial system, foreign investors, non-governmental organisations, trade unions, and religious institutions. Due to the high missing values, which crossed the 15% threshold, the following institutions have been taken out from the analysis: regional government, foreign investors, non-governmental organisations, trade unions, and religious institutions. While the variables in the initial dataset have used Likert type ordinal scale, the data was converted to interval where 1 means *strongly distrust* and 5 means *strongly trust* leaving missing values out too.

Social trust and social investments factors are comprised of multiple questions, which were later formed into these factors by the use of explanatory factor analysis (EFA).

In terms of social trust, one variable was taken as whether the most people can be trusted, whereas few variables were taken whether the specific groups can be trusted, namely as family living with you, one's neighbourhood, people one meets for the first time, and foreigners. Due to high missing values ratio, trust in one's family was removed from further analysis. Both groups of variables have used Likert type ordinal scale, thus the data was converted to interval where 1 means *strongly distrust* and 5 means *strongly trust.* Another most likely social trust variable is formed by a question of how likely a person is expecting to get a lost wallet returned with nothing. As a Likert type ordinal scale, values were converted into interval where 1 responds to *not at all likely* and 4 to *very likely*.

One possible social investments variable, which may show the strength of social networks, came as a question on how often person meets up with friends, relatives or different people on average. Variable as ordinal scale was reversed to be on the same direction with other analysed factors where 1 responds to *never* and 5 responds *on most days*. Another group of social investment variables come as showing whether a person is or has been a member of any voluntary organisations, such as church and religious organisations, sport and recreational organisations, art or educational organisations, labour unions, environmental organisations, professional associations, humanitarian or charitable organisations, youth organisations, women's groups, and farming cooperatives. These variables closely resemblance the group membership factor within social investment group found in Dowding and John research (2007). Each variable was coded as a dummy, where 1 represents whether a person is an active or inactive member of aforementioned organisations. Lastly, a similar variable to membership of voluntary organisations comes to whether a person belongs to a political party. Again, it was recoded as a dummy, where 1 shows if one is a member of a party.

2.3.3. Dissatisfaction variables

In terms of dissatisfaction to government performance or services, these factors are also comprised of several questions that were later formed into these variables with the support of EFA. One of them comes as a group of questions on how a person rates the overall performance of three levels of government: local, regional, and national. As a Likert type ordinal scale, it was converted into interval where 1 represents negative evaluations *very bad* and *bad*, 2 is neutral, and 3 represents positive evaluations *good* and *very good*. Another variables of dissatisfaction to government performance are represented by similar questions, which shows how the perceived overall performance of aforementioned levels of government has changed in the past 4 years. Likert type ordinal scale was converted into interval, where 1 stands as *worsened*, 2 as *stayed the same*, and 3 as *better*.

There were two possible groups of questions to represent a dissatisfaction to services, where one group of questions shown satisfaction with the quality of these services: local currency, postal service, local roads, central and district heating, pipeline gas, and electricity. While some of these public services can be termed as utilities, they have been withdrawn, yet only satisfaction with the quality of local roads remained for analysis since other variables suffered from high missing values ratio exceeding 15% threshold. Aforementioned variable used Likert type ordinal scale, thus it was converted into interval, where 1 shows *very dissatisfied* and 5 means *very satisfied*. Second possible group of questions might have come as satisfaction to the quality and the efficiency of the following services: requesting official documents from authorities, going to courts, receiving public education, receiving medical treatment in the public health system, and requesting unemployment or other social security benefits. These variables could perfectly fit the description of public services to which people can express their dissatisfaction and direct it to the government, unfortunately all of the variables suffered from extremely high missing cases ratio due to the fact that they responded to the people who used these services in the past 12 months. Thus, these variables have not been used for the analysis. Lastly, prior to the analysis, variables on the perception of existing corruption among various institutions and whether a government combats the corruption well have been investigated if they are fit for the analysis. However, they have been withdrawn from the equation as they are very similar to other variables such as political trust and government performance showing a high correlation, which could create biases in the analyses later on.

2.3.4. Relative deprivation variables

Relative deprivation factors are comprised of several questions, which were later formed into corresponding factors after being confirmed by EFA. The factors representing relative deprivation

and questions forming them are very similar of what Clarke et al. (2004, p.237-240) used in their analysis exploring political participation. Individual sense of relative deprivation in terms of economic retrospective, current and prospective evaluation is perfectly captured by three separate questions:

- Current evaluation is depicted by answering where a person perceives his household to stand on a ten-step ladder, where on the bottom stand the poorest 10%, and on the highest step stand the richest 10% people in the country.

- Similarly, retrospective and perspective evaluations are expressed on the same scale, but only formulated as imagining standing on that ladder four years ago or four years from now respectively. As these variables are 10-point Likert scales, they are converted into interval where 1 responds to standing by the poorest 10% and 10 responds to standing by the richest 10%.

Another similar variable closely resembling individual sense of relative deprivation responds to a question whether a person perceives that his household live better nowadays than around 4 years ago. While this variable might be similar to the evaluations on 10-point ladder as well as might be correlated, it also shows either improvement or deterioration in personal standpoint compared to past. As the variable is Likert type ordinal scale, it is converted into interval where 1 means *strongly disagree* and 5 means *strongly agree*. In addition to these variables, relative deprivation can also be evaluated to what extent people perceive the injustice towards them. Thus, a proxy variable to this measure comes by answering to a question whether one believes that the main reason why there are some people in need today is because of injustice in one's society. While this variable is represented by a single answer, it is coded as a dummy, where 1 indicates the injustice. Lastly, while relative deprivation is mainly depicted by comparisons of one's standing against something, this concept as shown in theoretical framework section can be adapted to emigration. As it was presented, citizens of CEE region are prone to compare their status not only with people around but people from different countries. Therefore, in order to form such variable the question is asked on which of various benchmarks are used when people think and compare their current economic situation. Among comparisons to family, friends, neighbours and the domestic elite, benchmarking to how people live in Western Europe was chosen to represent this variable. Thus, the variable was recoded as a dummy, where 1 shows such response.

2.3.5. Voice variables

Voice factor is being represented by only collective voice voting as individual voice, such as complaints about public goods or services provided, are represented in the data but it cannot be fully

taken into the analysis due to extremely high missing observations. Collective voice voting as stated in the theoretical framework section is comprised of voting in elections and participating in unconventional ways of political voice. The LiTS III survey data allowed to test whether a respondent voted in the most recent local-level, parliamentary or presidential elections in one's country. Due to the high missing values ratio, variable for voting in presidential election has been removed from any of use. High missing cases for this variable can be explained as in some CEE countries president is elected by other means than just by a popular vote. Since the main interest for the analysis is to use the total political participation by voting, both remaining questions are combined into one index, which generates total mean of the two responses for a respondent. As such, if person has not participate in any elections then scores 0, if participated in one of the elections, then scores 1, if participated in both elections, then scores 2. Similar index formation is also attributed to unconventional political participation such as participating in lawful demonstration, strikes, signing petitions. While survey asked for how likely one is to participate in such activities, responses were given as *have done*, *might do*, and *would never do*. In order to measure only whether one has participated or still willing to do, each question responses were coded into dummies, where 1 responds to *have done* and *might do.* Then, all ways of participations were formed into index, which generates total value of the all three responses for a respondent in the scale from 0 to 3.

2.3.6. Control variables

List of control variables have been produced mainly to control the effects when using logistic regressions on interested factors. Studies have already shown that some demographic and socio-economic variables for instance, gender, age, income level, job status, and educational attainment are all potential factors that might determine emigration. As such, it was observed that for the low income groups the driving force of emigration is seen mainly among younger male individual seeking for economic benefits in regional areas whilst for economically settled and prosperous groups it is for the development of expertise and realisation focusing on international opportunities (Castaldo et al., 2012). Moreover, it was also distinguished that emigration persists among the low-income households notably when household's income generation function is challenged in the wake of any shocks or other disasters that drives them to search for alternatives in the form of migration (Stark and Yitzhaki, 1982).

Having this in mind, gender variable was created as a dummy, showing 1 as response *male.* Meanwhile, age variable was taken as the same it was formed in the survey data since it is put as interval. Unfortunately, income level cannot be used for the analyses due to data limitations. All the responses for monthly income of the household has been originally put in local currencies in each

country, thus making extremely difficult to align all values across CEE countries. Whereas, educational attainment as a categorical variable was coded in line with the theory, which distinguished the ones with lowest education level from the ones with the highest level. Thus, two separate dummy variables were formed, where one of them responded to *no degree/no education*, *primary education*, and *lower secondary education* while other one responded to *tertiary education (not a university diploma)*, *Bachelor's degree or more*, and *Master's degree or PhD*. Furthermore, job status variable created as a dummy, where 1 represents if person has a job.

Another important factor that may come in support for controlling the effects in regression is the willingness to take risks. It may come obvious that in order to reach one's goals by emigrating, one has to be willing to take risks and endure possible dangers that lie in wait. High power and achievement motivation has been very associated with immigrants, who are often labelled as 'adventurous and risk-taking individuals' (Glazer, 1997, p. 28). Therefore, an interval variable is created to assess if a person is a risk-taker based on a 10-point Likert scale, where 1 means *not willing to take risks at all* and 10 means *very much willing to take risks*. Last control variable comes only in order to control the effects on relative deprivation factors since it shows the real deprivation levels. The variable is formed from two questions, which are designed to measure if a person is below either the domestic poverty threshold or international poverty threshold. Total index is created by cumulating *no* responses whether one's household meet with own resources unexpected expenditures up to domestic and international thresholds.

2.4.   Methods

2.4.1. Explanatory factor analysis

As already outlined in the Data preparation subchapter, some of the factors are only to be fully defined by adhered variables after confirmation by Explanatory Factor Analysis. All too often such factors like relative deprivation, social capital and social investment, dissatisfaction to government and services may become a container for characteristic, which do not possess a straightforward theoretical linkage to political activity. It is due to the fact that many studies have been applying different or only closely resembling questions or measures to explore these phenomena in relation to other factors. Thus, the purpose of EFA is twofold: it helps to guide the development of model via conducting reliable factors while obtaining naturally occurring groups of variables and it helps to solve the multicollinearity problems that may occur in regressions (Williams et al., 2010).

When conducting EFA analysis, The Kaiser, Meyer, Olkin (KMO) and Bartlett's test of sphericity are also used to test whether data seems appropriate for factor analysis. Furthermore, Scree

plot and Parallel analysis were conducted to check for the optimal number of factors to be used in analysis.

2.4.2. Logistic regression

In order to test whether described social, political, and institutional factors can be seen as determinants of the decision to emigrate within CEE region, use of logistic regression has been applied. While regression analysis does not directly establish causality since showing the impact of predicted variables on the dependent variable, causality can be implied by such analysis when there is a theory to form ground for it (Hao, 2020). Due to the nature of emigration variable as it is being dichotomous, this statistical technique is the most fit to tackle this among all regression analyses. Logistic regression allows the prediction of categorical dependent variables, which in this case is likelihood to emigrate, in accordance with continuous and categorical independent variables (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2007).

All investigated factors such as loyalty, voice, relative deprivation and dissatisfaction to government and services would altogether be treated as independent variables in separate regression analyses. In order to avoid potential multicollinearity and high reduction in sample due higher missing values in some variables, separate logistic regression is performed for each factor, which is validated by EFA. Sociodemographic and other control variables have been added to control for possible non-attitudinal effects. For instance, one regression will try to determine the relationship between decision to emigrate and social trust, social investment, and political trust by accounting for some other time-varying factors, such as education level, gender, age, income level, riskiness level, and job status.

When performing logistic regression, I take into consideration p-values and coefficients for the purpose to look for significance and predictive power. Besides, McFadden's R^2 statistic is used to explain the proportion of variance in the dependent variable that is explained by the predictors (Smith and McKenna, 2013).

2.4.3. Structural Equation Modelling

Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) is well-equipped tool to analyse latent variable models, which are common in social sciences, particular in the analysis of political and social attitudes. As opposed to observed variables, latent variables are not directly observed and only inferred from other variables, which are directly measured, as they do correspond to aspects of physical reality. In this sense, all factors such as loyalty, relative deprivation, dissatisfaction can be seen as latent as they are observed not entirely as direct. SEM techniques are employed here as they allow to specify the

relationships between decision to emigrate and other latent factors are interrelated. This is really important to test whether Hirschman's theoretical framework truly depicts how exit, voice, and loyalty are interconnected and how these factors interact with each other. Besides, instead of using logistic regression, SEM allows a more complex causal order and detailed modelling of possible relationships among variables. Moreover, it also helps to remove bias via correlated error terms, which may be caused by question wording between items, which form the latent factors (Browne and Cudeck, 1993).

SEM is not a novel technique to be applied for exploring EVL relationships. It has been firstly used by Fornell and Bookstein (1982), who explored two SEM techniques, namely LISREL and PLS, and applied them to consumer exit-voice theory. Ping (2003) carried out similar to EVL analysis with hardware retailers using two stages to the survey and SEM. Lastly, Campbell, Dowding, and John (2007), employed SEM to analyse 3E3VL framework, where they confirmed complex relationships between voice, satisfaction, exit, and social capital.

When performing SEM, I consider p-values and size of covariances in order to check for significance potential relationship. Additional RMSEA, CFI and TLI statistics are used to measure goodness of fit for the models. AIC statistic is used to compare which models are better fit to data.

2.5. Validity tests

The criteria for validity and rigorousness in this type of research are described in terms of external and internal validity. External validity is ensured by the data sample used, which should guarantee that generalisations can be made about the populations in CEE countries. Internal validity is ensured by applying reliability, validity, and performance test on the key analyses such as factor analysis, logistic regression and SEM.

2.6. Summary

In order to support Hirschman's theoretical framework on empirical ground and test the formulated hypotheses, the research is based on quantitative method to identify migration patterns and make generalisations about relationships between loyalty, voice, dissatisfaction, Relative Deprivation and migration in the CEE region. For this reason, the LiTS III survey data was used as a cross-sectional data. Variables have been prepared for the explanatory factor analysis, logistic regression analysis, and structural equation modelling. Explanatory factor analysis is used for constructing reliable factors of social capital, political trust, relative deprivation and dissatisfaction. While logistic regression analysis is used for exploring relationship between migration and

conceptualised factors, structural equation modelling is utilised to explore and validate the interrelationships between such factors.

3. Empirical Analysis

Empirical analysis consist of three parts: explanatory factor analysis, logistic regression analysis, and structural equation modelling. The main purpose of EFA is to conduct reliable factors by which items of the questionnaire should naturally fall into observed constructs. Logistic regression is employed to test H1, H2, H3, and H4 hypotheses. SEM is utilised to test H5 and H6 hypotheses.

3.1. Explanatory factor analysis

3.1.1. Constructing loyalty factors

Before using EFA to construct reliable factors, it was investigated whether the data with initial variables used is suitable for factor analysis. KMO measure of sampling adequacy suggests that data seems appropriate for factor analysis (KMO = 0.89). Whereas, Bartlett's test suggests that there is sufficient significant correlation in the data for factor analysis (Chisq(300) = 144143.42, $p < .001$).

In order to perform EFA, it is necessarily to project how many factors should be suggested for the analysis. For this use, scree plot and parallel analysis were conducted that shown that the optimal number is 4 (see Appendix 3). Then, initial factor analysis was run and the factor loadings are presented in the table 3 below. Primary factor loading interpretation shows the suitability of analysed item within factor where scores are following: <.39 as poor; .4-.49 as fair; .5-.59 as good; .6-.69 as very good; .7+ as excellent (Knekta et al., 2019). Based on this, there are multiple variables that should be removed from any inclusion into a factor due to poor loadings. It appears that membership to political party (q917) should be taken out from further use as well as the frequency of meeting other people (q424) and social trust that shows whether one expects to receive lost wallet (q423). Surprisingly, active or inactive membership to church and religious organisations (q919a) receives a poor loading and is taken out from possible inclusion to the social investment factor, where various memberships to voluntary.

Table 3. Explanatory factor analysis for loyalty factors

Explanatory factor analysis for loyalty factors

Loadings:

	MR2	MR1	MR4	MR3
q403				0.509
q404a		.501	0.293	
q404b		0.799		
q404d		0.371	0.317	
q404e		0.942		
q404f		0.472	0.360	
q404g		0.762		
q404h			0.775	
q404i			0.872	
q404j		0.160	0.537	
q405b			0.188	0.371
q405c				0.909
q405d				0.763
q423			0.131	0.180
q424			0.09	
q917	0.08			
q919a	0.251			
q919b	0.441			
q919c	0.588			
q919d	0.501			
q919e	0.779			
q919f	0.572			
q919g	0.640			
q919h	0.722			
q919j	0.626			

RMSEA = 0.037   KMO = 0.89   Barlett's Chiq (300) = 144143.42

Note. Composed by author using R software

Based on factor loadings, membership to sport and recreational organisations (q919b), art and educational organisations (q919c), labour unions (q919d), environmental organisations (q919e), professional associations (q919f), humanitarian or charitable organisations (q919g), youth organisations (q919h), women's groups (q919i), and farming cooperatives (q919ej) have relatively large positive loadings on factor MR2, so this factor describes the membership to these groups or organisations. As follows, since these variables form a factor within loyalty group of factors, they are coded into the index *membership* for logistic regression and SEM analyses.

On an interesting note, trust in various institutions have responded to two different factors, namely as MR1 and MR4, where a distinction between more politicised can be visibly seen. For instance, the presidency (q404a), the government/cabinet of ministers (q404b), regional government (q404c), local government (q404d), the parliament (q404e), courts (q404f), and political parties

(q404g) have relatively large positive loadings on factor MR1, therefore this factor encompasses trust in politically charged institutions. Nevertheless, courts do not particularly fit among these institutions as purely politically charged, yet people often loose trust in courts when overall political climate is perceived as bad. Thus, while this variable has a fair loading, it is combined with other under political trust factor. In contrast, armed forces (q404h), the police (q404i), banks and the financial system (q404j) have large positive loadings on factor MR4, which may describe trust on non-political institutions. Both factors as representing political trust and trust on non-political institutions are, therefore, coded into separate indexes as *political trust* and *non-political institutions* for the use in later analyses.

Another group of variables such as general trust in people (q403), trust in neighbourhood (q405b), people met for the first time (q405c), and foreigners (q405d) are all falling under the factor MR3 with relative large positive loadings, except for q405b. While trust in one's neighbourhood does not have high loading, it is borderline being as fair, therefore it is added along with other variables to the factor. All these items can be conceptualised as social trust, thus they are formed into a single index *social trust*.

3.1.2. Constructing dissatisfaction factors

Unlike for loyalty EFA analysis, KMO measure of sampling adequacy is relatively smaller but still suggests that data seems appropriate for factor analysis (KMO = 0.57). Bartlett's test this and suggests that there is sufficient significant correlation in the data for factor analysis (Chisq(10) = 16826.40, p < .001).Scree plot and parallel analysis has shown that there should be 2 factors observed from this group of variables (see Appendix 4).

EFA factor loadings are shown in the table 4 below for various dissatisfaction factors. Based on this, satisfaction with only one available public good such as local roads hardly scores large positive loading, thus should not possibly be included into any of projected factors. It appears that dissatisfaction to government performance shows to be slightly different from dissatisfaction to local roads, which can be either explained by incompatibility between these components or that local roads is not sufficient variable by itself to form a factor and represent the dissatisfaction to the quality of public goods and services. In order to observe the potential impact of the quality of local roads, it will still be included in the logistic regression analysis.

EFA loadings show that two different factors can be comprised of not by distinguishing current government performance from a change in government performance, but rather by separating levels of government. As such, evaluation of current performance (q812a) and change in such performance (q813a) on local government level falls down in to MR1 factor. Similarly, current performance

(q812c) and change in performance (q813c) of national government have large positive loadings and form MR2 factor. Thus, both factors are coded as *satisfaction w/ local gov* and *satisfaction w/ national gov* respectively by corresponding variables with the help of index formation.

Table 4. Explanatory factor analysis for dissatisfaction factors

Loadings:		
	MR1	MR2
q812a	1.008	
q812c	0.322	0.464
q813a	0.431	0.208
q813c		1.007
q218g	0.203	

RMSEA = 0.149   KMO = 0.57   Barlett's Chiq 10 = 16826.40

Note. Composed by author using R software

3.1.3. Constructing relative deprivation factors

In terms of data suitability with relative deprivation variables, KMO measure of sampling adequacy suggests that data seems appropriate for factor analysis (KMO = 0.67). Besides, Bartlett's test of sphericity reassures and suggests that there is sufficient significant correlation in the data for factor analysis (Chisq(15) = 35533.22, p < .001). Parallel analysis suggests that the number of factors should be 3.

As shown in table 5, performed EFA on relative deprivation variables shows that three distinct factors can be formed while two of investigated variable should not be part of them. As such, current (PRq315) and retrospective (PRq316) self-evaluations have large positive loadings as they form factor MR1. Consequently, both of these variables are converted into an index *self-evaluations index*. On the other hand, perspective self-evaluation seems to be quite different from the aforementioned ones as it is deemed to form a new separate factor MR3. Furthermore, change in one's personal economic standpoint (q401d) also has a large positive loading and it forms a separate MR2 factor. Benchmarking to Western countries (q402) and believing in the injustice in one's society (q410) seem to not fit across the projected factors. It might be due to the fact that financial self-evaluations are only representing individual economic perspective of relative deprivation, while withdrawn variables present other aspects of this concept. Thus, both variables are still be used for logistic regression analysis.

Table 5. Explanatory factor analysis for relative deprivation factors

Loadings:				
	MR2	MR1	MR4	MR3
PRq315	0.966		0.103	
PRq316	0.759		-0.191	
PRq317		0.994		
q401d			0.908	
q410			-0.136	
q402		0.132		

KMO = 0.67   Barlett's Chiq (15) = 35533.22

Note. Composed by author using R software

3.2. Logistic regression analysis

In order to test hypothesis that people with lower social capital are more likely to emigrate (H1), logistic regression has been performed for conceptualised loyalty factors, such as political trust and social capital, which consist of social trust and social investment. Sociodemographic and few other control variables have been added to regression in order to control for other non-attitudinal effects. These variables denote: education level, riskiness, gender, age and job status. As previously noted, method of stepwise regression have been adopted in order to gradually test various variables in the pursue of finding the best-fit model. At first attempt, logistic regression produced five variables that shown being statistically significant at least with confidence level of 95% (see Table 6). However, few of the control factors did not indicated any statistical significance, namely having a job (job) and having a better than average education (edu_high). While keeping both of them in the model could contribute to overfitting, they have been eliminated while additional variable showing lower than average education came as replacement (edu_low) for the second regression. Consequently, model improved its predictability, although 3848 observations were deleted due to missing values. Nevertheless, the new model is still rather weak in its predictability as McFadden's R^2 is only 0.273.

Table 6. Logistic regression models for loyalty

Logistic regression models for loyalty

Variables	Model 1		Model 2	
	Estimate	Significance	Estimate	Significance
constant	-0.538186	0.07476	-0.423345	0.16577
riskiness	0.160628	1.17e-13 ***	0.160014	1.65e-13 ***
gender_pr	0.278175	0.00756 **	0.287476	0.00559 **
age_pr	-0.058128	2e-16 ***	0.057819	-2,00E-16 ***
edu_low	0.097777	0.38774	0.315805	0.03403 *
edu_high				
job	0.018026	0.91102		
political trust	-0.335116	3.05e-05 ***	-0.329840	4.15e-05 ***
other institut.	-0.209816	0.00128 **	-0.210461	0.00126 **
social trust	0.006433	0.92476	-0.002107	0.97537
membership	-0.137336	0.69089	-0.157592	0.64779
Observations	12764		12764	
McFadden's R2	0.272		0.273	

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

As shown in the Table 6, having a lower than average education (edu_low) is statistically significant factor in this new regression. Holding other factors constant, people, who have lower educational attainment, are less willing to emigrate from their own country as the estimate of the variable *edu_low* holds a negative sign. Meanwhile, other controls variables also show statistical significance at least with confidence level of 99%. Individuals, who are prone to take more risks (*riskiness*), are more likely to think about an emigration. Whereas, a young male is more willing to migrate as well comparing to other demographics.

Trust in institutions is also shown to be significant in determining the migration decisions among CEE citizens, where both *political trust* (p <0.001) and *other institut.* (p <0.01) are statistically significant. One is more likely to consider migration, if he or she does not trust politically charged institutions holding other factors stable. Similarly, if a citizen does not particularly trust such institutions as armed forces, the police, banks and the financial system, he or she would be more willing to emigrate.

According to the regression results, social trust and social investment (membership) appear as not statistically significant factors for decision to migrate. As only these factors constitute the social capital, H1 is rejected. There are no strong evidence that those who have high social trust and were socially invested in their community are less likely to emigrate.

In order to test H2 whether people who are less satisfied with government performance or public goods or services are more likely to exit their country, logistic regression is used for the factors showing satisfaction with government and public goods, namely local roads. Again, factors showing age, gender, education level, riskiness, and job status were used to account other potential effects.

First regression analysis was created including age (age_pr), gender (gender_pr), job status (job), having higher than average education (edu_high), satisfaction to performance of local and national government level (satisf w/ l. gov; satisf w/ n. gov), and satisfaction to quality of local roads (local roads) (see table 7). As shown in the table below, all of the variables investigated are statistically significant except for job status and high educational level. Thus, in an effort to get the optimal model fit for the second regression, job status was removed while high educational level was replaced by low educational level (edu_low). The new regression shown an improvement to model fit, while reporting that 3905 observations were deleted due to missing values. Regardless, this model still do not explain much of variability of migration intentions as McFadden's R2 is 0.308.

As regression results are presented in the table below, addition of low educational level does not bring a new statistically significant factor, but rather puts gender variable on the borderline being significant. As already seen, if person is a risk taker or relatively younger than the average in population, he or she is more willing to migrate holding other fixed. On an interesting note, all conceptualised factors that represent the dissatisfaction with government or public services are seen to be significant for decision to migrate. As such, *local roads* ($p<0.001$), *satisf w/ l. gov* ($p<0.001$), and *satisf w/ n. gov* ($p<0.01$) are all statistically significant having a negative impact on decision to migrate. For instance, after other factors are accounted, a citizen is more willing to emigrate, when he or she is dissatisfied with the quality of local roads, or with overall performance by either local or national government. These results provide a credible evidence to not reject H2.

Table 7. Logistic regression models for dissatisfaction

Logistic regression models for dissatisfaction

Variables	Model 1		Model 2	
	Estimate	Significance	Estimate	Significance
constant	0.923943	0.00462 **	0.92713	0.00274 **
riskiness	0.127426	9.83e-09 ***	0.12653	1.28e-08 ***
gender_pr	0.209651	0.04933 *	0.20421	0.05391
age_pr	-0.057635	2E-16 ***	-0.05812	2,00E-16 ***
edu_low			-0.29814	0.05485
edu_high	0.153930	0.17472		
job	-0.124972	0.43528		
local roads	-0.265542	4.46e-09 ***	-0.26688	3.73e-09 ***
satisf w/ l. gov	-0.495504	2.73e-08 ***	-0.49467	2.94e-08 ***
satisf w/ n. gov	-0.124397	0.00595 **	-0.12248	0.00680 **
Observations	12707		12707	
McFadden's R2	0.30823		0.30862	

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

With the purpose to test whether H3 holds, relative deprivation factors along with control variable were analysed by logistic regression. As hypothesis states, it is projected that people who are feeling the sense of relative deprivation are more likely to exit their country. In this case, they are either feeling economically deprived compared to others or themselves on perspective or retrospective basis, or sensing that they are treated unfairly and comparing one selves to citizens in other countries. These notions are represented by the following variables: current and retrospect self-evaluation (self-evaluations index), prospective evaluation (PRq317), change in one's personal economic standpoint (q401d), benchmarking to Western countries (q402) and believing in the injustice in one's society (q410). To account other non-attitudinal effects, already used control variables have been employed alongside new addition of real deprivation levels (index224total).

First regression shows that almost all variables are statistically significant and can be regarded as determinants to migration decisions (see table 8). As table below shows, only gender variable (gender_pr) and job level (job) are insignificant, while real deprivation level (index224total) is only statistically significant with 90% confidence level, which is not a widely accepted standard. For the second regression, gender and job level variables were dropped out, whereas real deprivation level was left in order to control relative deprivation factors. The new regression shown an improvement to model fit, while reporting that 4653 observations were deleted due to missing values.

Second logistic regression confirms that all the investigated variables do affect propensity to migrate, except for real deprivation level that is not sufficiently statistically significant. As already

seen in other regression analyses, control variables such as riskiness, age, low educational level are all statistically significant and do determine the propensity to migrate. Equally important, the regression shows that all analysed relative deprivation factors are statistically significant, although having different effects on migration. For instance, current and retrospective self-evaluation (self-evaluations index) and change in one's personal economic standpoint (q401d) shows that holding other factors equal citizen is more willing to emigrate when he or she has evaluated its current financial situation as bad compared to others or whether such condition worsened over the years. Correspondingly, prospective self-evaluation (PRq317) projects that a citizen is more willing to emigrate, if one believes that in next four years one's economic standpoint would be higher while other factors remain the same. Interestingly, as variable q410 shows statistical significance ($p<0.5$), it can be argued that when a person believes that fellow citizens are in need due to the injustice in their society, he or she might be more willing to emigrate. Lastly, benchmarking to the citizens in Western countries shown to be significant ($p<0.01$) meaning that people are more prone to migrate, when they got used to compare themselves and their standpoint with wealthy citizens in Western Europe. To sum up, while all relative deprivation factors hold to be statistically, H3 is supported.

Table 8. Logistic regression models for relative deprivation

Logistic regression models for relative deprivation

Variables	Model 1		Model 2	
	Estimate	Significance	Estimate	Significance
constant	-0.962576	0.013743 *	-0.70478	0.05334
riskiness	0.158895	1.90e-11 ***	0.16229	5.74e-12 ***
gender_pr	0.134071	0.232213		
age_pr	-0.056212	2E-16 ***	-0.05646	2,00E-16 ***
edu_low			-0.53339	0.00132 ***
edu_high	0.196138	0.121814		
job	0.003050	0.986140		
q401d	-0.211271	0.000102 ***	-0.21117	9.94e-05 ***
self-evaluations index	-0.149432	0.024976 ***	-0.15379	7.26e-10 ***
PRq317	0.128363	0.001596 **	0.12415	0.00218 **
q402	0.391182	0.001259 **	0.37582	0.00187 **
q410	0.240640	0.033677 *	0.23387	0.03903 *
index224total	0.062803	0.150643	0.07158	0.09296
Observations	11959		11959	
McFadden's R2	0.3613		0.3632	

*** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$

With the intention to check whether H4 holds true, logistic regression was utilised on various voice forms such as voting in the elections (indexq419total) and unconventional political participation (indexdumq919total). Again, control variables showing gender, age, riskiness, educational and job levels have been utilised to control for non-attitudinal effects.

For the first regression, both high and low levels of educational attainment were included since political participation is expected to be affected by those who are well educated and those who are not. As shown in the table below, most of control variables are deemed to be statistically significant except for high level of education (edu_high) and job level (job). Consequently, these variables have been removed when second regression was performed to fit the data better. The new regression shown an improvement to model fit, while reporting that 926 observations were deleted due to missingness.

According to the table 9, second regression shows the similar effects of control variables to decision to migrate as it was seen in previous logistic regressions. Yet the results for voice factors are rather twofold. Participation in elections (indexq419total) is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$), whereas unconventional political participation such as attending demonstrations or boycotts, signing petitions are not seen as a significant factor that could determine migration decision. In particular, regression only shows that if one has participated in either local or national elections, then one would be less inclined to think about the migration. As long this relationship has been determined with statistical confidence, H4 is not rejected and holds true.

Table 9. Logistic regression models for voice

Logistic regression models for voice

| Variables	Model 1		Model 2	
	Estimate	Significance	Estimate	Significance
constant	-1.766073	1.27e-14 *	-1.631218	1.03e-14 ***
riskiness	0.138052	1.40e-11 ***	0.137092	2.05e-1 ***
gender_pr	0.214897	0.02629	0.217442	0.02367 *
age_pr	-0.054688	2E-16 ***	-0.054544	2E-16 ***
edu_low			-0.356734	0.00968 **
edu_high	0.168815	0.10939		
job	0.015806	0.91630		
indexq921total	0.031367	0.38359 ***	0.024375	0.49915
indexq419total	-0.167337	0.00161 ***	-0.168893	0.00135 **
Observations	15686		15686	
McFadden's R2	0.1398		0.1409	

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

3.3. Structural equation modelling

For the purpose to identify how all investigated factors are interrelated, SEM analysis is conducted. Factors of loyalty, dissatisfaction, and relative deprivation, which have been formulated with the help of EFA, have been formed into latent variables for SEM models. Factors representing exit and voice have been included to the equations. After first attempt of running SEM analysis, it showed that latent variable, which is comprised of participation in elections and unconventional political participation, does not hold to be valid. While some of variances with information matrix were found to be negative, one of the factors needed to be removed, thus leaving only voting factor.

In order to test H5 hypothesis where loyalty should increase voice activity compared to exit, all these factors were formed in a model. The RMSEA statistic ($p = 0.034$) demonstrates that the exit, voice and loyalty model is a close fit (Brown and Cudeck, 1993). As seen in seen in the Figure 1 below, linking arrows show relatively small covariances between exit, loyalty, and voice factors, although they are all statistically significant ($p<0.001$). These covariances identify the existing relationships between latent factors, which are relatively modest but prove Hirschman's assertions. As such, loyalty increases voice responses (0.07), while diminishing intention to exit (-0.09). Thus, the core EVL relationships are confirmed, which results in H5 hypothesis to be supported.

Figure 1. SEM model of EVL factors
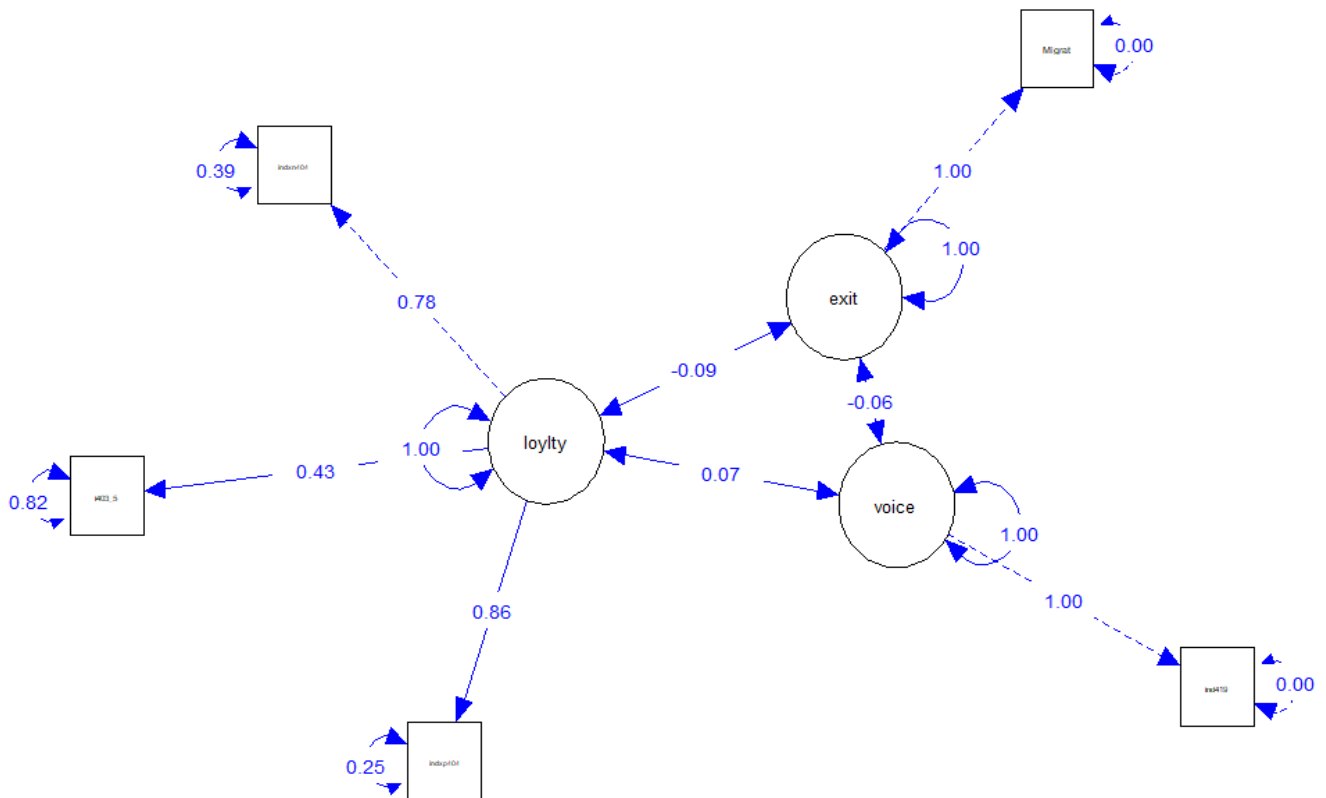
In order to test H6 hypothesis whether dissatisfaction is valid explanation to voice, exit, and loyalty interrelationships when exploring migration decisions in CEE countries, one SEM model is conducted from exit, voice, loyalty and dissatisfaction factors, which were approved by EFA analysis. The RMSEA statistic (p = 0.034) shows that the model is fit, while CFI (0.981) and TLI (0.959) confirms it. As Figure 2. below shows, only relatively moderate relationships are established between these factors, although being statistically significant (p<0.001). The relationships holds to be true in Hirschman's sense, as loyalty affects voice and exit as in the previous model, whereas voting in past elections was seen to have positive relationship with satisfaction (0.10) and exit intentions negative relationship with it (-0.007 ; see Appendix 5 as small covariance is not displayed in the graph).

In order to justify whether dissatisfaction is a better valid explanation to the EVL relationships, the third SEM model is created with relative deprivation instead of dissatisfaction factor (see Appendix 6). This model does not strongly pass goodness of fit with TLI (0.894) and RMSEA (0.084). What is more, the Akaike information criterion (AIC) shows that this model is worse than the dissatisfaction model to fit for the data (212966 against 121480).

Figure 2. SEM model with dissatisfaction
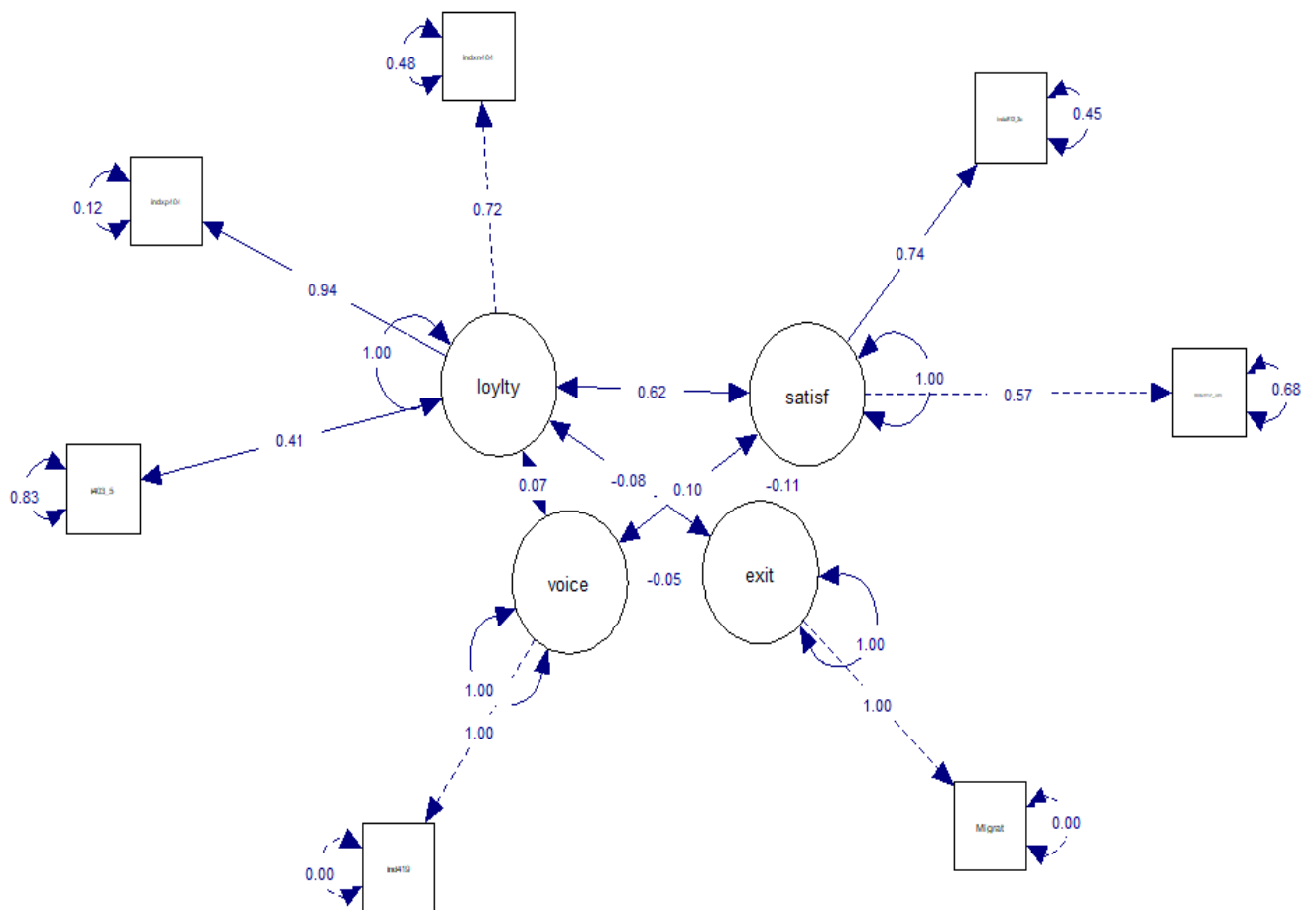
Drawing on these findings, H6 hypothesis can be supported as the dissatisfaction model fits the data and holds statistically significant relationships in line of what Hirschman assumed.

3.4.   Summary

The empirical analysis show the anticipated results to some extent. After conducting logistic regression analysis and SEM analysis, the results of the examined hypotheses can be demonstrated in the table below.

Table 10. Hypothesis testing results

H1	People with lower social capital are more likely to emigrate	Rejected
H2	Those who exit are less likely to engage in voice activity	Supported
H3	People who are less satisfied with government performance or public goods or services are more likely to exit.	Supported
H4	People who are feeling of being deprived are more likely to exit	Supported

| H5 | Loyalty should increase voice activity compared to exit. | Supported |
| H6 | Dissatisfaction is valid explanation to voice, exit, and loyalty interrelationships when exploring migration decisions in CEE countries. | Supported |

4. Discussion

The main aim of this research was to explore whether migration decisions in CEE region are also determined by social, institutional, and political factors, which can be derived on the foundation of Hirschman's EVL framework. The first part of discussion conveys the interpretation of results with explored trends and investigated relationships. The second one is presenting the implications of this research highlighting key finds in relation to understanding the research problem. The last part describes limitations of the study.

4.1. Interpretation of results

While the relationship between Hirschman's loyalty concept and exit was one of the less explored phenomena in the empirical studies since there has not been any agreement on its definition, there has been few indications that loyalty as in the name of lower social capital could increase one's propensity of exit. Nevertheless, the logistic regression results shown no support for H1 as it stated that people with lower social capital are more likely to emigrate. Investigated social trust and group membership factors have no statistical significance. The insignificance of group membership as determinant to emigration could be explained by low numbers citizens in CEE countries who belong to any voluntary organisations. As such, hypothetically low number responses in such activity might produce low variance that would not be sufficient in examining this relationship. Meanwhile, social trust factor might be just not as strong as a predictor, knowing it does not resemble well the strength of social network within communities. These results did not bring the expected outcomes as in Dowding et al. (2008) and Lyons et al. (1996) findings, where lower social investment in one's community was seen to determine a higher propensity to exit at least in public services context. One of the reasons might be due to inability from data to form a more nuanced social investment in terms of belonging to community or knowing people's names, which was significant in Dowding and John (2012, p. 120-132) analysis.

Nevertheless, the logistic regression analysis demonstrated that political trust and trust in institutions are seen as significant proving that such concept of loyalty can be linked to emigration to some extent. Trust in politically charged institutions was seen also as the strongest predictor along with control variable of possessing lower level of educational attainment. Both political trust in institutions, namely armed forces, the police, banks and the financial system, demonstrated that if one distrust these institutions, one is more willing to emigrate. Although, the latter trust should not be directly related to loyalty due to lack of theoretical justification. Possible interpretation of discovered relationship between emigration and political trust can come to a particular context of CEE region.

As already outlined, political trust is relatively low in this region compared to western counterpart. As such, citizens of CEE might not be structurally included within the political and cultural systems of their countries, thus lower attachment to their countries could only lead to outmigration in Hirschman's terms.

Examining the relationship between emigration and voice, H2 was supported as stated that those who exit are less likely to engage in voice activity. While regression results did not indicated that unconventional political participation holds any statistical significance, voting in the local and national elections was displayed as significant determinant affecting decision to migrate. Although the size of collective voting effect was moderate, it shown that citizen of CEE country would be willing to emigrate, if he or she did not participated in either local or national elections. As explanation to it in Hirschman's terms, it could be said that citizens in CEE region leave their countries as they find their voting as ineffective since the government does not respond to it. Nevertheless, such explanation is not fully valid if dissatisfaction element is not investigated, whereas it should encourage such voting in the first place.

When considering why pressure politics such as attending demonstrations, boycotts or signing petitions shown to not form any significant relationship with emigration, few thoughts can be deliberated. Firstly, the analysis used only combined propensity to engagement in such pressure politics rather than if person has participated at all. Such distinction is very crucial as noted by Dowding et al.(2000) since past participation theoretically should be considering as affecting current decision to exit. Secondly, unconventional political engagement is very low among CEE countries.

Logistic regression results provided a support for H3, which stated that people who are less satisfied with government performance or public goods or services are more likely to exit. Interestingly, all factors representing dissatisfaction shown to be statistically significant. Yet dissatisfaction with the quality of public goods and services cannot be fully represent as only local roads as variable was available from the data. While evaluation of the quality of local roads was seen to have a statistically moderate effect on migration decision, it is not representative of general public goods and services to make any generalisations. On the other hand, both evaluations of government performance on either local and national level was shown to be significant in making migration decisions. Noteworthy, dissatisfaction with local government performance was seen as the best predictor for willingness to migrate, and few times better than dissatisfaction with national government. A straightforward interpretation to it may be that people may attach the daily issues they face to local government, as it is often blamed for what is happening in one's neighbourhood, rather than to national government. Such interesting results also show that citizens of CEE region when are dissatisfied with performance of government, they are more likely to think about emigration

opportunities. This goes well in line Otrachshenko and Popova (2014) assertion that people of Eastern Europe are rather unhappy as they internalise how their government behave.

When it comes to relationship between Relative Deprivation and migration, H4 was supported indicating that people who are feeling of being deprived are more likely to exit. All investigated factors of Relative Deprivation shown to be statistically significant when logistic regression was performed. Among them, benchmarking to Western countries was shown to have the highest effect on whether one is willing to emigrate. While this variable does not fully convey relative deprivation concept to definition, it can be interpreted straightforward. People are more thinking of moving to a better country in terms of economic and political standards if they used to contrast their economic standpoint with more prosperous citizens of Western countries. Furthermore, subjective notion of injustice as a proxy to feeling relative deprivation indicated robust effect in the relationship with migration decision. As follows, if a citizen of CEE region believes that fellow citizens are in need because of the injustice of his society, then such subjective notion of injustice may encourage a citizen to be more willing to emigrate. Although this factor needs to be further explored in relation to the respondent himself, it can be interpreted that perception of prevailing injustice in CEE region can encourage citizens to think about moving to another country, which is better in terms of distributive justice. In line with relative deprivation theory, it can be said that rather than restoring initial justice, people choose to withdraw from the active citizenship of such state due to inherent unfairness and inequality of CEE country.

Economic relative deprivation such as current and retrospective self-evaluation and change in one's personal economic standpoint has shown to have moderate effect in the relationship with migration decision. As such, if citizen of CEE region has evaluated his current and past economic condition as poor relative to other households in the country, then a perceived poor personal economic comparison could encourage a citizen to think about emigration. Similarly, a perceived change of one's economic it is worth to note that these factors remained significant even when controlling the effects of real economic deprivation. In contrast, prospective relative deprivation identified an opposite effect on migration decisions than expected. While prospective relative deprivation should motivate to engage in action when one is pessimistic about his future economic prospects, the regression results demonstrated that rather those who are optimistic about their economic prospects are willing to emigrate. It can be argued that people who are willing to emigrate are already projecting to have better economic prospect because of such potential migration. Nevertheless, as evidence show, the unravelled relationship between migration decision and prospective economic deprivation does not go in line with the relative deprivation theory in such setting.

Examining whether loyalty should increase voice activity compared to exit, the hypothesis was supported. Besides, SEM results also demonstrated that H6 is not rejected. As such, dissatisfaction

to government performance was shown to be fit in the EVL framework analysing exit, voice, and loyalty relationships in the CEE region. It also provided a better explanation to the investigated relationships compared to relative deprivation. Approval of H5 and H6 hypotheses indicates that the conceptualized EVL model with at least political trust, political participation, and dissatisfaction with government performance is fit to be used in the context of migration decisions among citizens of CEE countries. Needless to say, the identified relationships have relatively small covariances between each other.

In general, both logistic regression models and SEM models demonstrated that the conceptualised EVL factors are explaining only a moderate at best part of data. For instance, the highest McFadden's $R2$ in logistic regression was just above 0.35, showing the proportion of variance in the intentions to migrate that are explained by predictors. Thus, it cannot be said that the investigated relationships are either strong or could explain much of migration decisions in the CEE region. These findings rather indicate that such factors exist in the broader picture of emigration determinants.

4.2. Implications

Implications of this research are rather meaningful to either the migration studies, the application of EVL framework and explanations of migration in CEE region. First, the research demonstrated that non-economic determinants of migration should not be ignored when investigating various migration drivers. Since economic explanation and transnational theories dominated the field of migration studies, most of the research isolated migration process from the range of social and political factors according to Smith and King (2012). The research of thesis contributes to the migration studies along with other few showing that social, political and institutional factors are also important to explaining migration process. As such, with the application of Hirschman's EVL framework, it is shown that political trust, political participation, and dissatisfaction with government performance can influence migration decisions in the context of CEE countries. More importantly, this thesis employed EVL framework empirically partly drawing on the 3E3VL model, which not have been done for exploring migration for CEE region. Although investigated factors do not explain migration decisions to significant degree, a meaningful revelation of this thesis is that the EVL framework can be empirically applied to test the relationships between migration decisions, voice activity in terms of political voting, and loyalty as political trust. Furthermore, a slight contribution can be seen to the literature of relative deprivation and international migration following discoveries of Stark and Taylor (1991). It was shown that relative deprivation concept can also be applied in the CEE region.

In terms of explanations for emigration in CEE countries, the thesis provides an empirically based evidence why migration patterns in these countries are also affected by other than economic reasons. The EVL framework allows to demonstrate that dissatisfaction with government, political trust and political voting maintains statistically significant relationship with willingness to migrate. In Hirschman's sense the interpretation could be that small part of citizens do 'vote with their feet' in the CEE countries, especially when satisfaction with the provision of public goods and services is poor. Although the analysis could not be conducted on the general provision of these services only instead on the government performance, the explanation could be linked to what Kurekova (2011) discovered. She found that outmigration in the CEE countries can be explained on Welfare system provisions since underdeveloped or underfunded unemployment insurance systems and social schemes encourage hardship citizens to be more willing to emigrate.

4.3. Limitations

The main limitations of this research can be attributed to the data constraints. While the LiTS III survey is cross-sectional data, it only allows to examine relationship between behaviour and social phenomena at one point in time. Thus, identified relationships should be explored across the time to isolate potential effects of an irregular year, e.g. the global financial crisis. Besides, Dowding et al. (2000) suggest that panel studies should be the most appropriate means to investigate exit, voice, and loyalty relationship, although the use of cross-sectional data is still very valid as I argued in the Data collection section.

LiTS III survey also does not sufficiently provide various variables, which could have been very useful in the performed analyses. For instance, such factors as complaints made about public goods and services and dissatisfaction related with the quality of them were not available for analysis due to extremely high missing data. Only dissatisfaction with the quality of local roads was sufficient as a variable, but it was not enough to test the relationships between the individual voice and dissatisfaction with the public services and goods in relation to exit opportunities as seen in the 3E3VL model. Besides, social investment factors such as knowing one's neighbourhood and names as shown to be significant in the 3E3VL model were not in the questionnaire, therefore they could not represent loyalty factor in the analysis. Furthermore, due to difficult coding control variable namely as income level has not been represented in the regression analysis to account for potential effect on analysed variables.

In addition, the dependent variable such as intention to migrate shown to have quite low response rate, although it did not suffer from rare event occurrence. While it was still appropriate for the analyses conducted, low response rate did not allow testing the relationships investigated on a

country level. As a result, different effects on migration decisions in separate countries could not be demonstrated. This is important because each of CEE country has different degrees of emigration outflows, whereas existing social, institutional, and political backgrounds are also varying.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions

The purpose of the thesis was to investigate whether social, political, and institutional factors are seen as determinants of migration decisions in Central and Eastern Europe. After outlining socio-political particularities of this region, this research had aimed to explore how the social, political, and institutional factors might be intermediating emigration from CEE countries. Besides, the aim was also to find a suitable theoretical framework which could help to provide explanations on how migration is determined by these factors and how they are interrelated.

Prior to the analysis, relevant literature of the migration studies was reviewed. It was revealed that most of the research within this field is dominated by economic and transnational theoretical explanations, whereas inadequately low number of studies explore social, political, and institutional determinants to migration process, especially in the region of CEE. It was also shown that there is a shortage of clearly defined theoretical frameworks, which could explain how social, political, and institutional factors are influencing migration decisions particularly for CEE countries.

For these reasons, Hirschman's concepts of 'exit', 'voice', and 'loyalty' were selected as the potential theoretical ground to address the shortcomings in the literature and the aims of this thesis. The prominence of Hirschman's EVL framework is that it establishes a clear relationship between the state and citizen as well as the potential cause of why citizens choose to exit from the relationship with the state by emigrating.

After reviewing empirically applied frameworks based on Hirschman's concepts, few conceptualisations from the 3E3VL model and other research were taken to make empirically testable EVL model for exploring international migration in the context of CEE region. Consequently, in an effort empirically reflect Hirschman's ideas and particularities of CEE region, factors of social, political, and institutional nature were formulated as follows: voice as individual complaints, voting and unconventional political participation; loyalty as social capital and political trust; dissatisfaction as in relation to provision of public goods and services and government performance. Relative Deprivation explanation have been added as both explanation of migration and potentially competing explanation instead of Hirschman's dissatisfaction.

For the purpose of empirical research, the LiTS III survey was used as a cross-sectional data. Premised on quantitative methods, the research employed various statistical techniques, namely logistic regression analysis and structural equation modelling, to make potential inferences about relationships between loyalty, voice, dissatisfaction, Relative Deprivation and migration in the CEE region.

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The empirical research and hypothesis testing rejected the relationship between social capital and migration, although political trust seemed to be statistically significant in influencing migration decisions as 'loyalty' factor, though it was not hypothesised initially.

On the other hand, hypothesis testing supported the initial claims that those who exit are less likely to engage in voice activity. Although participation in election was seen as only statistically significant determinant, it demonstrated the relationship between exit and voice as Hirschman hypothesised.

Dissatisfaction with government performance was also seen as significant determinant encouraging dissatisfied people to be willing to migrate while controlling for non-attitudinal effects. This finding goes well with Hirschman's notion that dissatisfaction drives exit choices. Nonetheless, the general relationship between emigration and dissatisfaction with the quality of public services and goods could not be established, though dissatisfaction with the quality of local roads was found to have moderate effect in decision to migrate.

Although relative deprivation was not a primary explanation to migration in CEE countries, it was shown good alternative explanation as being statistically significant in encouraging people to think about emigrating.

In addition, structural equation modelling has demonstrated that the EVL framework as adapted to emigration in CEE region could be a meaningful analytical tool to test social, political, and institutional factors in relation to migration decisions. As such, structural equation modelling helped to show that the relationships between conceptualised factors are the same as Hirschman hypothesised.

Lastly, both logistic regression models and SEM models demonstrated that the conceptualised EVL factors are explaining only a moderate at best variability of migration intentions. These findings rather indicate that such factors exist in the broader picture of emigration determinants.

Recommendations for Further Research

There are many potential areas for further research as this study only applied the EVL framework in one point in time and for the single region in terms of Central and Eastern Europe. A deeper and more encompassing prospective research could use panel data, so the potential time related effects could be isolated as well as it would be the most appropriate way to explore exit, voice, loyalty, and dissatisfaction relationships when contrasting comparisons of past actions and attitudes to behaviours or attitudes of the current day.

Besides, further analysis should be done on both on separate countries or groups of countries within CEE, as it would be hard to claim that all of them are homogenous enough to be similarly

susceptible to the effects investigated. On top of that, analysis should be done in comparison to other regions or group of countries, e.g. Western countries, to see if the investigated EVL framework holds to be true only when explaining migration decision to CEE area.

In addition, the impact of complaints about public goods and services and dissatisfaction of the quality of them should be inspected for migration. While this research could not analyse these relationships due to data limitations, they could be also significant as analysis shown that at least dissatisfaction with local roads could be linked to one's willingness to migrate.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1

Profile of the primary respondents by country, gender and age in the LitS III survey. Retrieved from EBDR(2017)

Country	Gender		Age				Total number of observations
	Male	Female	18-24	25-39	40-64	65+	
Albania	48.07	51.93	8.67	29.4	48.00	13.93	1500
Armenia	33.4	66.6	8.06	26.72	43.68	21.55	1,527
Azerbaijan	40.13	59.87	17.15	37.15	42.72	2.98	1,51
Belarus	41.89	58.11	6.58	30.32	44.28	18.82	1,504
Bosnia and Herzegovina	49.83	50.17	11.07	28.15	46.23	14.54	1,499
Bulgaria	46.00	54.00	5.53	20.00	44.53	29.93	1,5
Croatia	45.84	54.16	7.98	25.48	45.78	20.76	1,503
Cyprus	42.60	57.40	5.53	19.80	38.87	35.80	1500
Czech Republic	44.84	55.16	5.74	25.91	43.15	25.20	1,532
Estonia	36.86	63.14	4.46	15.30	41.45	38.79	1,503
FYR Macedonia	48.43	51.57	9.94	25.02	41.23	23.82	1,499
Georgia	36.94	63.06	5.70	22.75	46.09	25.46	1,508
Germany	56.27	43.73	7.40	37.20	44.93	10.47	1500
Greece	43.78	56.22	7.19	23.89	43.78	25.15	1,503
Hungary	44.24	55.76	5.66	21.32	40.31	32.71	1,501
Italy	48.97	51.03	5.13	25.58	45.24	24.05	1,501
Kazakhstan	35.22	64.78	7.84	34.42	47.24	10.50	1,505
Kosovo	49.00	51.00	14.13	31.27	42.93	11.67	1500
Kyrgyz Republic	46.33	53.67	12.27	32.40	45.20	10.13	1500
Latvia	37.33	62.67	5.73	20.13	38.60	35.53	1500
Lithuania	39.84	60.16	7.33	18.92	41.44	32.31	1,501
Moldova	46.03	53.97	7.28	25.20	44.38	23.15	1,512
Mongolia	44.53	55.47	9.33	37.20	44.13	9.33	1500
Montenegro	47.44	52.56	11.71	30.21	41.12	16.97	1,503
Poland	40.87	59.13	4.67	30.67	40.87	23.80	1500
Romania	41.93	58.07	5.89	22.69	40.87	30.56	1,512
Russia	38.09	61.91	9.29	33.58	41.80	15.33	1,507
Serbia	47.61	52.39	6.37	25.33	43.37	24.93	1,508
Slovak Republic	42.03	57.97	6.54	20.14	45.27	28.04	1,544
Slovenia	48.43	51.57	5.26	16.92	43.37	34.44	1,501
Tajikistan	46.16	53.84	16.16	35.96	41.13	6.75	1,51
Turkey	51.27	48.73	11.93	50.27	35.13	2.67	1500
Ukraine	38.02	61.98	4.71	27.80	46.52	20.97	1,507
Uzbekistan	46.08	53.92	9.10	32.20	50.13	8.57	1,506
Total	43.94	56.06	8.16	27.62	43.35	20.88	51,206

Appendix 2

Summary of variables

Variables from LiTS III questionnaire and missing observations					
Questions in the survey	**Responses in questionnaire**	**Variables in the raw data**	**Used in analysis**	Missing observations	Rate of missings
Loyalty					
that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?	Complete distrust - 1, Some distrust - 2, Neither trust nor distrust - 3, Some trust - 4, Complete trust - 5	q403	q403	398	2%
To what extent do you trust the following institutions?	Complete distrust - 1, Some distrust - 2, Neither trust nor distrust - 3, Some trust - 4, Complete trust - 5				0%
a The Presidency		q404a	q404a	514	3%
b The government/cabinet of ministers		q404b	q404b	467	3%
c Regional government		q404c	q404c	3342	20%
d Local government		q404d	q404d	534	3%
e The parliament		q404e	q404e	518	3%
f Courts		q404f	q404f	1110	7%
g Political parties		q404g	q404g	650	4%
h Armed forces		q404h	q404h	1	0%
i The police		q404i	q404i	418	3%
j Banks and the financial system		q404j	q404j	738	4%
k Foreign investors		q404k	q404k	2673	16%
l Non governmental organizations		q404l	q404l	2686	16%
m Trade unions		q404m	q404m	2991	18%
n Religious institutions		q404n	q404n	1715	10%
To what extent do you trust people from the following groups?	Complete distrust - 1, Some distrust - 2, Neither trust nor distrust - 3, Some trust - 4, Complete trust - 5				0%

a Family living with you			q405a	q405a	2273	14%
b Your neighbourhood			q405b	q405b	185	1%
c People you meet for the first time			q405c	q405c	271	2%
d Foreigners			q405d	q405d	1257	8%
Suppose you lost your (purse/wallet) containing your address details, and it was found in the street by someone living in this neighbourhood. How likely is it that it would be returned to you with nothing missing?	Very likely - 1, Quite likely -2, Not very likely - 3, Not at all likely - 4		q423	q423	782	5%
How often do you meet up with friends or relatives who are not living with you in your household, on average?	On most days - 1, Once or twice a week - 2, Once or twice a month - 3, Less often than once a month - 4, Never - 5		q424	q424	149	1%
Are you currently a member of a political party?	Yes - 1, No 2		q917	q918	60	0%
Member of any voluntary organisations	ACTIVE MEMBER - 1, INACTIVE MEMBER - 2, NOT A MEMBER - 3					0%
a CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS			q919a	q919a	1	0%
b SPORT AND RECREATIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS			q919b	q919b	1	0%
c ART, MUSIC OR EDUCATIONAL ORGANISATIONS			q919c	q919c	1	0%
d LABOUR UNIONS			q919d	q919d	1	0%
e ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANISATIONS			q919e	q919e	1	0%
f PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS			q919f	q919f	1	0%
g HUMANITARIAN OR CHARITABLE ORGANISATIONS			q919g	q919g	1	0%
h YOUTH ASSOCIATIONS			q919h	q919h	1	0%
I WOMEN'S GROUPS			q919i	q919i	1	0%

j FARMING COOPERATIVES		q919j	q919j	1	0%
Relative deprivation					0%
Stand today either between the poorest people in our country or the richer (1-10 steps)	1 -poorest, 10 - richest	PRq315	PRq315	315	2%
Same ten-step ladder four years ago. On which step was your household at that time?	1 -poorest, 10 - richest	PRq316	PRq316	415	2%
And where on the ladder do you believe your household will be four years from now?	1 -poorest, 10 - richest	PRq317	PRq317	2470	15%
My household lives better nowadays than around 4 years ago	Strongly agree - 1, agree - 2, neither agree nor disagree - 3, disagree - 4, strongly disagree - 5	q401d	q401d	268	2%
When thinking of your current economic situation, which of these is most likely to be your benchmark?	How your parents lived at your age; How you/your family lived before [1989] [1991]; How your friends and neighbours live; How the domestic elite lives; How people live in neighbouring ex-communist countries; How people live in Western Europe	q402	q402	526	3%
Dissatisfaction					0%
Please rate the overall performance of	VERY BAD - 1, BAD - 2, NEITHER - 3, GOOD - 4, VERY GOOD - 5				0%
a Local government		q812a	q812a	1125	7%
b Regional government		q812b	q812b	5369	32%
c National government		q812c	q812c	2236	13%

How has the overall performance of […LEVEL OF GOVT...] changed in the past 4 years?	worsened - 1, stayed the same - 2, better - 3				0%
a Local government		q813a	q813a	1544	9%
b Regional government		q813b	q813b	5471	33%
c National government		q813c	q813c	2398	14%
How satisfied are/were you with the quality of service? C - local roads	Very dissatisfied - 1, dissatisfied - 2, neither - 3, satisfied - 4, very satisfied - 5	q218g	q218g	154	1%
Voice					0%
How likely are you to……a)attend a lawful demonstration…b) participate in a strike…c) sign petitions	have done - 1, might do - 2, never do - 3	q921a, q921b, q921c	q921a, q921b, q921c	1	0%
Did you vote in the most recent…a ...local-level elections b …parliamentary elections c …presidential elections	Yes - 1, No 2	q419a, q419b, q419c	q419a, q419b, q419c	216, 320, 4310	1,3%; 0%, 26%
Migration					
Do you intend to move abroad in the next 12 months?	Yes - 1, No 2	q913	Migrate		0%
DEMOGRAPHICS AND MORE					
Do you have a job or not?	Yes - 1, No 2	PRq501	PRq501	1	0%
Education level	No degree / No education; Primary education; Lower secondary education; (Upper) secondary education; Tertiary education (not a university diploma); Bachelor's degree or more; Master's degree or PhD	q109_1	q109_1	1	0%
COUNTRY	all countries in the survey	country	country	0	0%

| Please, rate your willingness to take risks, in general, on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means that you are not willing to take risks at all, and 10 and means that you are very much willing to take risks.	1 - not willing to take risks at all, 10 - very likely to take risks	q428	q428	45	0%
Sex	Male or female	gender_pr	gender_pr	0	0%
Age	18-	age_pr	age_pr	0	0%
Could your household meet with own resources unexpected expenditures up to:					0%
a) DOMESTIC POVERTY THRESHOLD]? (LOCAL CURRENCY)	Yes (easily); Yes (with difficulty); No			0	0%
b) INTERNATIONAL POVERTY THRESHOLD]? (LOCAL CURRENCY)	Yes (easily); Yes (with difficulty); No			0	0%

Appendix 3 *Scree plot and Parallel analysis for loyalty factors*

Parallel Analysis Scree Plots

69
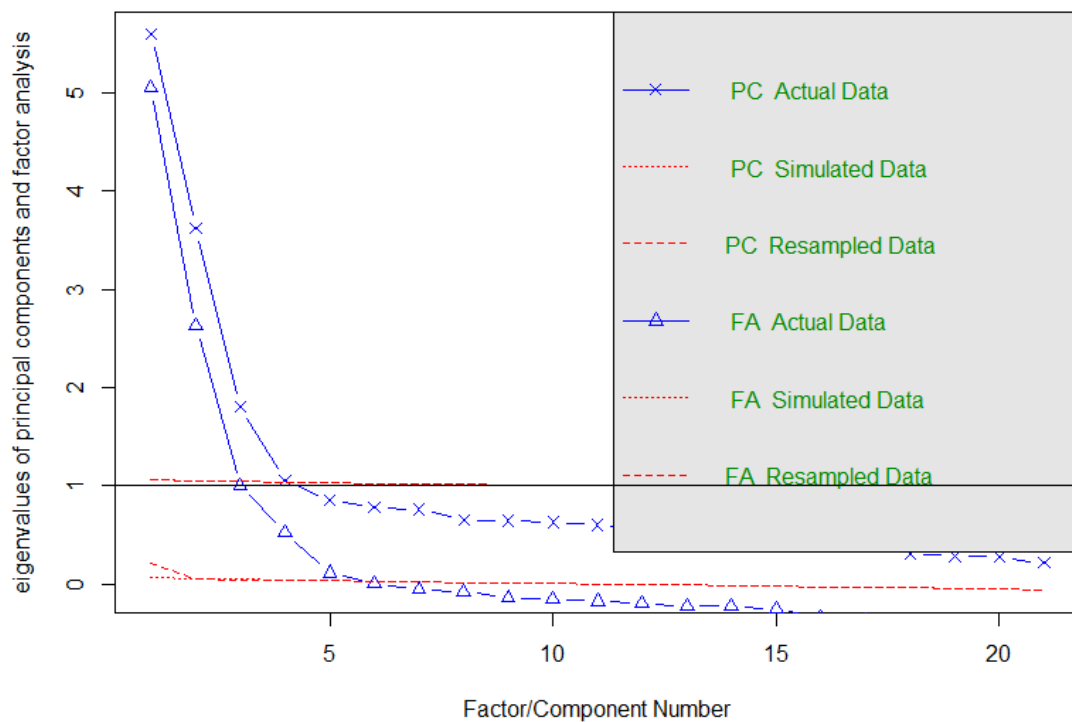
Appendix 4 *Scree plot and Parallel analysis for dissatisfaction*

Parallel Analysis Scree Plots
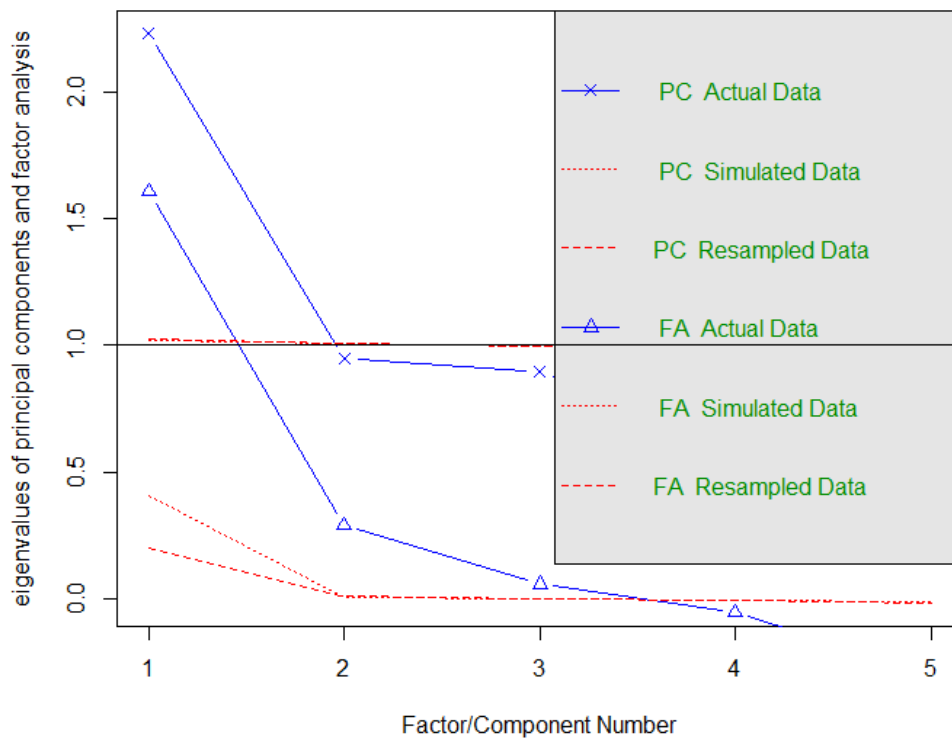
factors

Appendix 5 *Key statistics of SEM model with dissatisfaction*

```
Latent Variables:
                 Estimate  Std.Err  z-value  P(>|z|)   Std.lv   Std.all
  loyalty =~
    indexnon404men    1.000                                 0.741    0.720
    indexpol404men    1.177    0.019   60.474    0.000    0.873    0.938
    index403_5mean    0.427    0.011   40.174    0.000    0.317    0.407
  exit =~
    Migrate           1.000                                 0.179    1.000
  voice =~
    index419mean      1.000                                 0.426    1.000
  satisf =~
    index812_3amen    1.000                                 0.363    0.568
    index812_3cmen    1.358    0.037   36.247    0.000    0.493    0.742

Covariances:
                 Estimate  Std.Err  z-value  P(>|z|)   Std.lv   Std.all
  loyalty ~~
    exit            -0.011    0.001   -8.289    0.000   -0.085   -0.085
    voice            0.022    0.003    6.871    0.000    0.070    0.070
    satisf           0.167    0.006   29.966    0.000    0.622    0.622
  exit ~~
    voice           -0.004    0.001   -5.624    0.000   -0.054   -0.054
    satisf          -0.007    0.001   -8.923    0.000   -0.110   -0.110
  voice ~~
    satisf           0.015    0.002    8.043    0.000    0.099    0.099

Variances:
                 Estimate  Std.Err  z-value  P(>|z|)   Std.lv   Std.all
   .indexnon404men   0.510    0.010   49.795    0.000    0.510    0.482
   .indexpol404men   0.104    0.010    9.941    0.000    0.104    0.120
   .index403_5mean   0.507    0.007   71.376    0.000    0.507    0.835
   .Migrate          0.000                                 0.000    0.000
   .index419mean     0.000                                 0.000    0.000
   .index812_3amen   0.277    0.005   54.949    0.000    0.277    0.678
   .index812_3cmen   0.198    0.007   29.294    0.000    0.198    0.449
    loyalty          0.550    0.015   37.384    0.000    1.000    1.000
    exit             0.032    0.000   73.658    0.000    1.000    1.000
    voice            0.181    0.002   73.658    0.000    1.000    1.000
    satisf           0.132    0.005   24.923    0.000    1.000    1.000
```
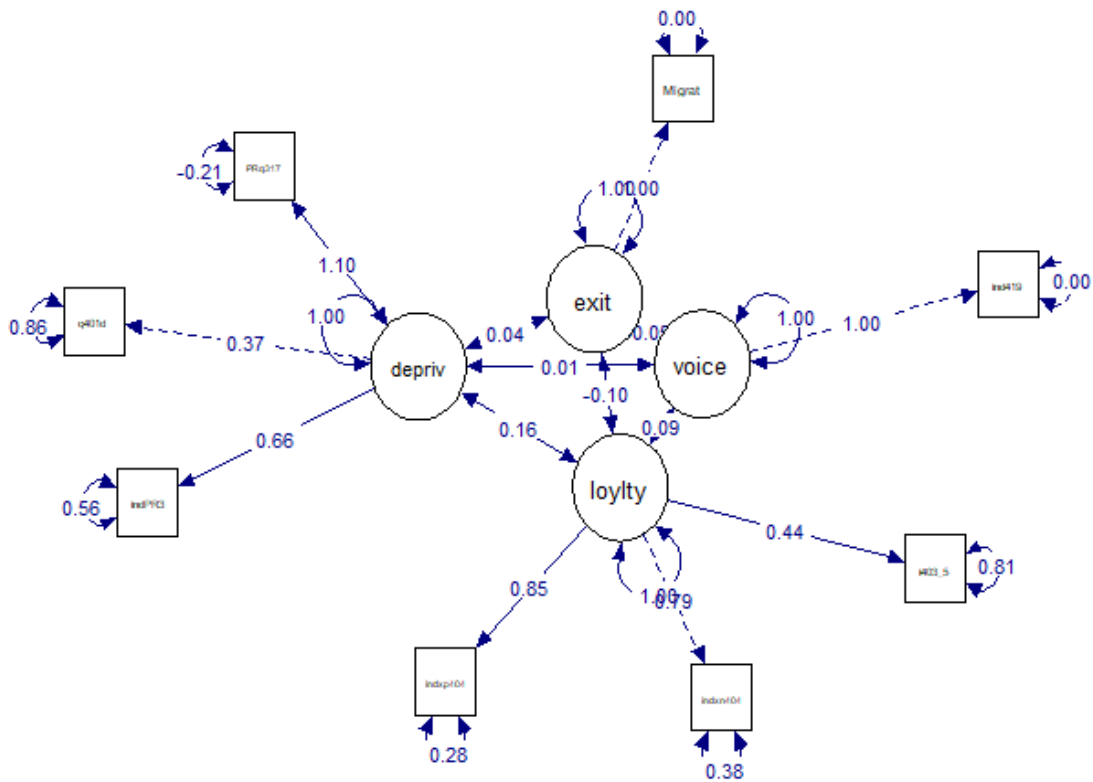
Appendix 7 *SEM for relative deprivation*

a) *Relationships between factors*

b) *Key statistics*

Covariances:

	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(>|z|)	Std.lv	Std.all
loyalty ~~						
exit	-0.014	0.001	-9.234	0.000	-0.098	-0.098
voice	0.030	0.004	8.342	0.000	0.088	0.088
depriv	0.052	0.004	13.952	0.000	0.157	0.157
exit ~~						
voice	-0.004	0.001	-5.170	0.000	-0.049	-0.049
depriv	0.003	0.001	4.959	0.000	0.042	0.042
voice ~~						
depriv	0.002	0.001	1.265	0.206	0.011	0.011

Comparative Fit Index (CFI)	0.940
Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI)	0.894
RMSEA	0.084
Akaike (AIC)	212966.506
Bayesian (BIC)	213113.016
Sample-size adjusted Bayesian (BIC)	213049.458

Summary

Outmigration from Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries have been prevailing phenomenon in recent decades, although varying on different degrees in separate countries. While most exploration of such migration process comes from economic explanations, they do sometimes neglect the specific socio-political particularities of this region. Thus, the purpose of the thesis was to analyse whether social, political, and institutional factors are seen as determinants of migration decisions in Central and Eastern Europe. Furthermore, this thesis also aimed to find a suitable theoretical framework, which could help to provide explanations on how migration is determined by these factors and how they could be interrelated.

After reviewing relevant literature on migration, Hirschman's concepts of 'exit', 'voice', and 'loyalty'(EVL) were selected as the potential theoretical ground to explain the migration process in CEE countries while addressing the particularities of this region.

In order to make the empirically testable Hirschman's EVL model for explaining international migration fitting the context of CEE, several conceptualisations were taken from the 3E3VL model and other relevant research. As such, factors of social, political, and institutional nature were formulated as follows: voice as individual complaints, voting and unconventional political participation; loyalty as social capital and political trust; dissatisfaction as in relation to provision of public goods and services and government performance. Besides, Relative Deprivation concept was added as both possible explanation of migration decisions and potentially competing explanation instead of Hirschman's dissatisfaction.

As for methodology – logistic regression analysis and structural equating modelling were selected as the main tools to analyse hypothesised relationships between migration decisions, identified factors and their interrelationships in the CEE region. The LiTS III survey was used as a cross-sectional data.

The analysis demonstrated that political trust, conventional political participation, and dissatisfaction with government performance could influence migration decisions in the context of CEE countries while controlling for non-attitudinal effects. As such, conceptualised factors of the EVL framework proved to be statistically significant at the same time showing the effects as Hirschman hypothesised. Besides, structural equation modelling helped to show that the relationships between conceptualised factors are the same as Hirschman hypothesised proving that the EVL framework could be potentially used in explaining why citizens of CEE are willing to emigrate. Analysis results also indicated that the relative deprivation concept could be a good alternative

explanation in the CEE region since feeling of being deprived was seen to encourage people to think about migration.

Implications of this research are rather considerable to either the migration studies, the application of EVL framework, and explanations of migration in CEE region. Although investigated factors do not explain migration decisions to large degree, a meaningful revelation of this thesis is that the EVL framework can be empirically applied to test the relationships between migration decisions, voice activity in terms of political voting, and loyalty as political trust. It also gives a valuable explanation why migration patterns in CEE countries are also affected by other than economic reasons.

The aim of the thesis was reached as the explanations to possible relationships between social, political, and institutional factors with the migration decisions were identified. Besides, considerations go in line with outlined particularities of CEE region, yet further research should be done to investigate EVL framework within separate CEE countries and in comparison to other parts of the world. Besides, quantitative research should be conducted on panel data to check whether the findings hold to be true.