PROMISE: **Promoting Youth Involvement and Social Engagement: Opportunities and challenges for conflicted young people across Europe.**

WP6: From Conflict to Innovation: Ethnographic Case Studies

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Returning young migrants
Slovak republic

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Executive summary:

Migration is a cyclical process which also involves a decision as to whether to return. The situation in Slovakia is characterized by a high number of young people studying or working abroad. The process of return migration from new member EU states is often studied from an economic aspect. However, the return migration also presents new themes, some of which we include in our paper. We have focused our attention on the tendencies of returning young migrants to become bearers of change and development in their home country. Therefore, their return migration is not only an economic phenomenon but also contributes to social innovations. We observed how young returning migrants modify life in their immediate circle, community and even society. The process of returning migration contains an element of active communication with the environment, an element of a certain negotiation and modification which does not have to have a particular goal. Changes can be an unintended consequence of negotiation in the process of reintegration. Innovations can be observed both on the micro level (family, friends) as well as an active function for community and state.

This report should be read in conjunction with the document "Individual case studies – introduction."

Content

1. Introduction

Migration experience currently presents an important phenomenon for a variety of social groups. It is considered one of the key civilization challenges thanks to demographic, economic, cultural, social, political, safety and other impacts (Divinský, 2009). Entering the European Union in 2004 and the Schengen area in 2007, transnational migration became a highly debated topic in Slovakia (SK). This could be seen in scientific fields as well as political circles, media and the general public. Migration is not only perceived as the physical movement of people from one place to another, but is also connected to the movement among different cultures. It is for this reason that this process is accompanied by the process of change on different levels. Initially the change concerns the individual and his/her immediate social group in the context of family, network of friends or work. In the big picture, it involves the change in basic attributes of culture on both the side that accepts the migrants as well as the society they leave.

The case study 'Returning young migrants' looks at young Slovaks´ returning migration issues. In line with the goals of PROMISE it focuses on specifying the problems, stimas and conflicts (personal as well as social) that young people encounter and experience after their return home. We study migration as a series of decisions. It is a decision to leave for a foreign country, to stay abroad and sometimes to return home. Each of these decisions entails both objective and subjective reasons. We focused primarily on reasons for returning home. The subjective viewpoint in narratives of return is represented in particular by 'a feeling of homesickness' and 'an overall concept of home'. The objective aspects of return are mainly reflections on future career and family life. With regards to a job and career, a certain form of stigmatisation arises. It comes from the awareness that foreigners abroad often have restricted career opportunities and are met with distrust because of their country of origin. This experience provides them with an impetus to return. Even after their return, young people face difficult decisions. These decisions range from economic issues, such as employment and obtaining affordable housing, to social issues, e.g. moral challenges, multicultural society, radicalisation, participation and community engagement. In the context of a migration cycle it is possible to discuss double stigmatization of young people. It occurs not only in the position and role of a migrant – as a stranger in a foreign country, but also in the position of young returning migrants – when returning home. The stigmatization differentiates young migrants/returning migrants from the majority and supports stereotypes. On the other hand it also supports the perception of the society and engagement with the wider social world.

In comparison with young people without migration experience as well as older generation, young returning migrants have a different perception not only of their host country but also of their home country. We have called it 'a realistic viewpoint'. This means that young migrants returning to Slovakia are neither prejudiced towards nor do they idealize life abroad and in Slovakia. This way of thinking can generate possibilities for change. However, it also serves as a source of suspicion. In connection with the aims of PROMISE we consider it important to point out the fact, that young returning migrants when advancing their visions, ideas, acquired skills and experiences, can be faced with incomprehension and encounter conflicts. However, these conflicts may ultimately lead to innovation and progress.

Based on the scope of the PROMISE project and its objectives, on the basis of the in-depth analysis of the interviews, we refer to the agents of conflict (institutions, organizations, adults, peers), its consequences, and young people´s responses to it. We identify what can be seen as an impulse for social and personal change and which are the social innovations, as well as various types and levels of engagement and activism. Simultaneously we refer to young people´s effectivity when mobilizing and implementing social change efforts. The results of our findings will be helpful for

the formation of a comparison for problems, conflicts and young people´s attitudes, linking with other PROMISE partners' studies, as well as for the comparison of innovation and social change brought about by young people in Europe.

1.1. Why migration?

In the year 2013, 150,000 people worked abroad, which represents 7.5% of the economically active population in Slovakia, averaging 45 years of age (Labour Force Survey – LFS). Other than work migration, Slovakia has a specifically high number of university students leaving the country. According to the Brain Drain research 2014 (institute of sociology SAV), 15% (36 200) of students in 2012 studied at universities abroad, not including student mobility, which present the 3rd highest number among the EU. This is ten times as many as in 1998. It is also true, that many (65%) choose to study in the Czech Republic. While in 2002 there were 4,900 students studying in the Czech Republic, it was 24,800 in 2012. However, the number of students studying further abroad (in countries which are not bordering SK) has been increasing since 2004. In 2012, this was 25% (9,400) of all those studying abroad, with the greatest number in Great Britain. Since 1998 the number of students studying in the UK rose from 74 to 3,000 in 2012. Overall, whilst in 2002 the number of Slovaks studying abroad was 11,281, in 2012 it was 36,455.

Other evidence of high international mobility of young Slovaks can be found in research on the Political participation of youth in V4 countries. Data collected from the survey show that young people from Slovakia have the most experience with a long-term living abroad in comparison with young people from the other countries. Almost 40% of young Slovaks, followed by young people from Hungary (34%), Poland (28%) and the Czech Republic (24%) spend more than 3 months abroad.[1]

In the case of young people working or studying abroad long- term, many return, or try to return, to Slovakia. The Brain Drain research shows that 42% of all graduates return home within two years (Bahna 2018). The migration experience influences the integrity of the individual as well as his/her family and social relations and ties. It interferes with the consciousness and functionality of society on both local and national dimensions. Diversification in cultural and social spheres not only accompanies migrants in the new environment, but also influences their way of life after returning home.

Most theories anticipate the economic connection to migration. Both the neoclassical theory of migration as well as the Push Pull model (Portes and Borocz, 1989) assumed that the movement of people has chiefly economic connotations. The neoclassical model works with the idea that a rationally calculating individuals decide for migration in case that the contributions exceed the potential costs (Bahna 2011). Push Pull models do not work with such strictly defined rationality of the people involved. They, however, point out that migration is the result of poverty and certain backwardness. The supporters of the theory present a whole variety of factors (economic, social and political) in poorer parts of the world with a set of advantages, or pull factors in the more developed countries (Portes and Borocz, 1989). Other alternative migration theories, such as the theory of world systems, also work with the economic concept of migration which however focuses more on the application of political economy. The movement of the capitalist system from the centre to the outskirts generates the opposite movement from the outskirts to the centre. Globalization of migration is therefore directly connected to the globalization of capitalism.

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[1] The survey was conducted in Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Poland on a population in the age group of 15 – 24 years.

1.2. Why Return Migration?

The second half of the 20th century saw the rise of a new aspect of migration: return - migration. The economic crisis of the 70s meant that a proportion of workers active in Western Europe (Germany, Belgium, and France) began to return to their countries of origin (Turkey, Morocco). Returning migration of people from the EU to developing countries outside the EU is still an important research topic (De Bree et al., 2010; Cassarino, 2004). The expansion of the EU brought about a new matter which is not only emigration but return migration of the people from the new member states. Current research mainly focuses on the economic relations of this process. The causes of returning to the country of origin, behaviour, income bonuses based on foreign experience as well as the basic characteristics of returning migrants are being repeatedly examined. Research also shows that instead of the Brain drain concept suggesting the irreclaimable loss of minds, new EU states are experiencing brain circulation (Martin and Radu, 2012; Zaiceva and Zimmerman, 2012). This means that migrants returning to their country of origin bring with them new experiences that influence their new life.. Young returning migrants can contribute to changes and be a source of new social innovations. However, we still do not have the information of how this process takes place. Researches focusing on economic contexts of migration mainly target the decision making or the primary causes for migration and returning migration. They do not, however, pay any attention of how returning migrants influence life in their immediate space (family circle, network of friends) or how they contribute to the innovations across the social spectrum. Generally, we could say that we are missing information on social remittances (Levitt and Lamba – Nieves, 2010). It is therefore important to change the focus of the analysis and make use of the observations that allow us to analyse the practical context of return migration.

Up to this point, anthropological perspectives have dealt with the practical aspect of migration (Brettel, 2003). The research focused on the understanding of the processes of migrants settling in a new social environment and how the migrants adapt to new life situations in a new country. A modification in the understanding of migration presents a concept of transnational migration. It has a more complex understanding of the process, where the migrant does not leave the borders of his/her home country indefinitely (Szaló, 2007; Portes and Borocz, 1989). In this case, Vertovec talks about the existence of a transnational conscience, meaning being home 'here as well as there' (Vertovec, 1999; Cassarino, 2004). For the purposes of this analysis, the concept of transnational migration anchors in the fact that it attributes the migrants with their place in society. The process of negotiation does not mean the total abandonment of skills acquired abroad. Returning home after a while living abroad is not always an easy process. Living overseas contributes to a certain advance in value and normative standards. The people involved acquire new experiences with differing functioning of society, work procedures and lifestyle. It is for this reason returning migrants often face problems reintegrating on a social or professional level. Re-migration is thus best understood as a new phase in which belonging to a place, community and society has to be renegotiated. During the cause of this repeated bargaining for a place in society, there may appear emotions of frustration, alienation or lost identity where people may experience misunderstanding and envy, leading to internal struggle or troubles within family, friends, school or employer/company (De Bree and Davids and de Haas, 2010).Problematic integration back can adopt two aspects. It can presents a negative dimension and cause a consecutive feeling of alienation (disembeddedness of actor), leading to leaving the country again. It may, however, have a productive side which leads to social change, generates social innovations, brings new thought and creates new dynamics in society.

1.3. Research questions and approach

Our case study focuses on the voluntary and temporary migration of young Slovaks abroad. The entire cycle of migration can be divided into the following phases. The first is the decision to leave (why/process of decision making, motivation, goals, etc.). The second phase concerns the migration itself, where the individual has to cope with the new situation him/herself, surviving the culture shock and adopt to everyday life. The next phase in the cycle is the return migration. Here, we meet again the topic of adaptation, possibility of culture shock and the clash of ideals with reality. Our main aim is to provide the first findings about a relatively overlooked topic of the return migration of young people. This is why we mainly focus on the third phase of the migration cycle, which is the return home. We concentrate on how young returning migrants change their environment and contribute to innovations in society. Reintegration can not only be understood as passive adapting, but also contains an element of active communication with the environment, an element of a certain negotiation and modification which does not have to have particular goals. Change can be an unintended consequence of negotiation in the process of reintegration. A shift of innovations can be observed both on the micro level (family, friends) as well as an active function for community and state.

2. Methods

The case study 'Returning young migrants' summarizes the findings of individual in-depth conversations, where we focused on 'individual migration stories'. In relation to the topic, we determined that migration is a cycle consisting of several phases. The first is the decision to migrate from the home country. The second phase is the migration itself. This phase can be further divided into the phase of introduction into a new culture and society, followed by the phase of adaptation and building a home. The third stage presents the decision making for returning to the home country. This is followed by the return - migration itself.

This case study mainly focuses on the results where we analyse the 'return home'. Return - emigration is closely related to the immediate process of adaptation and confrontation where a lack of realising of ideals, goals, personal and professional strategies can lead to discrepancies between expectations and reality. We are interested in what happens upon returning home, in coming back to 'own reality' or what assets, innovations, conflicts or problems return - migration brings.

The interviews were conducted by means of a semi-structured interview. We followed a pre-given set of outline research questions that we modified according to circumstances reacting to individual history of each of the subjects. We also included questions concerning family background, childhood, free-time activities, studies, work, problems of young people (personal and social character) on the positive attributes of 'being young' (personal opinions). The questions followed a context and environment in which a person acts and reacts. The researchers have recorded 32 hours of interviews.

The people interviewed were chosen by personal contacts, using a snow ball method, as well as with the help of several institutions (Sokratov inštitút[2], Leaf[3]) and the universities: Univerzita Mateja Bela in Banská Bystrica, Univerzita Cyrila a Metoda in Trnava, Univerzita Konštantína

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[2] See: http:// www.sokratovinstitut.sk/. Last accessed 15 March 2018
[3] See: https://spap.leaf.sk/navrat-na-slovensko/skusenosti-s-navratom/. Last accessed 26 February 2018

filozofa in Nitra. For a deeper understanding of the problem, we also mapped out internet conversations and interviews focused on young people and migration. We also concentrated our attention on a content analysis of websites and news articles focused on young people returning to their country of origin. As such, we did not look upon the process of return migration as such, but also focused on the broader perspectives of social, economic, political and cultural life of young people. The topic of migration and particularly return migration is not sufficiently anchored in Slovakia. In particular, there is a lack of qualitative research focused on return migration and the innovations brought to Slovak society. For these reasons, the researchers decided to carry out a series of ethnographic observations at a cultural centre in a small town in north Slovakia, which was founded by young people upon returning home. Two of the founders studied and worked in the Czech Republic, the third studied in Spain and worked long-term in South America. The nature of the observation consisted of two plains. In the first, the researcher attended events organized by the cultural centre. These were mostly concerts, exhibitions or theatre. The second phase of the research consisted of constant collaboration with the centre. The researcher became a part of the group and took part in meetings, drama sessions and the preparation of the annual multi-genre festival. The cultural centre is in a long-term conflict with the representatives of a local self-government, the core of the conflict being the public involvement of the representatives. This could be seen in the final 4 weeks, where the centre became the main tent for the protests in town (public protests after the brutal murder of a journalist and his fiancée). Overall, the researcher spent 30 days of observation during the year 2017 and assisted to organize main festival in the Cultural centre and moderated monthly discussions named 'central point'.

Overall, we conducted 26 individual interviews. The target groups were determined by certain criteria resulting directly from the project (age). During the preparation phase of the research, we looked at the age of the migrants and tried to focus on young people up to 29 years of age. Upon the basis of contacts and informal interviews with potential people of interest, we came to a conclusion that this age is too low. Decisions and planning of life strategies appear around the 30th year of age. It is in this phase that young people embrace the process of decision making and establish personal, family and professional strategies. Because of our thematic, we did not exclude people between 29-32 years of age. By the reason that the amount of women studying at universities presents more than 65% of all studying Slovaks, a greater number of respondents were women. The average age of the interviewed is 27.3 years of age. In 2012, there were 74, 819 men and 114, 522 women studying at universities.[4]

At least one year abroad was considered as migration experience during which the person studied or worked. Another important criterion was the country of migration. Even though most young people choose to study or work in the Czech Republic, these were not the primary subjects of our research. The Czech Republic is culturally, historically and economically similar to Slovakia, thus concluding that problems with adaptation would not be paramount. Furthermore, living in the Czech Republic, visiting home can be easily arranged on a weekly basis. We also considered an even territorial coverage (people interviewed coming from all around Slovakia). Even though the aim is not statistical representativeness, we wanted to uncover the regionally based strategies for returning back and the consecutive problems returning migrants have to address. Before the interviews, we sent out information about the project and the project website. Initial interviews show that the people interviewed read the information and assumed a positive attitude (interest in the topic and the problems).

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[4] See: https://www.gender.gov.sk/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Sprava_o_rodovej_rovnosti_2013.pdf. Last accessed 16 January 2018

The research took place from March 2017 until January 2018. There were also certain situations where interviewees did not want a part of their response recorded, which was granted. Respondents were asked about problematic situation after return and two of them had emotional upset during interview. The interviews were immediately stopped by the researcher. The respondent and the researcher changed place of interview and had a break for one hour. After one hour they returned to the problematic issue. The interviews were conducted on neutral soil and we always adapted to the criteria of the respondents. No part of the research took place in a private zone and the interviews were mostly conducted in restaurants, cafés or workplaces. All interviews were coded using Nvivo 11 pro software.

Qualitative research handles personal and confidential information, so we put emphasis on the ethics of collecting and storing this data. We applied this according to ethical principles and the framework of the project:

- each respondent was acquainted with the identity, professional profile and intentions of the researcher;
- each respondent was given an explanation of the research objective, the way of processing and the use of research data;
- each respondent was assured that the research data obtained would be used exclusively for the purposes of the project;
- each respondent was asked to give consent for recording the interview (recording or notes taking);
- respondents are anonymous and their statements are reported under a fictitious pseudonym.

For a detailed description of the ethical process please see the introduction to this series of reports

During the research, there were no unpredictable risk factors that would limit the face to face approach. A Respondent memo and Attribute sheet for respondents was written for each respondent.

3. Key findings

3.1. Historical context

Slovakia was a part of different migration waves affecting Europe at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. A specific situation arose in the second half of the 20th century, when migration efforts in Czechoslovakia were mainly influenced by two political events. These events: communist takeover in 1948 and the occupation of the countries of the Soviet bloc in 1960 significantly influenced the living conditions of several generations in Czechoslovakia. For many, this posed existential and moral dilemmas with the only outcome being migration. Main reasons were political (fear of persecution, jail), economic (ban of freelance businesses), as well as work-related (inadequate job positions). Since the 1950s, migration was considered a felony. [5] This meant that it was connected with the risk of persecution by the people holding political power and

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[5] § 95 law nr. 86/1950 Sb.

the decision to migrate was often conclusive. For this reason, political migration was usually permanent (Nešpor, 2002; Ratica, 2006).[6]

Migration patterns have changed since the Velvet revolution in 1989. With the downfall of communism political reasons are no longer predominant. Current patterns have different characteristics and relate to the socio-economic transformation and quick rise of globalisation (Kostlán, 2009). Accelerated socialist modernisation in Slovakia left its mark on the structure of the economy, where the arms industry, heavy industry and primary production had the strongest position. In the process of complicated economic transformation after 1989, many businesses were closed down giving rise to long-term unemployment. In recent years, incomplete migration for work is becoming characteristic. It does not have a permanent character and is often contrasted with permanent political migration before 1989 (Okólski, 2014). Their comparison shows the difference between the migration movements after 1989 which are more diversified and the permanent migration to the West is paramount. Current migrations, whether it would be for study, travel or simply a better life are perceived as a basic human right and are no longer punished by law.

Perhaps that is why the reflections and constructions of historical events (the occupation of the country by the Soviet Army in 1968 and the Velvet revolution in 1989) quite often featured in respondents' narratives, even though due to their age, young people did not experience these events. Contrary to the communist idea of a country, the respondents connected ideas of freedom to the opportunity to travel, study or work abroad. These interpretations oscillated across several discourses. Non/experience of individuals with the democratic possibilities of the Western world was reflected not only in the motivations and causes for going abroad, but also in misunderstanding and no support of such ambitions. Another historical experience, transformed through the memory and experience of older generations, was also perceived by respondents in the confrontation with other countries:

> The historical progress just cannot be overlooked. For many years, we were not free, we could not travel and the whole setting was different to other European countries. My parents told me and my sister to do what they could not. They did not have the opportunity to travel, but we can. There were many times, I didn't even have a clue, that we did not have much money, but my parents always did maximum so I could go for exchange stays because it was important to me. I had great support. (M. Ch.)

> My father's mother (grandmother) lived abroad after 1989 so she was much more open to such things. She is different to my other grandparents which probably travelled no further than Croatia. It's so stressful for them. My cousin, for example, went to study high school in Vienna and my grandfather pissed off the entire family by saying that only prostitutes go for walks there. I said it's ridiculous and anyway, it's just across the border […] But they don't understand […] Just don't. (B. H.)

In professional literature, migration has long been seen as an expression of an individual's economic needs, a consequence of political events that often forced him/her to leave the native country for a better standard of living. Nowadays, there are several views concerning foreign migration. An important aspect is the migrant's desire to acquire new experiences gained abroad. In addition, migration is currently facilitating the removal of administrative barriers, increasing political and economic integration, widening access to the labour market, learning opportunities,

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[6] The exact number of people migrating during occupation. According to Koudelka, it was an estimated 200, 00 people between 1968-1989 (Koudelka et al., 1993: 196).

developing transport infrastructure and information technologies, social and demographic change, as well as family unification and social networking (Divinský, 2009). Bahna states that among the migration flows in Slovakia, we can consider two existing basic strategies of migration. First is the strategy of material security for the family, used mostly by older migrants who already have a family. The other is the strategy of young people without obligations (Bahna, 2011). In our study, we focus on the latter. For young university students, migration is perceived as a positive phenomenon (Divinský, 2009). It helps the people involved to gain inter-cultural experience, to recognise human rights, suppress displays of intolerance, xenophobia and navigate among the new economic context of a post-socialist country. At the same time, young people gain valuable experience and abilities that can improve the chances of gaining employment or studying, which present a great contribution to starting a life by oneself. Young migrants are becoming a source of information, skill, knowledge, and other experiences as well as a source of income (economic capital). Migration also presents a cultural phenomenon, as it creates a cultural image of both the old and the new home. It is a new world in which an individual loses his/her security, social capital and gains a new status. Upon the return home, a cultural image is created, based on new experiences.

The fluid and uncertain character of today's society, closely related to globalization, generates a wide range of different types of migration used by young people. Decisions to travel abroad for a long or a short period are influenced by:

- current status (work, student)
- social-economic background
- region of origin
- interests of the individual (career and life strategies, gain independence, etc.)
- parents' interests
- problems and conflicts.

3.2. Return migration strategies of young people

> Home is home. That goes for young people too. But we have to create conditions, so they feel they want to return. I had the opportunity to meet two Slovak students studying abroad and asked them: 'Will you come back?' The answer was: 'Yes, we will, if we can put to use what we learned in practice.' (Andrej Kiska, president of SK, 27. 03. 2017)[7]

3.2.1. Process of deciding to return

When deciding whether or not to come back, there can be several factors or motives related to general and personal characteristics. They may be family, economic, professional or cultural factors. Home represents a physical structure (territory), affective ties to a physical environment; based on respondents' answer we could say that home has a manifold meaning – biological, psychological, social, cultural or educational. Home is a value and the return home is an important decision in a respondent´s life. All of the respondents left with the idea that they would return. Their life strategies were not focused on a permanent stay abroad but concentrated on the return that was voluntary. Visions and innovations merged into universal values and attitudes – such as

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[7] TASR Tlačová agentúra Slovenska, 27. 03. 2017: https://www.postoj.sk/22473/kiska-slovaci-sa-vratia-domov-ked-budeme-mat-spickove-firmy-a-vyskum.

helping their country. One of the respondents has compared the willingness to return between Slovak and Polish migrants in the UK. He has concluded that Slovaks are more eager to return than migrants from Poland. All of the people interviewed kept in regular contact with friends and family (skype, e-mail, facebook, whatsapp, viber or phone). Thanks to new technologies, anyone could have been in touch at any time and see the events happening back home on a daily basis.

> People, family, friends or home. Those are strong emotions. That something is my home. And even though it's not governed here well at all, it's still my home. Maybe the young ones in their naiveté still want to help their home and make the country better. (M. H.)

> Almost everyone wants to come back. When I compared people I noticed abroad, for example none of the Polish people wanted to come back. We seem to be more tied to the nation or the country. (P. C.)

> They say that several generations have to pass for a democratic country to be formed. Some say 50 years, some a 100. I don't know, but I don't think it's all bad here and I have hope for this country. (M. Ch.)

The general category of home coincides with personal factors affecting the return. These include family or relationship ties, nature and culture. An emphasis on family strategies sources from the system of values of a particular country and how important family values are there. The weight of decision-making reflects, in particular, the concept of strategies to settle, start a family in the country of origin as well as the care for his/her closest (parents, grandparents). The process of returning was also decided according to relationships (break-ups) or birth of children.

> A really, really strong factor is that people of a certain age want to settle and start families. Or their parents come to an age where they need to be taken care of. Not necessarily daily care, but that they realise they are suddenly needed home more than anywhere else. (M. R.)

> It's not easy. Even if you have a couple of friends, it's not family. You realise that as you mature. When you're young, you don't need anyone. Just a boyfriend, friends and parties. Eventually you realise that here is my home, here is my family. (P. O.)

Another factor that played a role in the decision making were the employment and economic conditions. This element can be perceived on two different levels. One is the realisation of the barriers preventing migrants in professional growth. This means that the potential of the individual is not fully realised. However, we would not generalise this factor as among the respondents there were individuals who managed to get a job reflective of their education and abilities and with bigger salaries. The other level is that experiences of migrants on the Slovak labour market are highly valued. Young people abroad gained bonus experiences that put them to the forefront of the home job-market, such as language and communication skills, greater self-esteem and independence. Many were motivated to come home and utilise their skills back home or start up their own businesses.

> Work was the cause. The frustration that I was always perceived as different, not as a normal resident applying for work. I think this is why young people return in general.

They acquire certain skills but don't reach the full potential to get a job for which you're qualified or don't reach an adequate post. (Z. B.)

We knew it was not gonna be permanent already before we left. And then we made enough money to start a company. I wanted to do something on my own. I was so active, I didn't want to be someone's employee. So I wanted my own company. I knew it had to be in Slovakia. I know it here. (M. H.)

When I work, I work in some kind of a tea of people or some kind of community. I always wanted to create something like this in Slovakia. I saw no point in collaborating with a foreign tradesman. I just wanted to do it at home. I have a feeling of great self-realization here compared to how I wanted to apply this abroad. There are so many migrants who are willing to work for salaries that force people taking completely different jobs. We don't see this in Slovakia. I find it much more chilled here. (M. R.)

Other factors leading to return migration were problems with different cultures or lifestyle. Respondents pointed out the stigma they faced as migrants from Eastern Europe (25 out of 26 people asked had a negative experience with stigma). Whilst learning about new cultures, there was also a problem with disorientation in the new environment. They were strangers and also felt like it. They lost their position anchored at home and missed the familiar socio-cultural norms. As they were perceived by the majority as different, so did some of the behavioural patterns of the majority population appear as strange to the respondents. Greatest problems were mostly with sexual harassment, gender inequality, not respecting work contracts or a general discontent with the system in the country.

They are totally different people. Men are really into women. […] they're just annoying. The young people don't seem to know how to talk to foreigners, so they shout and whistle. I didn't like their personality, especially the men. I'm not used to be whistled at or have stupid comments. The woman-man relationship here is much better and women are also better off. They're more accepted here. Here, you can just be friends, there, I always felt as a sexual object. (B. H. /Cyprus)

I saw people dealing drugs during the day. I saw on the news that they sell weapons at the station at night. Crime was terrible. […] I didn't like it there. I like multiculturalism, but I thought this was a bit too much. I found it dangerous. Personally, I felt in danger. (K. E. / Belgium)

3.2.2. Return – problems and conflicts

The theory of transnational community considers the returnees as migrants who keep strong ties with their previous homes in other countries (Cassarino, 2004). Even though the return - migration was voluntary and the respondents looked forward to coming home, the decision-making process and the subsequent adaptation back were described as complex and demanding. In the words of Alfred Schutz: 'The home-comer sees a face of home that he is not used to. He believes he is in a strange country, a stranger in a strange land' (Schutz, 2012: 407). The return home required a change in the social, psychological, cultural and economic world of the individual, with which he/she has become used to. The process of return brought about feelings of distance from social and work contacts the young people have built abroad. This was accompanied by states of alienation, frustration, and in some cases, depression. Returning migrants usually adopt dual

identities. They are bound to the socio-cultural environment of both the host and the home country. Home society is often idealized when abroad and upon the return; the individual has to face a reality that does not correspond to the return migration framework. Here we can talk about the 're-entry shock' where it was necessary to newly define the current situation, understand the new-old world and build social capital. Feelings of alienation were often connected to feelings of misunderstanding or grief and loneliness:

> It was a strange feeling, almost like schizophrenia, that I'm starting a completely new life and broke away from all contacts abroad. And that's where it stopped. I had a feeling like I ended one life and it couldn't be done on both ends. (M. R.)

> When I came back it was really awkward. I had a lot of crises when I thought I cannot do this, this isn't the same as it was abroad. Especially personally. The process of deciding was hard and it took a while. But I knew that the inner voice in us can lead us on our way. I'm no mystic, but I believe that we have intuition and so some kind of an inner feeling that guides us. It told me to go back to Slovakia, to the family, settle down and find something. (M. Ch.)

> When I came back after my studies at one of Europe's leading universities it was a real shock. I had no idea what to do with all the stuff I learned. I fell into depression and had to seek professional help. (Z. B.)

Young returning migrants had to form their social networks twice. Not only upon the arrival to the host country but also upon their return home. It is worth noting that long-distance relationships were not kept at the same intensity and quality. At family level, in terms of family ties, the quality of family life upon returning home has not only been filled but exceeded expectations. Family ties and communication among different family members improved and became more intense. When the respondents were asked, they emphasized the support of family members and the importance of relationships and interpersonal communication. Ties with friends presented a greater problem and were not always fully resumed. On the one hand this is connected to the forming of life and family strategies when friends moved, started working elsewhere or started families. On the other hand, the structure of relationships was also disturbed by new life experiences acquired abroad. Apart from some positive reactions from family members, the respondents also experienced less positive reactions such as a lack of understanding or interest as well as envy. Abroad, the migrants were stigmatized by their origin, such as: 'the one from the East' (M.R.) . Furthermore, they become 'different' in their home country as well 'the one who lived in Paris' (M.R.). Therefore, respondents agree, that these problems are best understood by the people who experienced similar migration experience and they were similarly stigmatized.

> I came back to Slovakia and had to acclimatize back. Relationship-wise first. When I came back after a year, people in the class were totally regrouped. I had to accustom, that some were no longer friends with others and vice versa. I didn't know where to sit, with whom as everybody had a partner. So I sat alone. I must say, that's also how I felt. Alone. (K. E.)

> It was really weird that all the people back home had no idea about the reality there. I had no one to really talk to, only the very few who had similar experience. I suddenly felt distance from the others, such other than others. (M. R.)

I was just in a group of friends until I went abroad. When I came back, eventually I stopped seeing them. I saw this as a loss, but on the other hand as a step forward, that enough is enough. I wanted to move ahead and had no further perspective among my old friends. (P. C.)

Culture shock is also caused by different attitudes and forms of inadequate behaviour of Slovaks: unwillingness, grumble and an unprofessional approach in different spheres. Value differentiation of young migrants and parts of Slovak society also manifests itself in an open, critical attitude towards corruption, xenophobia, intolerance and protectionism: 'In Slovakia, a young person first and foremost, needs contacts to get anywhere. You just need to push much harder to get anywhere, there is clientelism and corruption. There, it doesn't even occur to them to break the law' (P. C.).

In pointing out the corrupt and non-transparent behaviour in society, young returning migrants are active and resolute. On the issue of the future development of society, young people critically perceive the ruling political leaders and feel frustrated that government policy is ineffective and that corruption cases are not properly investigated. Similar results bring the study 'Political Participation of Youth in V4 Countries'. This lack of trust to ruling elites could be recently seen in the current attitude of young people organising the protest 'Za Slušné Slovensko'.[8]

Another problem identified by all respondents was education: 'Education is the most important. And that's why I consider returning abroad. Not because of me, but because of the children, so they could study there.' (P. C.).

All our respondents were critical about the educational system that is old fashioned. Schools are institutions that do not nurture esteemed individuals capable of critical thinking, but rather people without the ability to speak their opinions. The problem of education in Slovakia is rooted to the low social status of being a teacher and the diminishing value of education. Changes in education were suggested by all of the respondents.

Change is undoubtedly the most dynamic category regarding migration. In the context of innovation, it concerns young returning migrants, who are ready to use all means and skills with the intention of achieving certain goals in their country of origin. Based on research, we can assume that young returning migrants respond to specific institutional, political, and cultural conditions. On the one hand, they have a drive and the potential to mobilize their resources in order to help social change. On the other, value disillusion, discrepancies between expectations, ideas and reality are in some cases divergent, so that many also consider returning abroad in the future.

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[8] Za slušné Slovensko [For decent Slovakia] initiative began as a result of the brutal murder of the investigative journalist Ján Kuciak and his Fiancée (February 2018). He wrote of the political connections to organized crime and corruption. Protests that took place after were the biggest since the fall of communism in Czechoslovakia. People called for an independent investigation of the murders and a new and a sincere government. As a result, the prime minister and the minister of interior both resigned. One of the initiators of the protests was also one of our respondents.

3.3. Returning migrants as active citizens in society

Some Slovaks that decided to return home overcame some of the problematic aspects of return migration and showed an interest in social events. This interest can be characterized as the realization of the importance of citizen activity for the development of the country. In the interviews this motive appeared as responsibility. A greater need for engagement is also related to a higher education of our respondents. Responsibility, however, in the answers of returning migrants is in contrast to the passivity and resignation represented, for example, by their classmates or friends without foreign experience. Passivity and little activity in this context also represent an important attribute of Slovak society. The emergence from internalised behavioural patterns, presenting a cultural pattern of passivity, represents a moment of civic conversion. It expresses the transition from non-willing to a more active understanding of citizenship, while the experience with another culture represents a significant impulse for this transformation.

> […] I feel somewhat responsible about what sort of country you make you also have. But they'd rather not get into it. Because, why. It's still the same, there's no point and we always go for the lesser evil. But there is no need to do anything. Myself, I like active people who organize festivals or cultural events, or just go and do stuff spontaneously. Our education system doesn't motivate young people to do this. I only realized this two or three years ago. Took a while. (K. E.)

> Eventually I took it for granted cause I was fed up with the attitude. Complaining, cussing and the last one to turn off the light. I hate that. So as soon as I came back, I realized this really annoyed me and started to focus on people who want to do something worthwhile. Today, I listened to an interview with sociologist who claimed that a person is the average of his five friends and that he/she looks for people who he/she would like to be like. I didn't do this with an aim, but I just found it natural. (P. C.)

The motive of activity and social responsibility is demonstrated in the acceptance of the bringer of change. The picture of young Slovaks with migration experience changing society is present in public discourse. The president's statements about young people returning home and changing society are an example[9]. Regular interviews with active young people who returned from abroad also helps form the picture of the bringer of change. Some respondents, however, showed a certain amount of distance: 'I think it's all a bit blown up. I don't feel special or better. It's all 'in' but there are lots of active people in small cities in Slovakia and none of them went to any fancy schools but do great and important things.' (Z. R.)

The respondents admit that they began to view their country in a different light. They agree they gained two things: confidence and independence. Migration for studies or work created an imperative that a person had to come to terms with being on their own, getting a job, etc. Sometimes, they gained bad experiences, which however, essentially turn out important and enriching. They realized that they are able to be on their own and that their fate is in their hands only:

> […] I think they are a contribution particularly for these demotivated and negative people. You'll say, you're pissed off all the time, so go out, go and try how it is when you don't know the language or even if you know some, go and live the real life. Open

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[9] Our respondents also recalled the statements of Andrej Kiska, president of Slovak Republic.

a bank account, get a doctor's appointment, read a contract when you get a job. Everyone should try it. You'll get a drive into life. And the problems you have here will look like nothing compared to what you'll experience. (P. O.)

The very acceptance of the role and the identification with the bearer of change is reminiscent of Schutz's reflections in The Homecomer. Everyone who leaves home encounters two feelings: the feeling of longing for home, and the feeling of bringing something new, something acquired abroad. Here, the person is faced with the situation generating conflict. The Homecomer forgets that years of practice arise from years of experience. It is tested by generations. In the eyes of people, the Homecomer represents someone who disturbs the peace and questions the knowledge rooted in the past (Schutz, 2012). This disturbance is not cause by his/her presence itself. The main source is the attempt to alter the things the way they are. We saw similar responses:

Sometimes they accuse us of going abroad, that we bring it all here, we don't want it, we're a traditional society, don't like differences, don't adapt well and so on. So it's a sort of a challenge for me to show these people that the world is opening and it doesn't matter what you want or don't. I don't want to sound above anybody, but there are some things we perhaps understand better. This is the negative aspect, especially on how people who have not travelled much see me and that I travel a lot and also bring new stuff such as openness. (M. Ch.)

It depends on the people and it really depends on whether they are older than me, and how much older. It's usually the older people that start arguing their own, no, this or that is not possible. With the older people it's usually about anti-arguments, whilst with the young people, we can communicate about how this could be done and why. Still, there is more negativity. (R. H.3)

3.4. Out of passivity: returning emigrant´s socially oriented activities

3.4.1. Small steps

The acceptance of an active role of young people in society and the narrative of responsibility is practically realised in the day-to-day activities of the people. The activities have different characteristics. Some are in the form of small steps that the respondents consider minor, but at the same time emphasised that they would not have taken these steps before migration. These small steps can be perceived as 'micro-dramas' in which our respondent acts against the practice of passivity or racial discrimination. They are not revolutionary changes, but their aim is not to cause great revolutions. In this case, the respondents see their objective in the application of small steps leading to eventual change. They are proud of even small advances and set a positive example.

I filed a complaint for a bus driver which was being particularly rude to a mum and her two kids, as I was standing waiting for a different bus. I was so angry, I wrote the company. It was a young mum, bus full of people and no one said a word. Before, I would have never done that, but now I see, one can't act like this towards another person. It can be done otherwise. (Z. A.)

Online, I'm well hard. I don't only tell people off, but also try to tell them what or how to say stuff. Don't tell a woman she belongs to the kitchen if you wouldn't say it to your own mother. Think a bit. People ask me why wasting energy, that you won't change anything, which is probably true, but I can't help it if it's just unfair. I always say that even if one person reading it thinks about it and changes, it's worth it. (K. E.)

The concept of small steps resonated among the answers of our respondents. Even if they did not immediately participate in public activities, they pointed out that society changes via small steps. They did not call for radical change, but wanted to see it happen and are willing to contribute. Emphasising the importance of small steps is probably related to the rationalisation of the situation after return. It is however, impossible to change society from day to day. Yet, the beliefs in small modifications bring hope for greater change in the future, so people do not have to regret returning home.

3.4.2. Civic participation – Live in NGOs

The world of small micro-dramas and everyday conflicts in the eyes of young returning migrants is in dispute with a culture of passivity, frustration, and indifference, and creates a mood of dissatisfaction that is important for the formation of more formalized activities and innovations. The Platform in which the activities are realised is, to a significant extent, provided by non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In this context, we need to explain the position of non-governmental organizations in the background of Slovak and Central European society. Central Europe does not have a continuous experience with the functioning of civil society´s elements. More importantly, the term NGO used in a certain political context often raises questions as something suspicious[10]. In other words, it often means introducing and enforcing new and liberal cultural models that are contrary to the traditions of Slovak society. Sometimes this can literally mean action against Slovakia in the interest of foreign states. The metaphor of an internal enemy has regularly appeared in political discourse in situations of political instability since the time of the rise of Slovak society. However, after the migration crisis, the term non-government has become an imaginary enemy for a part of the population. A similar situation exists in other EU's new member states as well. In the case of returning migrants in our research, we can distinguish two forms of relationships with NGOs. The first is to join an existing NGO and the second is to start one.

One of the aims of working with NGOs is to meet people with similar opinions and experiences. Integration in an active group also presents a form of therapy, support and strengthens young people's resolution to remain in Slovakia. Non-government organizations are the means for a young person to make and implement changes. The effort to profit their home country appears as one of the motives that explains the return home and is also seen in the response to problems of return as discussed above.

I knew that I'd be among people which want to stick out a little. Not that they'd have a particular need, but it's just how they are. Even being in a group of people similarly different is great support. Meeting with them and seeing what they're doing and what problems they're facing. (M. R.)

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[10] Seen especially as suspicious are organisations such as Transparency International, Open Society Found, Via Iuris, Amnesty international, organisations for protections of the rights of LGBT community, organisations for rights of migrants end ecology activists.

I applied to the Institute of Antiquity and we're all friends till now. A group of young, active individuals. I knew then, that I wanted to stay here, live here and do something valuable. The possibilities are endless. And there are so many problems, there is plenty of space to grow. (K. P.)

The establishment of a non-government organization is the second option we have encountered in the socially oriented activities of young people returning home. In this section, we look at a story of a cultural centre in a small regional town in Slovakia. The organization was founded by people who lived abroad for some time. Their main focus is on activities tied to the town and locality. It was started in response to the absence of space for alternative and independent cultural performances and art. Another motive was to avoid jobs in 'boring' corporations in the capital:

Of course, when I moved, all my friends in Bratislava told me how they were gonna recommend me to all sorts of companies. And that would be just as boring as anywhere else abroad, so I rather wanted to stay in here in a small town. I didn't really know what's next, but my friends also returned back and we thought of starting a cultural centre. We really went after what we wanted and what we didn't have in our town and what we were actually capable of doing. We thought up this place to create something. (K. Ch.)

Existing social contacts played a significant role in establishing the centre. This is nothing surprising. According to Cassarino (2004), the success of migrants in the process of implementing innovation depends on their ability to mobilise resources for their return. Part of mobilising resources is also the maintaining of a certain form of social capital in home society. Technological changes over the last decades helped to maintain this form of capital easier than in the past. Another reason why the centre could be founded was the previous biography of the founders. Before leaving Slovakia, all of them actively participated in the local alternative theatre community. The cultural centre also acts as a certain opposition to formal public organisations. The city has a regional gallery and a city cultural centre. However, in terms of representatives of the independent cultural centre, these institutions are less dynamic and less current. The reasons for this are the political nominations for the directors that caused the current administration to be incompetent as no one comes from an artistic environment at all: 'Corruption and nepotism is also part of artistic community, this is really terrible in Slovakia' (Field diary 23.10. 2017). In addition to introducing new and fresh art, it is also important for the cultural centre to bring new ideas into a small city. For example, they organized a LGBTI Film Festival, the One World Film Festival on Human Rights. This was summed up by one of the founding members: 'We decided to bring the world into our small town'. (J. M.) An important attribute of the centre is to serve as a creative networking hub for the small city. Therefore, the centre also supports young volunteers from other EU countries. These volunteers work and run a Language Cafe, where it is possible to meet and talk with them. Sometimes they prepare local foods and lead lectures about the differences between societies. This activity serves not only to improve the communication skills of the citizens, but also contributes to better understanding of other cultures. Through these volunteers, the centre also indirectly supports the local Roma communities, as the volunteers assist at the day care centre. Funding for the centre comes from several sources. Sale of books, running the café and, to a large extent, grants for the promotion of art.

Activities of the centre are accompanied by a latent conflict. Even though we thought that a part of the problem lies in the value setting of the centre, this is not the case. Representatives of the centre argued that their activities still concern a relatively small proportion of the population, so

local politicians do not consider it an ideological threat. The main source of conflict comes from the division of city politics into two rival camps (Left and National conservative and Right and liberal party). The centre was formed during the time of the previous mayor (Right and liberal party). He provided the unused space but considered it somewhat of an experiment. His view is: if the centre prospers, it will be a bonus for the town. If it does not, it does not matter. However, the current Mayor combined the support of his predecessor with political affiliation, and considers the centre linked to the opposition. The founders suddenly and unwillingly became a part of a political struggle in a small town. 'We had no idea they would take it to such levels. ' The activities of the city's current management are perceived as a disturbance to their own activities (Field diary 14.5.2017). However, as the centre has already managed to establish a circle of supporters, it can no longer be closed down. The conflict can be seen in restrictions: for example, increasing the rent on the basis that the centre sells drinks and therefore is not a cultural centre, but a pub. Another example may be the banning of opening a small summer terrace due to the damage on the sidewalk.

Plate 1: Protest against ban of terrace (Artistic installation/ Sitting on the own chair)

It was this ban that prompted a spontaneous protest in the city, where the supporters of the centre brought their own chairs and drank coffee in the street. Mutual distrust between the members of the cultural centre and representatives of the municipal self-government is expressed in the following quote: 'People, who agree with these political opinions and are in the family, or whatever you want to call it, don't ever come here because they know what the black list is.' (HaHa). The centre also played an important part in the biggest demonstrations since 1989 (60,000 people in Bratislava, 2,000 in the small town, which represents every 10th person). The importance of the centre for the success of the demonstrations was significant because its existence enabled the interaction of active people from different areas (ecological activists, cultural activists, teacher unions, students). As a result, the reaction to the events was much faster.

Plate2: Protest 'Za slušné Slovensko/ For decent Slovakia' 9.3.2018

Young returning migrants consider their situation as good and it seems it is good to be young in Slovakia. They in particular emphasize the possibility of movement and the freedom they have. They also point out that many of Slovakia's problems arise from large regional differences. According to the OECD report, Slovakia has one of the largest regional disparities within the organization. The situation of young Slovaks who return home is also affected by the fact that migratory trajectories often do not lead to their hometown but end up in economically stronger regions of Western Slovakia. This also affects how they perceive the opportunities for change in their home region, confronted with a disappearing social capital:

> Well, I think it's still quite a big problem in Slovakia to find people that really want and also understand. I think you can find people like this in Bratislava, but not in other regions. I think there are some personal barriers. I don't think there are people here. It annoys me, because I left my region as well and it needs to be developing. If I started a non-profit organization, I really don't know who I would go into it with. And that poses problems. Our institution has a branch in a small town in central Slovakia and when we look for new people, it's really hard to find quality workforce. Where they already are, people already know about them. (K. P.)

4.   Conclusions

Migration is a phenomenon which significantly influences the whole society. Migration processes are closely linked to broader social, economic and political events. In an international, as well as the Slovak context, the extent of migration rises and its forms are becoming more diverse. In relation to the topic we originated from the fact, that migration is a cycle and has several stages. It is not only the process of leaving the country but a process of return as well. The return can be a necessary response to an unsuccessful migration, but can also be a long-term, planned decision. In this study, we focused on the voluntary return of young Slovaks after some time spent abroad. The expansion of the European Union and the subsequent financial and economic crisis caused a more

dynamic movement of people. Political decisions (e.g. Brexit) also influence return migration and affect young people from new member states.

The process of return migration of people from new member states is often studied through economic optics and the return home is primarily analysed by economic categories. This is mostly the threshold of saving enough money to return home, the individual's behaviour on the market or income bonuses. Return migration also presents new topics, some of which we have included in our report. We focused our attention on the process of decision-making for the return, as the tendencies of migrants becoming actors of change and development in their home country also depend on the extent to which they have prepared for return and identified themselves with it. Determination or the resolve to return is the key prerequisite for change. In the context of return we saw several different causes of return migration (economic, personal, family, social and cultural).

The situation in Slovakia is characterized by a high number of young people studying or working abroad. Therefore, their return migration is not only an economic phenomenon but also contributes to social innovations. We observed how young migrants modify life in their immediate circle, community and even society. This impact on society in Slovakia and other new member states has not yet been processed and it is worthy of further attention. Again, interest has focussed largely on how young returning migrants contribute to the economy, bringing new investments and creating startups. There is also a public discourse of positive impacts of return migration. Equally as relevant as economic topics are the social remittances and cultural innovation which young returning migrants bring from host countries. The source of conflict is the closure of post-communist societies to major cultural modifications (Dzieglewski 2016)

The topic of the relationship between young returning migrants and NGOs has recently come to the foreground. Post-communist states show a relatively high mistrust towards political parties and institutions. In the case of our research, we observed that this does not necessarily mean apathy towards politics. On the contrary, young and educated returnees presented themselves as politically active. They often use an apolitical way of participating. In the context of past Czechoslovakia, Václav Havel's term 'unpolitical politics' is often used. This means engagement without engaging within the political structure. Perhaps, engagement while distancing oneself from political support. If we look closely at the map of big protests in Poland (Komitet na obranu demokracji), Slovakia (Za slušné Slovensko), Romania (turn of 2017/2018), Hungary, we can see that there are mass protests in all of them. Their initializers are often young people and in the case of Slovakia, it is generally young people who studied abroad. At the same time they distance themselves from any kind of political support. For example, unlike the Spanish Podemos protest movement that transformed itself into a political organization, we do not see such advancements in Central Europe. On the contrary, there is still some caution.

Relating to the expansion of the European Union, we also see how we view return migration in a European context. We have a choice between several analytical traditions, each suitable for a different case. The main perspective on migration rose from the situation after the Second World War. The main topic was the return of migrants originating from post-colonial states or those who were guest workers coming to the EU during the economic boom. The importance of this tradition still persists even in the aftermath of an international migration wave in 2016. However, this analytical approach does not depict an adequate look at the situation of young people from post-communist Europe. For them, migration presents a temporary transition and a cyclical event, not a final destination. It is just one of the many scripts for the future evolvement in life. Migration of young people from new member states often has pragmatic or opportunistic contexts.

5. Future analysis

Returning young migrants are characterized in public discourse and in their own narratives as bearers of social change and social development. Due to the experience they gained while abroad, they have accumulated different types of social and personal capital. A young returning migrant is a bearer of experience from their home country, which are melded together with practices from host countries. Some of their experience or different types of capital are utilised for personal changes, for example enhancing their position in the labour market. However, some of these improved forms of capital lead to activities which bring changes on micro or mezzo social level. The new ideas and practices could lead to conflicts with local society and local traditions. Therefore, we have identified the following topics for cluster cross analysis:

Cluster cross analysis: We see the main conjunction with cluster 'Culture/ politics', especially with UMB´s second case study NIOT. Many respondents in the NIOT case study have experience with living abroad (work or study). Therefore, in the future we would like to merge our case studies and analyse the impact of a foreign stay on young people´s activism.

Quantitative data: Liberal values and traditional and nationalistic values among young Europeans; attitudes to corruption; young´s people NGO activism compared to older people's formal political activity (voting); housing problems; their evaluation of the national education system; reasons for migration/ international mobility; problem of trust towards formal institutions; overall satisfaction with life in their home country.

We have only focused on one section of young returning migrants – young people with university degrees or students (university or high school). They have a greater social and cultural capital and their activities are therefore more evident. Young people without a degree also deserve attention. Their trajectories are of cyclical character and are usually in a form of seasonal employment. It is for this reason that the research of young migrants in SK should also focus on the ethnography of young people without a university degree. One of the topics arising is the question of double work precariousness. Firstly, because of the applied neo-liberal politics, work at home is unstable and poorly paid. It is therefore important to bring certain optics of class analysis into the matter. The voice of young migrants from lower middle class without a diploma still is not represented in public discourse, dominated by a picture of successful young people. We would like to focus closely on this particular topic in the future.

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Appendix: Socio-demographic profile of respondents

	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Ethnicity (self declared)	Educational status	Employment status	Family status	Residential status
1.	B.H.	F	29	Slovak	Completed university	In full-time employment	Single	Lives independently alone
2.	B.L.	M	19	Slovak/German	Currently in school	Currently in school	Single	Lives with parents
3.	B.T.	F	22	Slovak/German	Currently in school	Currently in school	Single	Lives with grandmother
4.	D.M.	M	31	Slovak	Completed university	In full-time employment	Married/ living with partner	Lives with partner and child
5.	K.P.	F	27	Slovak	Completed university	In full-time employment	Living with partner	Lives with partner
6.	M.B.	F	30	Slovak	Completed university	In full-time employment	Living with partner	Lives with partner
7.	M.D.	F	28	Slovak	Completed university	In full-time employment	Married/ living with partner	Lives with partner
8.	M.Ch.	M	31	Slovak	Completed university	In full-time employment	Living with partner	Lives with partner
9.	M.L.	F	27	Slovak	Completed university	Unemployed	Single	Lives with parents
10.	M.R.	F	27	Slovak	Completed university	In full-time employment	Single	Lives independently alone
11.	N.V.	M	20	Slovak	Currently in school	Currently in school	Single	Lives with parents
12.	P.C.	M	30	Slovak	Completed university	In full-time employment	Married/ living with partner	Lives with partner
13.	P.O.	F	32	Slovak	Completed university	In full-time employment	Living with a child	Lives with own child

14.	R.K.	M	19	Slovak	Currently in school	Currently in school	Single	Lives with parents
15	V.B.	F	28	Slovak	Completed university	In full-time employment	Married/ living with partner	Lives with partner
16.	V.S.	F	31	Slovak	Completed university	In full-time employment	Living with partner	Lives with partner
17.	Z.B. Bartoš	F	31	Slovak	Completed university	In full-time employment	Living with partner	Lives with partner
18.	Z.B./2	F	27	Slovak	Completed university	In full-time employment	Single	Lives independently alone
19.	Z.G.	F	30	Slovak	Completed university	In full-time employment	Single	Lives independently alone
20	LV	M	26	Slovak	Completed university	In full – time employment	Single	Lives with parents
21	HaHa	F	29	Slovak	Comlpeted university	In full time employment	Living with partner	Lives with Partner
22	ZA1	F	28	Slovak	Completed university	In full time employment	Married	Lives with Husband
23	ZA2	M	28	Slovak	Unfinished university/ high school completed	In full time employment	Married	Lives with his wifes
24	Baker	M	27	Slovak	High school	Owner of company	single	Lives alone
25	SF	F	27	Slovak	University completed	In full time employment	?	Lives alone
26	ZR	F	26	Slovak	University completed	In full time employment	Living with partner	Lives alone