

CHARLES UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of International Studies

Department of Russian and East European Studies

Master's Thesis

2020

Anna Andrlová

CHARLES UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of International Studies

Department of Russian and East European Studies

**Return Decisions of Highly Skilled Migrants
in Bosnia and Herzegovina after 2005**

Master's Thesis

Author: Anna Andrlová

Study programme: International Area Studies

Supervisor: PhDr. Ondřej Žíla, Ph.D.

Year of the defence: 2020

Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on

Anna Andrllová

References

ANDRLOVÁ, Anna. *Return Decisions of Highly Skilled Migrants in Bosnia and Herzegovina after 2005*. Praha, 2020. 91 pages. Master's Thesis (Mgr.). Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of International Studies. Department of Russian and East European Studies. Supervisor PhDr. Ondřej Žíla, Ph.D.

Length of the thesis: 153 137 characters

Abstract

Brain drain, or human capital flight, is a phenomenon which represents a society-wide problem in the post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). At present, more than half of the people claiming BiH nationality live abroad, out of which a significant part possesses tertiary education. Loss of human capital carries negative socio-economic consequences which hinder the country's development. On the other hand, brain gain, i.e. return of highly skilled migrants to their country of origin, might reverse some of the unfavourable effects. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of the return of highly skilled migrants remains under researched not only within the region of the Western Balkans, but also on a global scale. Although this type of migration has increasingly attracted the attention of many scholars from various academic and non-academic fields, contemporary literature on this topic suffers from limitations and tends to oversimplify the returnees' motivations to purely economic incentives. This study attempts to describe the complex factors leading the highly skilled migrants to return to BiH. Based on the 33 respondents' subjective preferences from the spheres of career, family and lifestyle, this work provides an insight into the decisions of returnees in the context of the developing Western Balkan country.

Abstrakt

Brain drain (dosl. překl. odliv mozků) neboli odliv lidského kapitálu je jevem, který v daytonské Bosně a Hercegovině (BiH) představuje celospolečenský problém. V současnosti žije více než polovina lidí hlásících se k bosensko-hercegovské národnosti v zahraničí, z nichž významná část má vysokoškolské vzdělání. Ztráta lidského kapitálu má negativní socio-ekonomické důsledky, které zabraňují rozvoji země. Naopak brain gain (dosl. překl. příliv mozků), tj. návrat vysoce kvalifikovaných migrantů do země původu, by mohl některé nepříznivé efekty zvrátit. Fenomén návratu vysoce kvalifikovaných migrantů je však nedostatečně prozkoumán, a to nejen v oblasti západního Balkánu, ale také v celosvětovém měřítku. Ačkoli tento typ migrace stále více přitahuje pozornost mnoha výzkumníků z různých akademických i neakademických oblastí, současná literatura na toto téma má tendenci přespříliš zjednodušovat motivace navrátilců na čistě ekonomické faktory. Tato studie se pokouší popsat komplexní motivace vedoucí k návratu vysoce kvalifikovaných migrantů do BiH. Na základě subjektivních kariérních, rodinných a lifestyleových preferencí 33 respondentů tato práce poskytuje vhled do rozhodování navrátilců v kontextu rozvojové země západního Balkánu.

Keywords

highly skilled migration, return, decision-making, brain drain, brain gain, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Western Balkans

Klíčová slova

vysoce kvalifikovaná migrace, návrat, rozhodování, brain drain, brain gain, Bosna a Hercegovina, západní Balkán

Název práce

Důvody vysoce kvalifikovaných migrantů k návratu do Bosny a Hercegoviny po roce 2005

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my deep gratitude to all the people I met in Bosnia and Herzegovina whose willingness, cordiality and openness allowed me to collect the valuable data. I am particularly grateful to PhDr. Ondřej Žíla, Ph.D. for inspiration and patient supervising. I would also like to thank the attendants of the Balkan Express Conference 2019 in Prague whose support was of a great importance to me.

Table of Contents

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	8
INTRODUCTION.....	9
1. STATE OF ART ON HIGHLY SKILLED RETURN MIGRATION.....	13
1.1 THEORIES OF HIGHLY SKILLED RETURN MIGRATION	15
1.2 EMPIRICAL STUDIES ON HIGHLY SKILLED RETURN MIGRATION	19
1.3 THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	21
2. METHODOLOGY.....	27
2.1 DATA AND METHODOLOGY	27
2.2 SAMPLE DESCRIPTION.....	30
3. MIGRATION PROFILE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.....	32
3.1 HISTORICAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONTEXT OF HIGHLY SKILLED MIGRATION	32
3.2 CONTEMPORARY TRENDS AND FUTURE OUTLOOK OF HIGHLY SKILLED MIGRATION.....	36
3.3 POLICIES ON RETURN OF HIGHLY SKILLED MIGRANTS	41
4. RESULTS: RETURN DECISIONS OF HIGHLY SKILLED MIGRANTS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.....	47
4.1 LIFE PHASE.....	47
<i>Career-related Life Phase</i>	47
<i>Family-related Life Phase</i>	50
4.2 TRIGGERS	53
<i>Career-related Triggers</i>	54
<i>Family-related Triggers</i>	56
<i>Other Triggers</i>	57
4.3 DECISIVE REASONS	59
<i>Career, Family and Lifestyle</i>	60
<i>Career</i>	63
<i>Family</i>	67
<i>Lifestyle</i>	69
<i>Other</i>	72
5. DISCUSSION AND LIMITATIONS.....	77
CONCLUSION.....	80
SUMMARY	83
LIST OF REFERENCES	84

Introduction

Brain drain, i.e. “the region’s loss of individuals with high skills and/or competencies (workers/students) due to permanent emigration”,¹ has been gradually receiving the attention of migration researchers. The traditional view implies that human capital flight, or loss of talent, poses a significant obstacle to development. High levels of skilled emigration cause slow economic growth, which subsequently affects the population in the sending country in terms of poverty and increasing inequality.² Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is among the Western Balkan countries which are most severely affected by the phenomenon.³ At present, BiH is the first country in Europe by emigration,⁴ while around 40% of highly educated people and students wish to leave the country.⁵ In the context of a post-conflict BiH, the loss of educated population with its effects on economy and post-war divided society is particularly alarming.⁶ Although there is a lack of evidence about any return streams of highly skilled people, there are cases which prove that some individuals decide to come back to their country of birth. This thesis examines the individual cases of tertiary educated Bosnians and Herzegovinians who left the country between 1990-2015 and who returned between 2005-2018.

Brain drain researchers suggest that the trend of skilled population outflow could be effectively limited, or even reversed, by introduction of policies encouraging highly

¹ European Committee of the Regions, “Addressing brain drain: The local and regional dimension” (2018), <https://cor.europa.eu/en/engage/studies/Documents/addressing-brain-drain/addressing-brain-drain.pdf> (accessed 26/12/19), 5.

² Allan M. Findlay and Briant L. Lowell, “Migration of highly skilled persons from developing countries: Impact and Policy Responses”, *International Migration Papers* 44 (2001), 6-7.

³ The American research center Gallup estimates that between the years 2015-2017 50% highly educated people wished to leave Albania, 43% Kosovo, 40% BiH, 39% North Macedonia and 27% Serbia. The potential brain drain is the only available indicator which shows the scale of the problem. Gallup, “Potential Net Migration Index”, http://news.gallup.com/migration/interactive.aspx?g_source=link_news9&g_campaign=item_245204&g_medium=copy (accessed 24/10/19).

⁴ Almost half of Bosnians and Herzegovinians live abroad, while half of them are estimated to possess skills and qualifications. IOM. “World Migration Report 2020”, <https://publications.iom.int/books/world-migration-report-2020> (accessed 28/11/19), 27; Hariz Halilovich et al., *Mapping the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Diaspora: Utilizing the Socio-Economic Potential of the Diaspora for Development of BiH* (Sarajevo, 2018), https://www.researchgate.net/publication/329713763_Mapping_the_Bosnian-Herzegovinian_Diaspora_Utilizing_the_Socio-Economic_Potential_of_the_Diaspora_for_Development_of_BiH (accessed 28/12/18), 210.

⁵ Gallup, “Potential Net Migration Index”.

⁶ Return migration is generally considered to be a restoration of a pre-conflict natural and social order, as well as a necessary contribution to development and peace-building. Marieke van Houte and Tine Davids, “Moving back or Moving forward? Return migration, development and peacebuilding“, *New Diversities* 16, 2 (2014), 71.

educated migrants to return.⁷ Hence, various scholars and policy makers have attempted to devise location-specific strategies, while some governments have successfully adopted corresponding measures.⁸ However, BiH has only recently entered the initial phase of the formulation of its diaspora policy, while the potential of return migrants remains largely untapped.⁹ Although the returns are presumably marginal in numbers, the emerging efforts to cooperate with BiH diaspora will ideally result in developing effective brain return policies. Given the fact that the relevant field research is very limited,¹⁰ this study also endeavours to fill this gap in terms of qualitative findings and the overall approach towards working with the returnees.

In spite of vast existing literature on brain drain, the topic of highly skilled migrants' return appears to be under researched. Most authors tend to reduce the motivations of highly skilled returnees to economic reasons and fail to cover the complex background of individual migrants' locational decisions. On the other hand, a great number of empirical studies, regardless of the examined location, have revealed that non-pecuniary factors such as family, lifestyle and emotional reasons are important to the returnees.¹¹ It is, therefore, suggested here that a more holistic and inclusive approach should be adopted in order to avoid inaccuracies in methodology as the divergence in theoretical foundations is likely to bring differing results, leading to faulty perceptions of the returnees' motivations and an impossibility of inter-regional comparison of the location-specific results.

⁷ While both the short- and long-term return is deemed desirable, more attention is generally given to the brain circulation phenomenon, i.e. short-term returns. Karin Mayr and Giovanni Peri, "Return Migration as a Channel of Brain Gain", NBER Working Paper 14039 (2008), <https://www.nber.org/papers/w14039> (accessed 09/11/18); Elizabeth Chacko, "From Brain Drain to Brain Gain: Reverse Migration to Bangalore and Hyderabad, India's Globalizing High Tech Cities", *GeoJournal* 68, 2 (2007), 131-140; Tanja Pavlov, ed., *Brain gain policies and practices in the Western Balkans*, Group 484 (2013), <http://www.crpm.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/From-Brain-Gain-Policies-to-Practices-.pdf> (accessed 30/12/19); Vanya Ivanova, "The return migration of highly-qualified workers in Bulgaria and in Bosnia and Herzegovina – policies and returnees' responses", *SEER Journal for Labour and Social Affairs in Eastern Europe* 1 (2015), 93-111; Alida Vracic, "The Way Back: Brain Drain and Prosperity in the Western Balkans", European Council on Foreign Relations Policy Brief 257 (2018).

⁸ Especially the developing countries have succeeded in adopting policies aiming at highly skilled migrants, namely United States, India or China. Jan Schroth and Robert Stojanov, "Brain drain / Brain gain / Brain circulation" in *Migrace a rozvoj: rozvojový potenciál mezinárodní migrace*, Věra Brázová et al. (Praha: FSV UK, 2011), 76-79.

⁹ Dženeta Karabegović and Jasmin Hasić, "'Protection and Promotion of BiH's Citizens' Interests Abroad': Foreign Policy Relations with Diaspora" in *Bosnia and Herzegovina's Foreign Policy Since Independence*, Hasić and Karabegović, eds.

¹⁰ The most recent and significant research deals exclusively with the diaspora residing in 10 developed countries. Halilovich et al., *Mapping the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Diaspora*.

¹¹ This is discussed in detail in the chapter 1.2.

This diploma thesis offers an insight into the individual reasons of 33 highly skilled migrants, i.e. migrants who possess a tertiary degree,¹² who returned to BiH after the year 2005.¹³ As opposed to brain circulation research, the key focus is the long-term return.¹⁴ The micro-level explorative approach is based on semi-structured in-depth face-to-face interviews with predominantly students and academics from four cities in BiH: Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Mostar and Tuzla. Theoretical and conceptual framework adopted in this study expands on critical remarks of a number of authors on mainstream migration paradigms. The unique approach lies in integrating the results of empirical studies on this topic from different regions around the world together with a recent work on decision making of highly skilled Chinese in Japan by Ruth Achenbach. This combination has been chosen in order to answer the main research question: why do highly skilled people return

¹² The definition is contested and tends to be used interchangeably with the terms highly qualified migrant, skilled migrant, highly educated migrant, highly qualified professional and similar, depending on the research focus. Other definitions may include persons without a degree but with work experience that provide them with high skills (e.g. successful entrepreneurs, IT experts or top university students), because it does not inevitably mean that a highly educated individual is more skilled than others. Nevertheless, given the limited scope of this study and compatibility with the governmental focus on the holders of diploma, the research presented here exclusively deals with migrants with a university-level education. This results in a specific sample comprising of predominantly students and academics. Jonathan Chaloff and Georges Lemaître, “Managing Highly-Skilled Labour Migration: A Comparative Analysis of Migration Policies and Challenges in OECD Countries”, OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers 79 (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2009), <https://doi.org/10.1787/225505346577> (accessed 27/09/19), 10-12; Khalid Koser and John Salt, “The Geography of Highly Skilled International Migration”, *International Journal of Population Geography* 3, 4 (1997), 285-303.

¹³ This timeframe has been chosen in order to avoid a distinct type of return migration, i.e. involuntary returning refugees. In essence, this research is related to the phenomenon of brain drain, which deals with highly skilled migrants who return in a voluntary manner. Involuntary return is, on the other hand, characteristic with different features, and as such cannot be categorized in the same group of returnees. Given the fact that in 2005 the number of refugees returning to BiH declined notably, this time delimitation serves as a criterion targetting the highly skilled migrants who returned in a voluntary manner. For more on this topic see Selma Porobić, “Daring ‘life-return projects’ to post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina”, *International Migration* 55, 5 (2017), 192-204; van Houte and Davids, “Moving back or Moving forward?”. For the statistics on returning refugees, see UNHCR, “UNHCR Population Statistics – Data – Overview”, <http://popstats.unhcr.org/en/overview> (accessed 20/12/18).

¹⁴ In this thesis, the term *returnee* refers to a return migrant, i.e. “person returning to his country of birth after having been an international migrant in another country and who is intending to stay in his own country for at least a year”. In contrast, the humanitarian terminology usually applies the designation exclusively to the returning refugees, while authors dealing with skilled migration use it as a general denomination for returning migrants. The focus of this study is not the post-conflict reintegration of refugees, but the individual reasons leading a highly skilled migrant to return from a developed to a developing country. So far, this type of skilled return migration has received little academic attention, especially in the Western Balkans. For the humanitarian terminology, see for example UNHCR, “Handbook for Repatriation and Reintegration Activities” (2004), <https://www.unhcr.org/411786694.pdf> (accessed 28/12/19); for the brain drain-related terminology, see Thilo Lang and Robert Nadler, eds., “Return migration to Central and Eastern Europe: transnational migrants' perspectives and local businesses' needs”, *Forum IfL* 23 (2014); for the definition of returnee used in this study, see Ruth Achenbach, *Return Migration Decisions: A Study on Highly Skilled Chinese in Japan* (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2017), 82-83; for the studies focused on refugee reintegration, see for example Mireille de Koning, “Return Migration to Bosnia and Herzegovina: Monitoring the Embeddedness of Returnees”, Master Thesis (University of Amsterdam, 2008).

to BiH? The supporting sub-questions are as follows: 1) Which factors from the three spheres (career, family and lifestyle preferences) do highly skilled agents identify as crucial for their decision to return?; 2) What were the triggers for return?; and 3) Which categories of primary reasons are typical for returnees in different life phases?

General hypothesis is that return to BiH represents the way how highly skilled individuals reach their goals related to family, career and lifestyle preferences, which varies according to their current life phases. Correspondingly, there are several suggested hypotheses which frame the focus of the research: 1) Career is the most frequent reason, especially in case of students and young workers, while lifestyle preferences do not represent factors decisive for the return of highly skilled migrants in general; 2) In the sphere of career, the decisive factors are good career chances; in terms of family, general presence of relatives is decisive; in the sphere of lifestyle, the key factor is general preference of the local lifestyle; and 3) Participants in the phase of early adulthood emphasize career as the basic motivation for their return, while those in the family phase refer more often to family factors as decisive for the return of highly skilled migrants.¹⁵ These presumptions arising from Achenbach's study provide the grounds for a deeper qualitative examination of the specific background of the respondents.

The thesis is divided into a theoretical and an empirical part. The theoretical part of this study is based on both academic and non-academic literature dealing with migration, quantitative data provided by international organizations and BiH government, as well as official documents and media articles. The first chapter discusses the major theories by frequently cited world authors who are well established in the academic field, particularly in sociology and economy. Apart from this, the chapter examines commonalities between empirical studies by authors specialized in area studies, education and innovation, development, law, social science, political science, political economy, sociology and anthropology. Most of the researchers are employed in academia, while the working centres comprise of the top-ranked universities such as University of California (Berkeley and Los Angeles) or University of Washington, as well as European research institutes, for

¹⁵ The second supporting question, i.e. what were the triggers for return, remains without a preliminary hypothesis. This is due to the unclear terminology in the original study, in which the return Chinese migrants had five options to answer: "end of a set time frame, family reasons, career reasons, external events and no concrete plans". Given the fact that end of a set time frame was chosen by the majority of participants, and at the same time family and career reasons may overlap with this criterion, this study does not draw on the results in the original research. Achenbach, *Return Migration Decisions*, 123.

example Croatian Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, Austrian Academy of Sciences or Albanian Center for Economic and Social Studies. In terms of conceptual framework, the key source is a doctoral thesis of a German interdisciplinary researcher Ruth Achenbach, which was published as a book in 2017. The local-specific context in BiH is described in the third chapter, which draws on the migration statistics provided by International Organization for Migration (IOM), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the World Bank, Human Rights Watch; documents issued by public institutions in BiH (Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees - MHRR, Ministry of Security), Office of the High Representative (OHR); as well as by the NGOs dealing with migration and development, such as the Group 484 Centre for Migration located in Serbia and Academia based in Sarajevo, BiH. Within this category, the most recent and comprehensive source is the 2018 study on BiH diaspora by an interdisciplinary collective of authors led by Hariz Halilovich, the Associate Professor at RMIT University in Melbourne, Australia. The detailed discussion of the literature, which is essential to explain the contemporary deficiencies in theory, is provided in the chapters 1.1 and 1.2. The empirical part of the thesis is devoted to the analysis of the interviews with 33 returnees led by the author. Structure of the fourth chapter is based on the conceptual model inspired by Achenbach and reflects the categorization into the three spheres of factors: career, family and lifestyle. Finally, the chapter five is dedicated to a concise discussion on the theoretical, methodological and conceptual foundation of the study in relation to the results of the research.

1. State of Art on Highly Skilled Return Migration

Why people migrate, both high- and low-skilled, is a question that has troubled scientists for decades. Scholars from various fields of science have attempted to describe and conceptualize international movements of people ever since it progressed to become a mass phenomenon, but the issue became mainstreamed in relation to its politicization. The first formal attempts to attract skilled migrants date back to the 1960's.¹⁶ Since the time, researchers have been dividing foreign labourers into categories corresponding to

¹⁶ The US Immigration and Nationality Act (1965) gave preference to highly skilled migrants regardless of nationality. Govinfo.gov, "Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965", <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-79/pdf/STATUTE-79-Pg911.pdf> (accessed 19/12/19).

their qualification, while policy makers have been devising strategies how to further attract the immigration of the skilled people.¹⁷ The general premise was that the country can significantly benefit from their potential. Growing interest in the control of migration flows and attraction of the desired migrants had been the underlying motivations which pre-set the grounds for the following theoretical thinking.¹⁸

Until nowadays, in relation to the ongoing process of globalization, migration has been increasingly attracting the attention of the scientists from the fields ranging from sociology, human geography, demography, psychology to economics and international studies, as well as non-academicians involved in inter-disciplinary projects, international organizations policy makers or NGO co-operators. The division between high-, low- and unskilled migrants has endured as a primary typology of migration of workers, while the key interest remained on how to attract the “best and brightest” ones.¹⁹

Nevertheless, as most research has been carried out to describe the mainstream migration from the developing to developed countries, little focus has been devoted to different factors motivating highly skilled migrants in their locational decisions besides the economic incentives. Instead, the main emphasis of general research on highly skilled migrants was put on their mobility patterns, the endurance of stay, the level upon which the migrants actually contribute to the receiving society, and the economic impact of their presence on the countries of origin and destination. This is why the majority of contemporary literature deals with this type of migrants in terms of brain gain, brain drain or brain circulation.²⁰ The current state of art is, in this respect, largely limited by focus of researchers on one specific type of highly skilled migrants, i.e. the ones moving from developing countries to the developed ones. At the same time, there is a significant lack of attention to the individual motivations of the highly skilled migrants who move to the countries which are regarded as less attractive in economic terms. The theories on migration which have emerged need to be taken into account in this context.

¹⁷ See for example Sheldon Friedman, “The effect of the US immigration Act of 1965 on the flow of skilled migrants from less developed countries”, *World Development* 1, 8 (1973), 39-44.

¹⁸ Matjaž Klemenčič, “Migrations in History” in *Immigration and Emigration in Historical Perspective*, Ann K. Isaacs, ed. (Pisa: Plus, 2007), 27-54; Zdeněk Uherek et al., *Migrace: Historie a současnost* (Ostrava: PANT, 2016); Michele Grigolo, Matthieu Lietaert and Ramon Marimon, “Shifting from academic ‘brain drain’ to ‘brain gain’ in Europe”, *European Political Science* 130, 9 (2010), 118-130.

¹⁹ Rey Koslowski, “Selective Migration Policy Models and Changing Realities of Implementation”, *International Migration* 52, 3 (2014), 26-39.

²⁰ Rasa Daugeliene and Rita Marcinkeviciene, “Brain circulation: Theoretical considerations”, *Engineering Economics* 3 (2009), 49-57.

1.1 Theories of Highly Skilled Return Migration

There is a vast amount of academic literature on the topic of migration, embracing disparate paradigms and comprising differing perspectives.²¹ In order to follow the goal of this work, the theories focusing on general return migration as well as skilled migration need to be explained separately, because no concise theory combining these two types exists at present.

Firstly, return migration, i.e. “the process whereby people return to their country or place of origin after a significant period in another country or region,”²² is a phenomenon that is mostly referred to as a somehow unique locational decision, different than the one of leaving the home country. The majority of sociological and economic literature describing general migration patterns falls into several approaches, each of which has defined its own return migration reasons. Explanations within the narrowly-focused paradigms, however, tend to reduce the returnees’ motivations into oversimplified types of cases. For example, neo-classical economists see the return as a failed migration process, whereas the view of the new economics of labour migration anticipates return to be a part of a planned strategy after achieving goals in the destination country. Similarly, trans-nationalist approach looks at return as a strategic movement after goals of migration are met, but at the same time it presumes a high cross-border mobility and sustained ties with the country of emigration. Nevertheless, these presumptions necessarily lead to a critical simplification of the return migrants’ realities and as such apply only to unique cases.²³

²¹ The first attempts to theorize migratory flows can be dated back to the 19th century when Ravenstein’s “laws of migration” were introduced. More recently, the well-known “push-pull migration theory” evolved in the 1960’s aroused interest in comprehensive understanding of such movements of people and facilitated the emergence of further complex theoretical approaches dealing with both macro- and micro- (societal and individual) levels of observation. See Ernst G. Ravenstein, “The Laws of Migration”, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 48, 2 (1885), 167-235; Everett S. Lee, “A Theory of Migration”, *Demography* 3, 1 (1966), 47-57.

²² Russell King, “Generalizations from the history of return migration” in *Return migration: journey of hope or despair?* (Geneva: United Nations, IOM, 2000), 8.

²³ Jean-Pierre Cassarino, “Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited”, *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 6, 2 (2004), 269.

See also neo-classical economic authors [Michael P. Todaro, “A model of labor migration and urban unemployment in less developed countries”, *American Economic Review* 59, 1 (1969), 138-48; Oded Stark, “On the microeconomics of return migration” in *Trade and Development*, Vudayagi Balasubramanyam and David Greenaway, eds. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), 32-41; Amelie Constant and Douglas S. Massey, “Return migration by German guestworkers: neoclassical versus new economic theories”, *International Migration* 40, 4 (2002), 5-38; Mayr and Peri, “Return Migration as a Channel of Brain Gain”; George J. Borjas and Bernt Bratsberg, “Who Leaves? The Outmigration of the Foreign-Born”, NBER Working Paper 4913 (1994), <https://ssrn.com/abstract=238135> (accessed 09/11/18)]; structuralists [Francesco P. Cerase, “Expectations and Reality: A Case Study of Return Migration from the United States to Southern

Secondly, the same trend as in the works following the major conceptual paradigms can be recognized in the contemporary academic research on skilled migration. The most recent studies have shifted more towards narrowly focused theories, which were designed to describe the migration of workers predominantly in the context of their social milieu. Following the trans-nationalist direction, a large amount of research has been conducted within narrowly defined concepts, such as the social network migration theory, the migration systems theory, the dual labour markets theory or the concept of social remittances and social capital transfer.²⁴ Yet, the use of these socio-economic theoretical approaches implies that the research would focus solely on the transferring networks of social and financial capital, which tend to be of a central interest to the policy makers.

Besides these limited theories, highly skilled migration in general has recently been the major subject of brain drain, brain gain and brain circulation theorists. They hypothesize that “return migrants, in particular, bring back their skills and work experience from abroad, thus boosting productivity”,²⁵ but a general explanation of the highly skilled migrants’ return has not been concretely defined. The major theoretical development within the brain drain concept was the introduction of the term “brain waste”, which described that sometimes the potential of these returning migrants is misused. Yet, research on brain waste did not pay much more attention to the actual reasons for return.²⁶ The brain drain-related concepts are useful for the description of the mobility patterns of highly skilled migrants, transfer of knowledge and other capital. But in general, the individual motivations usually play a secondary role within the analyses.

Italy“, *The International Migration Review* 8, 2 (1974), 245-262; Christian Dustmann, Samuel Bentolila and Riccardo Faini, “Return Migration: The European Experience“, *Economic Policy* 11, 22 (1996), 213–250] or transnationalists [Nadje Al-Ali and Khalid Koser, eds., *New Approaches to Migration?: Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home* (London: Routledge, 2002)].

²⁴ Ivan Light, Parminder Bhachu and Stavros Karageorgis, “Migration Networks and Immigrant Entrepreneurship” (California, LA: UCLA, Institute for Social Science Research, 1989), <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/50g990sk> (accessed 28/09/19); James T. Fawcett, “Networks, Linkages, and Migration Systems”, *The International Migration Review* 23, 3 (1989), 671-680; Michael Reich, David M. Gordon and Richard C. Edwards, “Dual Labor Markets: A Theory of Labor Market Segmentation”, *American Economic Review* 63, 2 (1973), 359-365; Peggy Levitt, “Social Remittances: Migration Driven Local-Level Forms of Cultural Diffusion”, *The International Migration Review* 32, 4 (1998), 926-948; James S. Coleman, “Social capital in the creation of human capital”, *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (1988), 95-120.

²⁵ Findlay and Lowell, “Migration of highly skilled persons from developing countries”, 1; see also Schroth and Stojanov, “Brain drain / Brain gain / Brain circulation“; King, “Generalizations from the history of return migration“; Robyn Iredale, “The migration of professionals: theories and typologies“, *International Migration* 39, 5 (2001), 7-26.

²⁶ Maurice Schiff and Çağlar Özden, *International Migration, Remittances, and the Brain Drain* (Washington, DC: World Bank and Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

Furthermore, the studies following the brain drain-related concepts seem to suffer from several flaws. Firstly, the fragmentation of theoretical bases causes methodological and terminological differentiation, which makes it almost impossible to compare between the results of other researchers.²⁷ Secondly, a migrant is sometimes reduced to an agent of societal change, therefore he/she is depersonalized and examined exclusively as a unit carrying various sorts of capital. Thirdly, although the results coming out of these studies attempt to set the general hypotheses about the migration behaviour, a number of authors have pointed out that the generalizations remain hazy.²⁸

Yet, the brain drain-related theories have been gradually drawing the attention of many scholars, as well as the public and researchers with political interests.²⁹ Based on the contemporary literature, it might be said that they represent the leading approach within the discourse on highly skilled migrants and their return. However, most authors have adopted entirely diverse ways of research and inconsistent theoretical foundations, which often resulted in exclusively local-specific concepts based on their particular empirical findings.³⁰ As a result, they tend to bring in differing assumptions on migrants' reasons to return. The authors Chappell and Glennie noticed that among the most frequently claimed return motivations in the studies are “the improvement of the situation at home, the feeling of belonging to one's culture and society, and the achievement of a specific goal”.³¹ It is necessary to point out that the generalization attempts, such as the one by these authors, is

²⁷ For example, while the author of a quantitative research on Chinese students returning from the US collected the data by surveying his respondents in 2001 and 2005, another authors who led their qualitative research on South Korean doctoral recipients interviewed 12 people and then generalized the findings. In the first case, the conclusion was that “[return] was largely driven by the economic opportunities back home, although nationalist sentiment driven by the desire to give back to their homeland is also a prominent factor”, while the latter study found that “the political economy played a considerable role in choosing to study in the U.S. but was not necessarily the primary reason that determined the participants’ decision to return to Korea [...] [and] cultural familiarity and returning to be with family members transcended reasons related to professional or economic gain.” All these authors based their studies on the brain drain-related theories. Ryan P. Kellogg, “China’s Brain Gain? Attitudes and Future Plans of Overseas Chinese Students in the US”, *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 8 (2012), 83-104; Jenny J. Lee and Dongbin Kim, “Brain gain or brain circulation? U.S. doctoral recipients returning to South Korea”, *High Educ* 59 (2010), 627–643.

²⁸ van Houte and Davids, “Moving back or Moving forward?”.

²⁹ See for example Richard Florida, *The Flight of the Creative Class: The New Global Competition for Talent* (London: Routledge, 2005).

³⁰ See for example Nina Bosankić, Enisa Mešić and Bojan Šošić, “The Floating Pumpkin Syndrome: Forced Migration, Humanitarian Aid, and the Culture of Learned Helplessness”, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 21, 1 (2019), 61-73.

³¹ Laura Chappell and Alex Glennie, “Show Me the Money (and Opportunity): Why Skilled People Leave Home — and Why They Sometimes Return“, Institute for Public Policy Research (2010), <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/show-me-money-and-opportunity-why-skilled-people-leave-home-%E2%80%94-and-why-they-sometimes-return> (accessed 28/09/19).

based on a large amount of existing studies bearing valuable findings. However, there appears to have been a failure to sufficiently examine and include this work in the conceptual models. In this perspective, brain drain-related theories lack a sound unified methodology and pay little attention to the individual motivations that lead the highly qualified people to return.³² After all, several authors have pointed out that a return migration is a challenging and complex phenomenon, a “wicked problem” demanding individual explanations for each specific situation,³³ rather than simple formulas and economic calculations.³⁴

To summarize, as it was suggested earlier, the actual motivations and influential factors leading to return appear to be vaguely formulated or oversimplified in most of the theoretical thinking. Scholars generally tend to understand highly skilled migrants as specific human beings, mainly motivated by a single category of decisive factors. They often reduce them to either a rational “homo oeconomicus”, a component in the family network or simply a person longing for his/her homeland. The neo-classical economists put too much focus on purely economic motivations of a migrant, measured by wage differentials between the countries.³⁵ In case of new economics of labour migration, structuralism and trans-nationalism, the key return reason is defined as an “attachment to home and household”.³⁶ Social network theory of migration emphasizes favourable perception of socio-economic opportunities in home country.³⁷ While these factors undeniably do play a role in the decision making of a migrant, it is argued here that a single category fails to explain the complex return motivations. The major paradigms do not offer an operational concept which could apply to a larger amount of cases because of these simplifications, which might lead to wrong assumptions.

³² Achenbach, *Return Migration Decisions*, 42.

³³ Daniel Logue, “Moving Policy Forward: brain drain as a wicked problem”, *Globalization, Societies and Education* 7, 1 (2009), 41-50.

³⁴ Uherek et al., *Migrace: Historie a současnost*, 48.

³⁵ Herbert A. Simon, “A Behavioral Model of Rational Choice”, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 69, 1 (1955), 99–118.

³⁶ “Once people earn a reasonable income, find a home, develop social networks – in short once people begin to ‘feel at home’ – they may not want to return when they are expected to.” Khalid Koser, *International Migration: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 117.

³⁷ Cassarino, “Theorising Return Migration”, 269.

1.2 Empirical Studies on Highly Skilled Return Migration

An impressive number of studies on the subject of return migration of highly qualified people has emerged within specific locational contexts around the world. Both the qualitative and quantitative methods have been used by authors of various backgrounds, ranging from policy makers, social scientists collaborating with governmental, non-governmental and international institutions and the like. Their goal was often to cover the region-specific trends in migration, attempting to contribute to the development of effective brain gain policies. The results usually brought an exhaustive description of the ongoing phenomena.³⁸

However, due to the mixed methodologies, less attention to the theoretical foundation and less focus on individual motivations, concluding remarks of these analyses only vaguely define the determining factors for return. Even though the comprehensive results of these studies bring a valuable insight into the realities, perceptions and behaviours of individuals or groups of highly skilled migrants within a concrete regional context, the results differ in the used language and terminology, which makes the further research and application of the results difficult.

At this point, it is crucial to emphasize that most studies on highly skilled return migration have identified very similar decisive factors, regardless of the examined location. For example, the reasons submitted by highly skilled Asian nationals returning from the United States (US) suggest the importance of better career opportunities and possibilities for a higher social status in the home country, or attachment to friends and family. But besides these motivations, the respondents mentioned decisive factors which may be defined as emotional. These comprise of cultural values, patriotism and a desire to give back to their homeland.³⁹ Correspondingly, the results brought in by a study of Pakistani returnees stated that lifestyle and relationship reasons prevailed over economic reasons.⁴⁰

³⁸ Grigolo, Lietaert and Marimon, "Shifting from academic 'brain drain' to 'brain gain' in Europe".

³⁹ David Zweig and Chen Changui, *China's Brain Drain to the United States: Views of Overseas Chinese Students and Scholars in the 1990s* (London: Routledge, 1995); Deepak Gupta, Maresi Nerad and Joseph Cerny, "International Ph.D.s: Exploring the Decision to Stay or Return", *International Higher Education* 31 (2003), 15-16; Hahzoong Song, "From Brain Drain to Reverse Brain Drain: Three Decades of Korean Experience", *Science, Technology & Society* 2, 2 (1997), 317-345; Kellogg, "China's Brain Gain"; Lee and Kim, "Brain gain or brain circulation?".

⁴⁰ Marta Bolognani, "The Emergence of Lifestyle Reasoning in Return Considerations among British Pakistanis", *International Migration* 52, 6 (2014), 31-42.

A decisive role of lifestyle, culture, value system and emotional ties was also described in the Balkan region and in its close neighbourhood. In Croatia, Horstein Tomić identified highly influential factors like longing for home, family ties, and a desire to contribute to development.⁴¹ Congruent results were found with Turkish returnees, who mentioned cultural, familial, and emotional reasons as more influential in their return than economic or professional ones.⁴² Family reasons were ranked the most important by the majority of respondents from Serbia.⁴³ In Albania, the greatest pull factors of the highly skilled returnees were “intellectual and moral commitment to come back and contribute to their home country’s development.”⁴⁴ Besides, the most recent study from Albanian environment led by UNDP (*United Nations Development Programme*) confirmed that “the love for the country” and “desire to use the know-how and experience” were crucial to the respondents.⁴⁵

In BiH, there have been some endeavours to address the issue of return of the highly skilled who were born in the country. At the same time, the authors have generally paid little attention to the complexity of the participants’ decisive motivations leading to relocation, while they focused rather on the career-related factors.⁴⁶ The indicated reasons for return in these studies, nevertheless, confirm that a desire to bring back knowledge and help the development of BiH are important motives to the respondents. In the respect of the previously mentioned works based in other countries, these reasons appear often, which means they may be independent on the examined region of interest. Nevertheless, in the

⁴¹ Caroline Horstein Tomić, Robert Pichler and Sarah Scholl-Schneider, eds., *Remigration to Post-Socialist Europe: Hopes and Realities of Return* (Wien: LIT Verlag, 2018).

⁴² Yilmaz Şener, “Return Migration of Qualified Turkish Migrants from Germany and the US”, *Journal of Humanity and Society* 8, 3 (2018), 51-72.

⁴³ Tanja Pavlov, “Return of highly qualified migrants to Serbia: ‘brain gain’ instead of facing ‘brain re-drain’” in *Return of highly qualified migrants to the Western Balkans*, Tanja Pavlov, ed., Group 484 (2011), <http://www.ukf.hr/UserDocsImages/Return%20of%20Highly%20Qualified%20Migrants%20to%20the%20Western%20Balkans,%202011.pdf> (accessed 30/12/19), 7-30.

⁴⁴ Tanja Pavlov, “Brain gain programme in Albania: Case study and policy guide for policy makers in Southeast Europe” in *Brain gain policies and practices in the Western Balkans*, Pavlov, ed.

⁴⁵ The authors, however, did not specify how decisive these factors were for the majority of the respondents. Ilir Gëdeshi and Russell King, “Research Study into Brain Gain: Reversing Brain Drain with the Albanian Scientific Diaspora”, UNDP (2018), https://www.undp.org/content/dam/albania/docs/Brain_Gain%20web.pdf (accessed 30/12/19), 48-49.

⁴⁶ Emina Ćosić and Boriša Mraović, “One option for the human capital in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Return of HQ” in *Return of highly qualified migrants to the Western Balkans*, Pavlov, ed., 31-54; Aleksandar Božić, “A Two-Way Ticket: Return Migration of Tertiary (Post-)Graduates as a Potential Channel of the Brain Gain Process in Bosnia and Herzegovina”, ERSTE Foundation Fellowship for Social Research Report (2012), 1–57; Nicholas R. Micinski and Jasmin Hasić, “Dual citizenship and youth identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina” in *Changing Youth Values in Southeast Europe: Beyond Ethnicity*, Tamara P. Trošt and Danilo Mandić, eds., (London: Routledge, 2017), 39-55.

case of BiH, the priority is shifted slightly more towards the examination of diaspora and their reasons for not returning, i.e. the ones who left. On the contrary, the latest studies from different parts of the world suggest that the key attention should be devoted to researching the perspectives of the actual returnees.⁴⁷

In conclusion of this subchapter, while there is currently a number of empirical studies on the topic of return migration of highly skilled people, the overall state of art suffers from deficiencies. Ambiguous theoretical foundations, differing methodologies and definitions leading to various sample compositions hinders a complex cross-border understanding of the problem. So far, no single theory integrating both the existing theoretical contribution and empirical findings has emerged.

1.3 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

The existence of vast literature, diverse approaches and differing goals of researchers of highly skilled migration point out that return motivations are of a complex nature and cannot be explained in simple formulas. The previously presented findings, however, suggest that a comprehensive theory drawing on established migration theories combined with the empirical results of non-academic literature could reveal the common characteristics of this type of migrants. Moreover, if a unified approach to research of highly skilled migrants succeeds in identifying identical reasons for return in different national environments, it might cast doubt on the general assumption that the creation of an effective holistic cross-regional migration theory is unlikely.⁴⁸

German author Ruth Achenbach, who led her study on the highly qualified Chinese in Japan, proposed a unique model of the returning migrants' decision-making.⁴⁹ She based her method of research and conceptual model on the existing theories from both monodisciplinary and interdisciplinary fields dealing with migration and behaviour (primarily sociology and psychology),⁵⁰ as well as on her own findings. Drawing on her basic presumption that the migrants' subjective perceptions and primary goals directly

⁴⁷ It has been proven that potential intentions to migrate are poor predictors of the actual relocation. See also the concept of "imagined return": Jasmin van Gorp and Kevin Smets, "Diaspora organizations, imagined communities and the versatility of diaspora: The case of Former Yugoslav organizations in the Netherlands", *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 18, 1 (2015), 70–85.

⁴⁸ Uherek et al., *Migrace: Historie a současnost*; Logue, "Brain drain as a wicked problem"; Cassarino, "Theorising Return Migration".

⁴⁹ Achenbach, *Return Migration Decisions*.

⁵⁰ Achenbach combined decision-making theories of a rather psychological nature with the classical sociological views of migration, which were explained in the previous subchapters. *Ibid.*, 27-57.

influence the mobility behaviour, she led direct interviews with more than a hundred men and women. To analyse the data, she devised a model of locational decision-making process divided into four stages: 1) situation analysis, 2) option evaluation, 3) planning the behaviour, and 4) action. Preceding to the first stage, an agent finds him/herself in the initial situation which is interrupted with a trigger, or a life event, which leads to the situation assessment. Depending on whether the perception of his/her life satisfaction is positive or negative, he/she sets new goals or frames the problem and intends on solving it by migrating. In the stage of option evaluation, the migrant identifies his primary goals from the categories of career, family or lifestyle preferences. This stage is crucial for the decision to migrate. In the third stage of planning the behaviour, intervening variables such as practical hindrances might appear and discourage the agent from migrating. Finally, the actual physical relocation is represented by the last stage of action.⁵¹

The following concept is a simplified version of Achenbach's return decision-making model. The model is modified because the scope of this diploma thesis does not allow to examine all variables in detail: Achenbach's study was based on the data gathered from a quantitatively rich sample, whereas this research deals with 33 participants. The goal of this study is to test Achenbach's main hypotheses in a different location. Whereas the original model was designed to compare the decisions to stay or return of highly skilled Chinese migrants in China and Japan, the principle here is the application of the generalized hypotheses in the case of BiH, i.e. categorization of the decisions of the highly skilled returnees within a distinct locational context. The main contribution of her study is the link between certain points within the life course and certain categories of life preferences leading to return migration.⁵² In this study, this is regarded as a useful concept enabling identification of the key reasons of the highly educated migrants to return.

Achenbach summed up that, generally speaking, migration is "a tool to ensure a better life."⁵³ In order to lead satisfying lives, migrants endeavour to improve and balance their career and family goals together with lifestyle preferences.⁵⁴ An individual chooses

⁵¹ Ibid., 60-77.

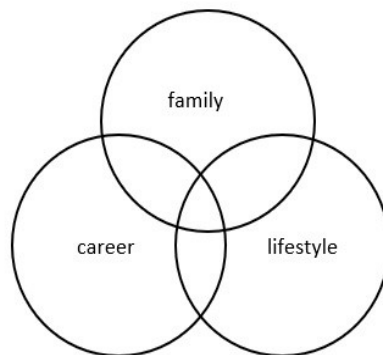
⁵² Achenbach discovered a number of location-specific findings, such as high level of perception of the glass ceiling and discrimination in Japan as obstacles in return to China. The logical presumption is that the qualitative results will differ in a distinct context. However, this study implies that the scale and precision of Achenbach's research suggest that the main (not the additional) hypotheses deserve to be tested in a different locational context. Ibid., 270-278.

⁵³ Ibid., 71.

⁵⁴ See Figure 1.

his/her own unique way to balance the three spheres, which as well may overlap. However, based on the subjective emphasis of the person, a researcher may trace how the preferred spheres of goals relate to the life phases which the agents find themselves in, because over the course of life these preferences change.⁵⁵

Figure 1. Individual Goals



The author identifies two typologies of life phases which are assumed to be connected with specific priorities in the decision-making process. The first category refers to the career-related, i.e. educational or occupational position of the agents, and is divided into two types: 1) “students/young workers starting out in their careers (including B.A., M.A. and PhD students as well as those who had just only started out in their active careers)” or 2) “participants established in their working lives (division heads, middle and top management, academics as well as entrepreneurs)”.⁵⁶ The second category evaluates the returnees’ family-related life phase according to their wishes: 1) “early adulthood (single migrants or participants in non-committal relationships until age 35, who do not wish to start a family)”, 2) “family phase (defined as agents looking to settle down, including married migrants trying to start a family or with school-age children)” and 3) “establishing phase” (single agents over the age of 35, agents in a serious relationship/married with the desire to have children or married with children that have finished high school).⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Ibid., 57-77.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 61-62.

⁵⁷ Ibid.; see Table 1. The age of 35 is set in line with the threshold over which highly educated women tend to defer childbirth. Ibid., 245.

Table 1. Life phases

career-related life phase	students/young workers
	participants established in their working lives
family-related life phase	early adulthood
	family phase
	establishing phase

According to the author, there are two main types of trigger (or life event, life phase transition): the end of a set time frame for living abroad (expected event) or an unexpected event, which can be an external situation such as crisis or a natural disaster. The majority of triggers fall into expected events related to career or family. The career-related life events include “end of educational programme, job switch, job offer, starting a job or retirement”; the family-related triggers can be “marriage, childbirth, starting to live with a partner, having experienced the out-migration of family members or close friends, having a partner who has the wish or necessity to move, illness, or sudden care needs of a parent.”⁵⁸

Table 2. Triggers / Life events

expected event	career-related	end of educational programme
		job switch
		job offer
		starting a job
		retirement
	family-related	marriage
		childbirth
		starting to live with a partner
		having experienced the out-migration of family members or close friends
		having a partner who has the wish or necessity to move
		illness
		sudden care needs of a parent
unexpected event	natural disaster	
	crisis	

Following the trigger, the situation analysis stage symbolizes the part of the decision-making process in which agents assess whether they have achieved goals and they are satisfied in the three spheres of career, family and lifestyle preferences. Both failure and success, satisfaction or dissatisfaction, then lead to intention of changing the situation

⁵⁸ Ibid., 66; see Table 2.

either by problem definition or by definition of new goals, which is in this model fulfilled by the action of migration (return).⁵⁹

The stage of option evaluation involves the identification of the individual primary goals, i.e. decisive reasons, falling into the three spheres. This represents the crucial point as these factors directly express the reasons behind the return decision. Most often mentioned are career-, family- and lifestyle-related. Influential factors are presented in the following table:

Table 3. Influential Factors

career-related	finishing studies
	working style/prestige
	good possibilities of upward mobility
	good career chances
	good prospects of further education
	high level of technology
	satisfaction with current job
	secured job
	established business
	high salary
	contribution
family-related	closeness to family
	following partner's wishes
	following parents' wishes
	child's education
	child's identity formation
	provision of safe environment
	material well-being
lifestyle preferences	patriotism
	feeling of home
	lifestyle
	wish to improve the society
	environment
	culture
	cheap living
	self-actualization
	people and society
	stability
	established life
	values (political/ideological/religious)
	location

⁵⁹ Ibid., 69.

Given the limited scope of this study, lower number of participants than the original study and a different research goal, several variables of interest have been modified. Firstly, the stage of situation analysis does not involve the “type B decision”, describing the decision-making process that agents undergo following an unexpected event within a time pressure. In this study, there is no evidence for this type of reasons for return migration as none of the respondents returned due to a crisis or a natural catastrophe. Secondly, the influential factors as stated above in the Table 3 are comprised of the mentioned decisive factors, mentioned influential factors and key goals. These three categories are of the same nature, therefore it is more meaningful to unify them into a single category.⁶⁰ Three specific factors, which did not fit any of the already mentioned terms, were also added to the list: secured job, contribution and location. Another significant difference from the original model are the altered stages of the decision-making process. The third and fourth stage of planning the behaviour and action as well as the final stage of a feedback loop represent a framing for a detailed insight into the parts of the process, which are, nevertheless, useful when comparing the migrants’ decisions to stay or to migrate again. In order to achieve the pre-set goals of this study, examining of these stages does not bear an essential value.

In line with the original study, additional variables which are significantly difficult to measure will not be evaluated. These consist of: “norms of behavioural control”, “macro-, meso-, exo-level factors (broad belief systems, social networks)”, “personality, general attitudes and values, exposure to information and social support”. However, occupations and occupational fields (e.g. managers, academics, students) is described as one of the parameters in the sample characteristics. The other complementary variables will then be taken into account in order to identify the triggers, life phases and decisive reasons, if they will deem crucial in the returnee’s perspective. This refers to the assumption that the subjective perception and choice of topics remains the centre of interest in return decisions.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Achenbach herself did not strictly divide the factors according to their importance in many cases. For example, when she evaluated the overall decisive reasons, the terms describing them remained too vague. According to her, the most frequently mentioned decisive factors from the family and lifestyle category were “family in general” and “liking the life in China/Japan”, whereas in case of career she clearly defined that the decisive factor was “better career chances in China/Japan”. *Ibid.*, 211-237.

⁶¹ Achenbach used an extensive questionnaire as a complementary method, but claims herself that “yet, locational decision-making is a complex and drawn-out process, for which think-aloud protocols are not an

The final outline of the framework in this study, then, draws on the integration of several theoretical approaches: first, on the critical comments on the major theories of highly skilled return migration; second, on the collective findings of empirical studies from various regions of the world; and finally, on the general hypotheses brought by Achenbach's study on this topic. The altered version of Achenbach's model provides a conceptual platform which facilitates work with the gathered data. This theoretical and conceptual design was chosen so as to reach the goal of this study, which is identification of the key factors which brought the 33 interviewed highly skilled migrants back to BiH.

2. Methodology

2.1 Data and Methodology

In order to reach the pre-set goals, this study adopted an explorative, descriptive approach. Semi-structured in-depth face-to-face interviews were used as a main method to gather the primary data from the target group of respondents. Based on the theoretical literature, the questions contained in the interviews were designed to cover the important episodes within the individual experience of migration, with an emphasis on the three spheres of career, family and lifestyle.

The core of the interview consisted of four key topics: migration experience, family, career, and hobbies. The opening questions were defined rather broadly so as to give enough space to the respondent who directed the conversation to his/her preferred topics.⁶² Additional questions were added during the interviews in order to examine the agent's motivations in detail.⁶³ At the same time, active role of the interviewer was minimized, while the decisive factors which were discussed in depth were in accordance to the reasons stated by the participants.⁶⁴ At the end of the interview, the inquirer asked a

appropriate method. Therefore, the choice of agents' depictions of the process is justifiable to trace the decision-making process." Ibid., 98.

⁶² For example: What was the reason of your return? Did you have a family in the place you returned to? Did you have a satisfying job in the country of emigration?

⁶³ For example, if a respondent mentioned that his motivation to return was a combination of factors, the following questions were asked so as to define the factors more in detail, such as: What were you missing specifically in relation to the environment in BiH? In which concrete terms do you mean that the life in BiH is easier than somewhere else? At the time of deciding whether to return, did you consider if you had enough options for practicing your hobbies?

⁶⁴ As King indicated, the method of interviewing the returnees is more useful in order to examine their individual motivations, when compared to the method of questionnaire. King, "Generalizations from the history of return migration", 18.

final question which summed up the key reasons mentioned by the respondent throughout the whole conversation.⁶⁵ The summarizing question was included for two reasons: firstly, to define the main incentive for the return in case it had not been clearly identified during the interview, and secondly, to reaffirm which factors mentioned during the interview were considered as the most important. The final structures and lengths of individual interviews were, therefore, highly dependent upon the concrete cases.

All the data collection took place during a study period in BiH, from February to July 2019. Initially, the criteria for the respondents were set: 1) born in the territory of BiH, 2) higher education, 3) a minimum stay of one year abroad, 4) return after 2005, and 5) current stay in BiH. The first contacts were found by snowball sampling, while the majority of the respondents who agreed to be interviewed replied to a general e-mail incentive.⁶⁶ The email explaining the aim of the study was sent to accessible addresses which were found on the websites of academic institutions, such as University of Banja Luka, University of Mostar or University of Tuzla. Additional participants were found via social websites or personal contacts of the author.⁶⁷

In technical terms, the interviewing process was as follows: during a personal meeting, all the interviewees were informed about the purpose of the study, the data which would be used, the possibility of anonymization, the approximate duration of the interview, and the scheduled term of finishing the study. The respondents had an option to choose to conduct the interview in their preferred language, i.e. Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian or English.⁶⁸ After finishing the interview, they were informed about the form of the personal data (first name, age and occupation) which would be included underneath their contributions. Finally, the relevant parts of the conversations were transcribed.

After the transcription of the interviews, the data were qualitatively and quantitatively analysed according to the theoretical basis and the selected model. Firstly, the sample was categorized into the career- and family-related life phases. Secondly, the triggers leading to migration were identified and categorized to the relevant fields of life.

⁶⁵ The closing question was: In short, why did you come back to BiH?

⁶⁶ Altogether, over a thousand of mail addresses have been contacted.

⁶⁷ More specifically, the incentive was posted in various facebook groups, such as “Odliv mozgova” (“Brain drain”), “Sarajevo Young Expats” or “Bosanci i Hercegovci u dijaspori” (“Bosnians and Herzegovinians in diaspora”).

⁶⁸ However, only a single interview was conducted in English. Besides, according to the respondent’s preference, one of the interviews was also led in Czech language. Generally, the preferable language of the interviews was the participants’ native language, i.e. Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, because it enables them to fully express their motivations. No service of interpreters was used.

Thirdly, based on the perception of the respondents, it was evaluated which factors the participants considered to be of the greatest importance to them, in relation to their return. Finally, the primary incentives which did not fit the analytical model were examined and described.

Quantitative analysis of demographic factors (age, gender, occupation and occupational field), temporal (year of return) and locational data (country of emigration, place of birth and place of return in BiH) was used so as to summarize the gathered data in the sample characteristics. Still, it is necessary to emphasize that the sample cannot be viewed as applicable on all the returning migrants because of the lack of macro data on the subject of return migration in this region.⁶⁹

Although the statistical vacuum unfortunately does not allow the conduct of the research with a representative sample, the qualitative analysis, which is in the core of this study, is a method which provides a valuable insight into the realities of some of the returning highly skilled individuals in BiH. As it was stated by Hendl, qualitative research is a way to “understand the unique examined phenomenon in the historical and cultural contexts in which it is set. The purpose of the research is not to reach conclusions applicable for further cases, but is an effort to understand the inner connections of the only examined case.”⁷⁰ This method allows the author to explore to what extent the return motivations apply exclusively to the highly qualified Bosnians and Herzegovinians, who are the selected target group in this study. It involves that the author subjectively extracts the relevant information about return motivations from autobiographical narratives provided by the participants, integrates it into the conceptual model and contextualizes the data in relation to the theoretical thinking.

In order to answer the main research question, i.e. why do highly skilled people return to BiH, the final results of the analysis were evaluated so as to confirm or refute the hypotheses drawing on the results of Achenbach’s study, which conceptualize the relation between the three spheres of influential goals and the returnees’ life phases. Additionally, the final discussion develops the findings and incorporates it into the broad context of the contemporary state of art.

⁶⁹ For statistical data, see the chapter 4.

⁷⁰ Jan Hendl, *Kvalitativní výzkum: základní metody a aplikace* (Praha: Portál, 2005), 57.

2.2 Sample Description

During the six-month study period in BiH, more than a thousand people have been contacted in total. Altogether, 38 people were interviewed, out of which 33 met the full criteria (born in BiH, possessing a diploma, return after 2005, at least one year abroad, at least one year in BiH). The length of interviews ranged from 24 minutes up to 107 minutes with 50 minutes in average.

In terms of demographic indicators, the sample consists of 11 males and 22 females (1:2), the oldest born in 1950 and the youngest in 1996 with an average age of 29 years. Total number of 28 (85%) interviewees are employed in academia. Two participants work for a non-governmental organization, with the rest being freelancers, entrepreneurs or employees in the private sector. The areas of specialization vary: participants were professionally active in the natural (agriculture, biology, biotechnology, civil engineering, electrical engineering, IT, nanotechnology, plant protection), and social (history, ethnomusicology, languages, law, literature, human resources, psychology, international relations, philosophy, social work) sciences and fields, as well as health area (dentistry, medicine), art (architecture, music, design, stage design) and administration. All the occupational fields are represented fairly equally and none of the specialization prevails over another in frequency.

The temporal indicators show that there is no clear-cut pattern in terms of the year of return of the respondents. Within the time range from 2005 to 2018, between one and three participants returned each year, while there is no record of a returnee only in 2016. In terms of the year of emigration,⁷¹ there is a similar pattern: 11 (33%) people left BiH before or during the war (1990-1995), 10 (30%) people in the subsequent years (1998-2005) and 12 (36%) in the last fifteen years (2006-2015).

The locational indicators of the sample unequivocally suggest that the vast majority of the returnees come from the wealthier countries of Western Europe and overseas.⁷² Among the European countries, Belgium, Czech Republic, Hungary, Netherlands, Ireland, Italy, Great Britain, Germany, Norway, Switzerland and Austria have been mentioned. Some participants have experienced migration in the countries in the immediate

⁷¹ The recorded years refer to the first-time emigration. Some of the respondents had moved abroad more than one time.

⁷² This confirms that the general brain gain hypothesis that highly skilled individuals choose countries with more advanced economies because they seek to maximize their financial rewards cannot be applied in general. See for example Iredale, "The migration of professionals".

neighbourhood of BiH (Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia) and close countries in the Middle East (Turkey, Israel, Lebanon), while others have lived in more distant states overseas (US, Canada, Japan, Australia, Malaysia).

Finally, looking at the territorial data about the participants' place of birth and place of return, almost all of them returned to the locations they were born in, or to the larger cities in the proximity of the respective places. 18 (55%) participants lived in the capital city of Sarajevo, 10 (30%) came from Banja Luka, the largest city of the Republika Srpska,⁷³ and 4 (12%) people were interviewed in the Herzegovinian provincial city of Mostar. One respondent was located in Tuzla, which is a city belonging to the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH).

Although it is difficult to draw conclusions from the geographical data due to the disproportional numbers of interviewees from different locations, the sample in this study corresponds to the migratory patterns linking Bosnian Serb-dominated Republika Srpska with Serbia, and similarly, Bosnian Croatian-dominated Western Herzegovina with Croatia.⁷⁴ Almost half of interviewees (n=15, 45%) possess dual citizenship, allowing them to live both in BiH and the other country that they are citizens of.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the holders of the citizenship of the neighbouring states, Croatia and Serbia, often had a migration experience in these respective countries.⁷⁶ Last but not least, seven participants (21%) had been international refugees, which was usually connected to the dual citizenship possession, albeit not necessarily.

⁷³ The territorial division of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its specificities is described in detail in the following chapter.

⁷⁴ Sonja Podgorelec, Margareta Gregurović and Sanja Klempić Bogadi, "Immigrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina in Croatia: A Sense of Belonging and Acceptance in the New Social Environment", *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 82 (2019), 5-23; Micinski and Hasić, "Dual citizenship and youth identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina".

⁷⁵ 15 out of 33 respondents possess the citizenship in the countries as follows: Australia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Great Britain, Israel, Canada, Serbia, and Netherlands. All 3 holders of the Serbian citizenship returned from Serbia to Banja Luka, while 3 out of 4 holders of the Croatian citizenship returned from Croatia to Mostar. In total, three respondents explicitly mentioned that dual citizenship serves as an important tool which facilitates their migration. On this topic, see Micinski and Hasić, "Dual citizenship and youth identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina".

⁷⁶ Out of seven respondents from Banja Luka who migrated to Europe, three have a migration experience from Serbia. Correspondingly, 3 out of 4 participants from Mostar had lived in Croatia. In contrast, in case of Sarajevo and Tuzla where the number of participants was higher, none of the countries stands out by popularity.

3. Migration Profile of Bosnia and Herzegovina

In the perspective of migration researchers, historical context is deemed vital for understanding the specific migration situation in the concrete geographical setting.⁷⁷ The region of Western Balkans has been characteristic with complex migration streams of various types (inward and outward, voluntary and forced) for centuries.⁷⁸ The 20th century principally saw population changes which remain apparent in the region until nowadays. This chapter does not aim to cover the exhaustive history of population movements in BiH resulting in a complete migration profile, but to briefly describe the historical context and its implications for the contemporary situation of the target group of this study, i.e. highly skilled migrants.

3.1 Historical Socio-Economic and Political Context of Highly Skilled Migration

In the modern history, before reaching its independence, BiH as a territory within its current approximate borders was mostly subordinate to larger state entities: Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Independent State of Croatia, and finally the socialist Yugoslav federation. After the end of the Second World War in 1945, Yugoslavia under the lead of Josip Broz Tito adopted communist ideology together with the state-planned economy as well as other countries in the Eastern bloc. In the 1960s, a surplus workforce emerged as a result of economic reforms providing the transition from a predominantly agricultural to industrial society.⁷⁹ The demand for labour encouraged the Yugoslav government to enter the Gastarbeiter (guest worker) agreements allowing the Yugoslav nationals to work in the Western European countries (namely Germany, Switzerland and Austria).⁸⁰ This first modern-time migration link gradually reinforced

⁷⁷ Stephen Castles, "Twenty-First-Century Migration as a Challenge to Sociology", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33, 3 (2007), 351-371.

⁷⁸ Russell King and Nermin Oruc, "Editorial Introduction: Migration in the Western Balkans –Trends and Challenges", *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 21, 1 (2019), 1-10.

⁷⁹ Marina Peric Kaselj, "Is it enough to love your homeland? The Croats in Bosnian Posavina: Example of the municipality of Derventa – Between the desire and in/ability to return" in *Migration in the Function of Development*, MHRR BiH (2015), https://issuu.com/unitednations_bih/docs/migration_in_the_function_of_develo (accessed 29/10/19).

⁸⁰ The bilateral agreement with Germany, the country with the greatest share of the Yugoslav guest workers, was signed in 1969. Steven Mihajlovic, "Yugoslav Gastarbeiter: The Guest Who Stayed for Dinner", *Northwestern Journal of International Law & Business* 8, 1 (1987), 189; Aleksandar Božić, "Transitioning Back: Remigration of tertiary-educated Bosnians with experience of international academic mobility" in *Remigration to Post-Socialist Europe*, Horstein Tomić, Pichler and Scholl-Schneider, eds., 346-371.

during the following decades, resulting in more than 1.3 million workers originating in Yugoslavia who lived abroad in the early 1990s, eventually having settled down with their family members.⁸¹ Although the first migrants were employed primarily in the agricultural sector, already in 1985 it was reported that the majority of Yugoslav workers abroad held skilled positions.⁸² Nowadays, the connection with former Gastarbeiter countries is still visible particularly in relation with the continuing economic migration: for example, between the years 2000-2006, Germany recorded a rise of 44% of labour migrants from BiH.⁸³

The second migration link was created as the immediate result of the war breaking out in 1992 and ending with a Dayton Peace Agreement in 1995. BiH was, coming out as an independent state after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, confronted with a massive outflow of people, who were either forcefully displaced or fleeing from the violent conflict, often joining their spouses or more distant relatives abroad.⁸⁴ Besides, the war and subsequent migration also dramatically reshaped the ethnic composition of the territory. Before the war, BiH comprised mainly of regions with ethnically mixed populations of Bosniaks,⁸⁵ Croats and Serbs.⁸⁶ Between the years 1992-1995, Bosnian population in the regions which were subject to politics of ethnic cleansing suffered from expulsions and killings. Additionally, many inhabitants who were forcefully displaced either lost their houses, which were destroyed, or they had to sign off their properties, which should have prevented the members of different ethno-religious affiliation from returning.⁸⁷ The Dayton Accords set the ground for the new administrative layout, splitting the country into

⁸¹ Corrado Bonifazi and Marija Mamolo, "Past and Current Trends of Balkan Migrations", *Espace populations sociétés* 3 (2004), 521.

⁸² Statistics show that 54% of guest workers were in skilled and supervisory positions, 34% in semi-skilled positions, and only 12% were in unskilled positions. The fields of employment were different for males and females: women worked predominantly in private and public services, electrical goods and textile sector, while men were employed in metal production and construction. Mihajlovic, "Yugoslav Gastarbeiter", 190.

⁸³ In 2000, there were 100 thousand workers, compared to 144 thousand in 2006. The statistics from Germany are one of the few existing indicators of labour migration inflows. Marek Kupiszewski et al., "Labour migration patterns, policies and migration propensity in the Western Balkans", IOM (2009), https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/labour_migration_patterns_western_balkans.pdf (accessed 20/12/19), 55.

⁸⁴ King and Oruc, "Migration in the Western Balkans –Trends and Challenges".

⁸⁵ The historical term "Bosniak" was re-introduced in 1993. Prior to this, Bosniaks were called "Muslims" (officially obtaining the status of a nationality in the 1971 Yugoslav census), which was not a precise denomination given the fact that not all the members of Bosnian Muslims actually profess Islam. Danijela Majstorović and Vladimir Turjačanin, *Youth Ethnic and National Identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 23-24.

⁸⁶ However, there were also other minorities, primarily Jews and Roma. *Ibid.*, 15.

⁸⁷ Carl Dahlman and Gearóid Ó. Tuathail, "Broken Bosnia: The Localized Geopolitics of Displacement and Return in Two Bosnian Places", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95, 3 (2005), 644.

the Federation of BiH (FBiH), Republika Srpska (RS) and Brčko District.⁸⁸ Migrations which took place during the four-year conflict resulted in dramatically ethnically divided territories: FBiH comprising mainly of Croats and Bosniaks, and RS with predominantly Serb population.⁸⁹ The political regime, proposed by France, UK, US, Russia and Germany and agreed upon by the then-heads of former Yugoslav states, left the country divided on various levels.⁹⁰

Refugee repatriation was the key type of return migratory flow to BiH in the years following the end of the war. After 1995, there were approximately 1.2 million refugees in foreign countries, with the majority leaving to the neighbouring states and Western European countries.⁹¹ Another million people were internally displaced.⁹² In total, half of Bosnian population of all education levels (low-, medium- and high-educated) was involved in this, the largest refugee wave since the Second World War.⁹³ The legal base for repatriation was set in Annex VII of Dayton Agreement which declared the right of the displaced persons to return to their pre-war homes, while the implementation was left to the government.⁹⁴ However, sustainable return of many refugees was hindered due to territorial rearrangements along the new ethnic lines, which contributed to the homogenization of the entities. More specifically, “minority returns”, i.e. returns to areas where the respective ethnicity does not form the majority, represented a significant problem in fulfilling the goals of Annex VII. Minority returnees, who began to come back from abroad in higher numbers only after 1998, faced various forms of socio-economic ostracism from the local authorities in their means of reclaiming their pre-war properties, accessing the labour market, education and welfare services. This effectively prevented

⁸⁸ OSCE, “Dayton Peace Agreement” (1995), <https://www.osce.org/bih/126173> (accessed 27/11/19).

⁸⁹ See maps of ethnic composition before (1991) and after the war (1998): OHR, “Bosnia and Herzegovina: Ethnic composition”, <https://reliefweb.int/organization/ohr> (accessed 19/10/2019).

⁹⁰ For example, each of the three presidents of BiH represents either Bosniaks, Croats or Serbs. House of peoples comprises of 5 Bosniaks, 5 Croats and 5 Serbs. Both entities, FBiH and RS, have significant autonomy.

⁹¹ Namely Serbia and Croatia, together with Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Sweden. Mario Nenadić et al., “Uporedna analiza pristupa pravima izbjeglica i raseljenih osoba”, Ministarstvo za ljudska prava i izbjeglice Bosne i Hercegovine (2005), <http://fmroi.gov.ba/bosanski/1.%20Uporedna%20analiza%20o%20pravima%20pristupa%20izbjeglica%20i%20raseljenih%20osoba.pdf> (accessed 30/12/19), 48.

⁹² Internally displaced persons, or IDPs, are refugees who were forced to leave their homes within the country’s borders. Emina Ćosić and Aldina Džebo, “Brain Gain or Brain Waste: BiH Diaspora and Development” in *Brain gain policies and practices in the Western Balkans*, Pavlov, ed., 57; *ibid.*, 45.

⁹³ *Ibid.*; Porobić, “Daring ‘life-return projects’ to post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina”, 194.

⁹⁴ OSCE, “Dayton Peace Agreement”.

them from a long-term settlement and resulted in repeated migration.⁹⁵ As a result, although the repatriation had been in the centre of interest of both the host countries' governments and international organizations,⁹⁶ by the year 2005 only 40% of the total number of refugees had returned from abroad.⁹⁷ By 2008, the number of returnees hardly reached half of total refugee rate.⁹⁸ Most of them settled in the traditionally immigrant-open host countries (such as Canada, Australia, US, Denmark and Sweden) and former Yugoslav states, while the highest number of repatriates came from the countries that actively pursued restrictive migration policies (Germany, Switzerland).⁹⁹

In the second half of 1990s, another emigration wave appeared as a reaction to the continuing economic decline in the region.¹⁰⁰ The war left BiH with destroyed infrastructure, leaving virtually no basis for economic production, while the subsequent lack of employment options and high poverty rates further motivated young and highly qualified people to emigrate. Additionally, the poor post-war economic development discouraged the returnees from staying in BiH.¹⁰¹ Transition from the socialist towards the market economy was rooted in the Dayton Peace Agreement and the Washington Consensus,¹⁰² which handed the key macroeconomic reforms to the international community, with the rest of the economic issues belonging to the agenda of the ethnically-divided entity governments.¹⁰³ The problematic transformation stemmed from a lack of

⁹⁵ Ondřej Žíla, *'Jedna Si Jedina Moja Domovina?': Etno-demografické proměny Bosny a Hercegoviny v letech 1945-2013* (Praha: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, 2014), 193, 347; Porobić, "Daring 'life-return projects' to post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina", 196; Erin K. Jenne, "Barriers to Reintegration after Ethnic Civil Wars: Lessons from Minority Returns and Restitution in the Balkans", *Civil Wars* 12, 4 (2011), 379.

⁹⁶ The most active international organizations providing for assistance with returns were UNHCR and IOM.

⁹⁷ During the period of 1996-2005, 480 thousand of people were repatriated to BiH. Miloš Fňukal and Michal Šrubař, "Nucené migrace vyvolané rozpadem Jugoslávie a jejich dopad na migrační politiku vybraných evropských zemí (1991-2006)", *Slovanské historické studie* 33 (2008), 142-143.

⁹⁸ Jenne, "Barriers to Reintegration after Ethnic Civil Wars", 380.

⁹⁹ Fňukal and Šrubař, "Nucené migrace vyvolané rozpadem Jugoslávie a jejich dopad na migrační politiku vybraných evropských zemí (1991-2006)", 143.

¹⁰⁰ Vracic, "The Way Back: Brain Drain and Prosperity in the Western Balkans".

¹⁰¹ Čosić and Džebo, "Brain Gain or Brain Waste", 57; de Koning, "Return Migration to Bosnia and Herzegovina", 1-6; Maida Fetahagić et al., "Social Inclusion in Bosnia and Herzegovina", UNDP, National Human Development Report (2007), 70.

¹⁰² Washington Consensus was a neoliberal doctrine applied to the post-socialist economies. Sanja Alatović, "Washington Consensus and Bosnia and Herzegovina", paper presented to conference entitled International Conference of the Faculty of Economics, University of Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina (2010), <http://connection.ebscohost.com/c/articles/79299883/washington-consensus-bosnia-herzegovina> (accessed 20/12/19).

¹⁰³ According to the Dayton Agreement, apart from introduction of the position of the High Representative, basic economic institutions were to be governed by the foreign authorities: the first governor of Central Bank of BiH was to be a citizen of a foreign country, while the monetary and currency board were to be led by

operational finance to rebuild the infrastructure, foreign take-over of productive assets, corrupt privatisation and separated markets which prevent the additional reforms to come into existence appeared as the crucial obstacles to the successful economic reconstruction: ten years after the war, the GDP in BiH was barely half the average level of the other European economies.¹⁰⁴ Failed transition subsequently caused a deep social crisis, popular disillusionment with economic and political peace process and, essentially, brain drain.¹⁰⁵

Although the brain drain statistics are non-existent until the present day, The World Bank estimates that the emigration rate of tertiary-educated population was 23,9% in 2000.¹⁰⁶ Other sources reported that by the end of 1998, only 7% of Bosnian students had returned,¹⁰⁷ and until the year 2004, 79% of research engineers, 81% holders of Master's degrees in science and 75% of PhD holders had left the country.¹⁰⁸ This shows that despite that there is a significant gap in the general data of high-skilled emigration for this period, it may be said that brain drain goes hand in hand with the economic emigration which re-emerged during the years of the post-war reconstruction.

3.2 Contemporary Trends and Future Outlook of Highly Skilled Migration

The concerns about the issue of human capital flight appear to grow dramatically. While the numbers of returning refugees dropped in 2005,¹⁰⁹ additional outflow of

International Monetary Fund (IMF). The head of the Commission on Public Corporations, which was in charge of the public-sector enterprises privatisation, was the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). Michel Chossudovsky, "Dismantling former Yugoslavia, recolonising Bosnia", *Development in Practice* 7, 4 (1997), 375-383.

¹⁰⁴ Michael Pugh, "Transformation in the political economy of Bosnia since Dayton", *International Peacekeeping* 12, 3 (2005), 448-462.

¹⁰⁵ Timothy Donais, *The Political Economy of Peacebuilding in Post-Dayton Bosnia* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2005).

¹⁰⁶ World Bank, "Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011", 2nd edition (2011), <https://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLAC/Resources/Factbook2011-Ebook.pdf> (accessed 30/12/19), 77.

¹⁰⁷ Božidar Matić, Statement at the meeting of the Inter-Academy Council for South-Eastern Europe (Podgorica: Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2004).

¹⁰⁸ Federation of Bosnia & Herzegovina, Federal Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport (2000), Education in the Federation of Bosnia & Herzegovina, Sarajevo; cited in Milica Uvalic, "Science, Technology and Economic Development in South Eastern Europe", UNESCO, Science policy series 1 (2005), 32-33.

¹⁰⁹ The only indicators for international refugee returns available comprise of the NGOs' and international organisations' independent research based on various combined data. According to UNHCR, which has recorded the *organised* international refugee returns in the period after 1996, the average number of yearly returnees until 2004 was approximately 53 thousand, with the peak years being 1997, 1998 and 2002. Between 2005-2015, the number fell to roughly 870 returnees per year, with a steady decline since the year

economically-motivated people continued to shape the demographical changes in BiH. The official sources admit that the statistics are lacking and that the only relevant measurable indicator is the residence deregistration.¹¹⁰ Since 2010,¹¹¹ the number of deregistered citizens has been fluctuating between 3 and 4.5 thousand per year.¹¹² Another indicator is the citizenship renunciation: The Ministry of Civil Affairs of BiH stated that between 1998-2012 more than 70 thousand people gave up on their Bosnian citizenship.¹¹³ The reliance upon accessible variables is, however, insufficient and causes discrepancies in various estimates.¹¹⁴ Several international organizations dispose of their own data on emigration: according to the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) scholars, the overall emigration rate in the years following the turn of the century remained substantially high, with approximately 20% of people leaving each year.¹¹⁵ The World Bank assesses the recent emigration net flow as high as 44.5%, which positions BiH to the 16th place in the global ranking.¹¹⁶ The latest report by IOM brought even more dramatic results, placing BiH to the tenth position by emigration in the world and first one in Europe.¹¹⁷ Governmental officials estimate that at least 56.5% Bosnian nationals live abroad.¹¹⁸ In any case, the broad depopulation trend is obvious.

The lack of statistics makes it difficult to determine the exact level of brain drain, i.e. the share of highly skilled migrants in the total emigration. However, a study conducted on countries with the largest diasporas from BiH claims that since the 1990s, the

2010. The last available figure indicates only five returnees in 2016. UNHCR, “UNHCR Population Statistics – Data – Overview”.

¹¹⁰ Ministarstvo sigurnosti BiH, “Migracioni profil Bosne i Hercegovine za 2018. godinu” (2019), <http://msb.gov.ba/PDF/010720191.pdf> (accessed 24/10/19), 70-71.

¹¹¹ The deregistrations have only been measured since the year 2010. Ministarstvo sigurnosti BiH, “Migracioni profil Bosne i Hercegovine za 2012. godinu” (2013), http://msb.gov.ba/PDF/Migracioni_profil_2012_BOSa.pdf (accessed 24/10/19), 64.

¹¹² Ibid.; *Migracioni profil Bosne i Hercegovine za 2018. godinu*, 71.

¹¹³ klix.ba, “Do danas 71.321 osoba se odrekla bh. državljanstva, najviše zbog sticanja njemačkog”, <https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/do-danas-71-321-osoba-se-odrekla-bh-drzavljanstva-najvise-zbog-sticanja-njemackog/160807028> (accessed 20/12/19).

¹¹⁴ For example, in 2001 Croatian census, 457 thousand people claimed their BiH nationality, although only 7 thousand held BiH citizenship. These statistical inaccuracies are largely a result of the movements of people caused by war. Kupiszewski et al., “Labour migration patterns, policies and migration propensity in the Western Balkans”, 54.

¹¹⁵ In 2000, 2005 and 2010 the emigration rate in BiH was 21.45%, 19.94% and 19.65%. Abdeslam Marfouk, Herbert Brücker and Stella Capuano, “Education, gender and international migration: insights from a panel-dataset 1980-2010” (2013), <https://www.iab.de/en/daten/iab-brain-drain-data.aspx> (accessed 22/10/19).

¹¹⁶ World Bank, “Migration and Remittances Factbook 2016”, 3rd edition (2016), <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/23743/9781464803192.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y> (accessed 30/12/19), 20.

¹¹⁷ IOM, “World Migration Report 2020”.

¹¹⁸ *Migracioni profil Bosne i Hercegovine za 2018. godinu*, 67.

percentage of highly skilled individuals residing abroad raised from 22.35% up to more than 43% in 2010.¹¹⁹ In addition, the American analytics company Gallup evaluated that the potential brain drain from BiH, i.e. the percentage of the highly skilled population considering leaving, reaches 40%, which is the tenth worst result in the world.¹²⁰ This deeply entrenched and continuously growing problem also receives extensive media coverage in BiH.¹²¹

The repeatedly mentioned reasons for emigration from BiH tend to be the worsening socio-economic and political situation, and consequentially the unsatisfying standard of living.¹²² BiH is currently classified as the least competitive state in the region with a highly decentralized transitional economy, slow economic growth and significant dependency upon remittances and foreign aid.¹²³ The average level of unemployment between the years 2007 and 2019 was as high as 41.59%.¹²⁴ The unfavourable situation is reflected in the recent surveys of highly qualified Bosnians and Herzegovinians: in 2015, the main economic challenges in the country were defined as integration in the labour market (having a job, but also fighting corruption and nepotism in the working environment) and investment in research and education (including the difficulties with

¹¹⁹ The study borrowed the data gathered by OECD countries. However, during the period of research for this study, the original source including the data on low, medium and highly skilled emigration was inaccessible due to the OECD's changes in methodology (as stated on the original website). Halilovich et al., *Mapping the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Diaspora*, 210.

¹²⁰ Gallup, "Potential Net Migration Index".

¹²¹ For example, the journals *Al Jazeera Balkans* and *N1* reported that more than 300 physicians left the country in 2016. The media usually use the sources which were mentioned in the previous subchapter, such as the data provided by UNESCO. Ivan Pavković, "Odlasci ljekara: BiH godišnje gubi 50 miliona eura", *Al Jazeera Balkans* (2018), http://balkans.aljazeera.net/video/odlasci-ljekara-bih-godisnje-gubi-50-miliona-eura?qt-view_programs_programs_mega_menu_panel_pane=0&page=1 (accessed 24/10/19); Adisa Imamović, "Zastrašujući podaci: Stotine ljekara otišlo iz FBiH 2016", *TVN1* (2017), <http://ba.n1info.com/Vijesti/a132717/Zastrasujuci-podaci-Stotine-ljekara-otislo-iz-FBiH-2016.html> (accessed 24/10/19); Midhat Dedić, "Kako se boriti protiv 'odliva mozgova' iz BiH", *Al Jazeera Balkans* (2019), <http://balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/kako-se-boriti-protiv-odliva-mozgova-iz-bih> (accessed 16/12/19).

¹²² Vracic, "The Way Back: Brain Drain and Prosperity in the Western Balkans".

¹²³ The economy policies are segmented and differ according to the respective entities, which hinders successful transition towards the market economy. The economic growth in 2017 was estimated 3%, with the 2004-2019 average being 1.9%. CIA, "The World Factbook: Bosnia and Herzegovina", https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/print_bk.html (accessed 24/10/19); Trading Economics, "Bosnia and Herzegovina GDP Annual Growth Rate", <https://tradingeconomics.com/bosnia-and-herzegovina/gdp-growth-annual> (accessed 24/10/19).

¹²⁴ Trading Economics, "Bosnia and Herzegovina Unemployment Rate", <https://tradingeconomics.com/bosnia-and-herzegovina/unemployment-rate> (accessed 28/11/19).

diploma recognition process).¹²⁵ Besides corruption, dysfunctional and divided system of diploma recognition were considered the major issues.¹²⁶

Current political situation in BiH, largely predestined by the formal ethnic division,¹²⁷ adds to the overall pessimism in the society. The territorial ethnic distribution supports the political trend of divided politics following differing interests, as the main parties are meant to be representatives of the respective ethnicities, which results in a long-term status quo frozen within ethnically-focused political issues.¹²⁸ The authorities continuously fail to tackle social and political issues related to discrimination of minorities, accountability for war crimes, media freedom, and LGBT rights.¹²⁹ This generally discouraging environment serves as another argument against staying in the country where the citizens' interests do not correspond to the ones proclaimed by the ethnically-divided political party representatives.¹³⁰ As a result, together with the unsatisfying economic progress, these differing policies only cast shade on the civil-state future of BiH, which might further speed up the depopulation of the country.¹³¹

Even though it had been previously emphasized that BiH suffers from significant gaps in terms of statistics, some supporting evidence for the existence of a return migration stream, although most likely marginal, exists. Thanks to its programme devoted to returning migrants, IOM has been collecting data on the people who decided to come back

¹²⁵ As identified by highly qualified Bosnians and Herzegovinians at the time. Ivanova, "The return migration of highly-qualified workers in Bulgaria and in Bosnia and Herzegovina", 107-110.

¹²⁶ Halilovich et al., *Mapping the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Diaspora*; Yevgeny Kuznetsov, ed., "Diaspora Networks and the International Migration of Skills: How Countries Can Draw on Their Talent Abroad", World Bank (2006), <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/465841468313860840/Diaspora-networks-and-the-international-migration-of-skills-how-countries-can-draw-on-their-talent-abroad> (accessed 28/11/19); Pavlov, ed., *Brain gain policies and practices in the Western Balkans*.

¹²⁷ The society remains ethnically divided into predominantly Bosniak-Bosnian Croat entity of FBiH and mainly Bosnian-Serb RS. According to the recent estimations, FBiH approximately consists of 75-80% Bosniaks, 20-21% Croats and 3-4% Serbs, while RS is comprised of 89% Serbs, 9% Bosniaks and 1-2% Croats. Žila, 'Jedna Si Jedina Moja Domovina?', 344-347.

¹²⁸ Due to the political discrepancy, for example, the issue of NATO accession has been hampered for more than 10 years.

¹²⁹ Human Rights Watch, "World Report 2017: Bosnia and Herzegovina", <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/bosnia-and-herzegovina> (accessed 25/10/19).

¹³⁰ For example, highly qualified respondents in Ivanova's study listed "living together in a society without hatred", "overcoming the legacy of war", system deformation or unfitness of the people running the country among the greatest problems in BiH. Ivanova, "The return migration of highly-qualified workers in Bulgaria and in Bosnia and Herzegovina", 107-108.

¹³¹ The situation is similar in neighbouring Croatia. The daily index.hr published results from a 2013 survey which stated that the most common triggers of emigration are corruption, primitivism, religious chauvinism, and nationalism. index.hr, "Zašto ljudi bježe iz Hrvatske? Zbog vjerske zadrnosti, korupcije i uhljeba" (2018), <https://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/zasto-ljudi-odlaze-iz-hrvatske-zbog-vjerske-zadrnosti-korupcije-i-uhljeba/1018200.aspx> (accessed 27/11/19).

to live in their home countries. According to the organization, between 2013-2018 7,255 Bosnian citizens made use of the assisted return.¹³² The governmental data drawing on IOM's monitoring mentions slightly different number, stating that during the years 2009-2018 1,573 Bosnians came back in the assisted manner.¹³³ Additional problems in data evaluation represents the absence of records of the duration of stays, i.e. whether the returns were of a long-term or short-term nature.¹³⁴ As a result, the level of general return of people is essentially impossible to evaluate in concrete numbers, which further makes the assessment of the "brain regain" unattainable at present.¹³⁵

Given the ongoing massive depopulation, the question arises as to whether there is any potential of some sort of a long-term return migration in the future. A recent study which mapped Bosnian diaspora stated that out of 519 respondents who answered the question whether they plan to return to BiH permanently, 58% stated that it was difficult to say, 17% that they may return for retirement and 16% that they plan on never returning.¹³⁶ These unclear results reflect the state of art which remains under researched and needs to be amended in order to gain a correct insight in the issue.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, they suggest that the first potential-returnee category might refer to the people of retiring age. The same group of authors identified a second group of potential returnees: young circular migrants, i.e. students returning from their studies abroad.¹³⁸ Partial evidence suggesting this type of migration is based on recent data from Austria. In 2016, among 20 thousand foreign students 4.1% were Bosnian, and a total of 448 graduated. Besides, in the preceding year, out of 877 people applying for the recognition of foreign education, 157 held Bosnian

¹³² IOM, "Return and Reintegration Key Highlights 2018", https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/our_work/DMM/AVRR/2018_return_and_reintegration_key_highlights.pdf (accessed 25/10/19), 79.

¹³³ *Migracioni profil Bosne i Hercegovine za 2018. godinu*, 44.

¹³⁴ Although IOM continues to offer assistance after the return and, in some cases, monitors the reintegration success, the length of stay in the home country is not currently measured. The only programmes which included monitoring of the length of stay were temporary returns of qualified nationals. IOM, "Assisted Voluntary Return for Vulnerable Cases to BiH and to Serbia and Montenegro Including Kosovo", <http://www.iom.ba/AVR-1.html> (accessed 27/11/19); IOM, "Temporary Return of Qualified Nationals", <http://www.iom.ba/TRQN.html> (accessed 27/11/19).

¹³⁵ The term *brain regain*, which European Committee of the Regions defined as "a region's reacquisition of the same high skills and/or competencies (workers/students) previously lost due to emigration which was supposed to be permanent," was introduced only recently and has not been widely used yet. However, it is a certain indication of the complex reality of this type of migration, whose terminology needs to be reassessed. European Committee of the Regions, "Addressing brain drain", 6.

¹³⁶ Halilovich et al., *Mapping the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Diaspora*, 63.

¹³⁷ See chapter 1.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 5, 81.

citizenship.¹³⁹ These returning migrants were also examined by Božić who interviewed 148 of them, claiming that usually they aim for postgraduate degrees.¹⁴⁰ The third potential type of returnees are naturalized refugees, i.e. those who successfully settled in host countries and decided to come back to BiH. Porobić's interviews with 27 respondents outlined that the number of former refugees returning in a self-organized way after many years abroad is on rise, although there is no supporting data on this phenomenon. Nevertheless, the returning naturalized refugees very often possess higher than average education levels, potentially contributing to the proportion of highly skilled returnees to BiH in general.¹⁴¹

In conclusion of this subchapter, the contemporary migration profile of BiH suggests that there are various issues related to movements of people that need to be examined in detail. Despite the grim statistics about massive outflow of people, it is possible to identify highly skilled returnees among the outlined types of migrants, which could possibly contribute to the country's future development and sustainable peace if not halt the brain drain process. Nevertheless, the approach of the respective governmental authorities remains crucial for how these potentials might be researched, explored and eventually utilized so as to contribute to a meaningful course of BiH in the future.

3.3 Policies on Return of Highly Skilled Migrants

In the contemporary world of globalization and its streams, highly skilled labourers are wanted primarily in the developed countries striving to attract them. The potentials of educated foreign workers have been widely recognized in developed countries such as the US, Korea, India or China.¹⁴² At the same time, various policy responses targeting highly skilled migrants have been evolved specifically for the developing countries, among which BiH may be included.¹⁴³ However, as a result of years of differing experience with attempts to control skilled migration flows, the accepted hypothesis is that due to varying

¹³⁹ Ibid., 96.

¹⁴⁰ Aleksandar Božić, "International Mobility and Knowledge Flow: Experiences of Young Experts Upon Return to BiH Following Completion of Postgraduate Studies Abroad" in *Migration in the Function of Development*, MHRR BiH.

¹⁴¹ Porobić, "Daring 'life-return projects' to post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina", 198-200.

¹⁴² Schroth and Stojanov, "Brain drain / Brain gain / Brain circulation", 76-79.

¹⁴³ Findlay and Lowell, "Migration of highly skilled persons from developing countries".

historical and cultural issues related to migration, policies need to be tailored to specific countries.¹⁴⁴

Following the recognition of the potential of highly skilled people by academic researchers,¹⁴⁵ some of the Western Balkan countries have tried to introduce some measures, both to attract brain gain and prevent brain drain. Within the region, only Albania has officially implemented its Brain Gain Programme involving a range of mechanisms, such as financial benefits for tertiary educated returnees or creation of new positions on the job market. The results, however, reflected the lack of experience with such policies and brought only marginal success.¹⁴⁶

In Albania, international organizations have been in the core of advising strategies oriented towards attraction of highly skilled returnees. Simultaneously, in case of BiH, intergovernmental institutions played a central role in the initial phase of the attempts for such policies. The programmes introduced by UN, IOM, UNDP and other organizations throughout the period of 2002-2011 focused on the temporary rather than long-term return of expatriate highly qualified nationals, with the maximum financially supported return being 3 months.¹⁴⁷ Nevertheless, when the ongoing projects were to be transferred to the state institutions, these initiatives were halted. Bosnian researchers Ćosić and Džebo claim that the failure of continuation of such programmes stemmed from the lack of interest from the BiH government.¹⁴⁸ Correspondingly, Karabegović and Hasić stated that in the previous years, BiH has “repeatedly neglected diaspora voices for a stronger connection”.¹⁴⁹ Thus, the issue of return of highly skilled migrants was on the margins of political interest.

Contrary to the scant engagement of the state, the effort to bring back highly qualified nationals to BiH was much more promoted by diaspora NGOs, embassies and foreign educational institutions. For example, in 2010 the organization Naša Perspektiva (Our Perspective) was established to unite highly skilled returnees. Similarly, the Italian

¹⁴⁴ Sami Mahroum, “The international policies of brain gain: A review”, *Technology Analysis & Strategic Management* 17, 2 (2005), 219-230.

¹⁴⁵ See for example Vedran Horvat, “Brain Drain. Threat to Successful Transition in South East Europe?”, *Southeast European Politics* 5, 1 (2004), 76-93.

¹⁴⁶ Pavlov, ed., *Brain gain policies and practices in the Western Balkans*.

¹⁴⁷ Ćosić and Džebo, “Brain Gain or Brain Waste”, 62-64.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Karabegović and Hasić, “Foreign Policy Relations with Diaspora”, 224.

embassy initiated a handbook for returnees.¹⁵⁰ The educational institutions such as the American University in BiH, International University of Sarajevo or Sarajevo School of Science and Technology attract not only foreign highly skilled workers, but also offer positions to the Bosnian returnees.¹⁵¹

Both in BiH and abroad, various policy advisors have developed strategies addressing the key problems hindering the sustainable return of highly qualified migrants. The approaches differ according to the identified obstacles which are deemed the most crucial in authors' perspectives: most of them support the creation of a functional system of diploma recognition,¹⁵² others prioritize higher investments in the science sector, temporary financial support after return or easing of the access to retaining dual citizenship.¹⁵³ The vast majority of non-governmental authors, nevertheless, agree on the fact that the current critical emigration rate is conditioned by general negative working culture, faulty system, nepotism and lack of support of the public institutions.¹⁵⁴

Even though a number of studies suggested possible ways how to develop effective brain gain policies, the application of these policies depends on the government. In BiH, an official brain gain strategy is absent.¹⁵⁵ In 2013, Ćosić and Džebo pointed out that there was no domestic programme aiming at return, circulation or transfer of knowledge of the BiH diaspora.¹⁵⁶ A number of strategies and action plans have been developed, but never came to existence.¹⁵⁷ Now, six years later, cooperation with the diaspora is still in its initial phase.¹⁵⁸ The recent increase in diaspora activities of the Ministry of Human Rights and

¹⁵⁰ MHRR BiH, "Priručnik za povratnike",

<http://www.mhrr.gov.ba/iseljenistvo/Publikacije/Prirucnik%20za%20povratnike.pdf> (accessed 30/10/19).

¹⁵¹ Emina Ćosić and Boriša Mraović, "One Option for the Human Capital in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Return of HQ" in *Return of highly qualified migrants to the Western Balkans*, Pavlov, ed., 31-54.

¹⁵² Kuznetsov, ed., "Diaspora Networks and the International Migration of Skills"; Halilovich et al., *Mapping the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Diaspora*.

¹⁵³ Pavlov, ed., *Brain gain policies and practices in the Western Balkans*; Ivanova, "The return migration of highly-qualified workers in Bulgaria and in Bosnia and Herzegovina".

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.; Vracic, "The Way Back: Brain Drain and Prosperity in the Western Balkans".

¹⁵⁵ Generally, foreign policy goals in BiH are not explicitly defined. In the pursue of identifying certain directions of BiH diplomacy, it is necessary to examine an extensive site of unofficial relations between public institutions on several levels. Jasmin Hasić and Dženeta Karabegović, eds., *Bosnia and Herzegovina's Foreign Policy Since Independence* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

¹⁵⁶ Ćosić and Džebo, "Brain Gain or Brain Waste", 63.

¹⁵⁷ For example, on the entity level, Development Strategy of Federation of BiH 2010-2020 which included the priority of returning the BiH nationals has never been implemented. Similarly, the 2009 Law on Cooperation between BiH and its diaspora was drafted but never adopted. FBiH, "Strategija razvoja Federacije BiH 2010.-2020." (2010),

<http://fmks.gov.ba/stara/kultura/legislativa/strategije/StrategijarazvojaFBiH2010-2020.pdf> (accessed 20/12/19); Karabegović and Hasić, "Foreign Policy Relations with Diaspora", 218.

¹⁵⁸ Karabegović and Hasić, "Foreign Policy Relations with Diaspora", 209-231.

Refugees (MHRR) in cooperation with foreign organizations, though, suggest that the issue of highly skilled migrants could be receiving more attention.

The main initiatives have been created on the national level.¹⁵⁹ A joint project of the MHRR, UNDP and Switzerland called Diaspora for Development (D4D), among other activities, calls for a migrant return in general.¹⁶⁰ The official Policy on Cooperation with Diaspora, adopted in 2017 and reasserted in the Foreign Policy Strategy a year later,¹⁶¹ set diaspora as the foreign policy priority. It presented two practical ways how to attract the return of BiH nationals from abroad: issuing materials promoting the successful returns and an address book of returnees.¹⁶² Subsequently, MHRR has been publishing the “success stories” of the highly skilled returnees in BiH on their website.¹⁶³ Additional practices are yet to be introduced: until the year 2020, fifty returns should be initiated, but the way how to reach this number of returnees has not been specified. Return of Bosnian professionals should be facilitated with the help of MHRR which encourages the returnees to contact them in order to receive useful contacts for relevant institutions, such as academic or other research centres.¹⁶⁴ Besides this main shift on the national level, minor projects involving diaspora regularly take place on the cantonal level.¹⁶⁵ Finally, on the level of municipalities, a returnee may contact a coordinator who should provide additional support in the reintegration.¹⁶⁶

In practice, long-term return of the highly skilled migrants appears to be hardly the first priority issue. Although the official diaspora engagement is clearly coming to

¹⁵⁹ There are four levels on which official projects may be initiated: national, entity, cantonal and municipality. It is advised to unify the policies of all levels in the form of an agency, which should be established in the near future. Interview with the MHRR representative, 26/07/19.

¹⁶⁰ There are no specifications related to whether the programme is targeted on returning specific types of migrants from different emigration waves. UNDP, “Mainstreaming the Concept on Migration and Development into Relevant Policies, Plans and Actions in BiH: Diaspora for Development (D4D)” (2016), https://www.ba.undp.org/content/bosnia_and_herzegovina/en/home/operations/projects/poverty_reduction/migration-and-development1.html (accessed 30/10/19).

¹⁶¹ The Presidency of BiH, “The Foreign Policy Strategy of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2018-2023” (2018), <http://www.predsjednistvobih.ba/vanj/default.aspx?id=79555&langTag=en-US> (accessed 21/12/19).

¹⁶² MHRR BiH, “Policy on Cooperation with Diaspora” (2017), <http://www.mhrr.gov.ba/iseljenistvo/Dokumenti/PolitikaE%20final1.pdf> (accessed 31/10/19), 21-24.

¹⁶³ MHRR BiH, “Uspješne priče Archives - Interaktivni portal za Dijaspору iz BiH”, <https://dijaspora.mhrr.gov.ba/category/uspjesne-price/> (accessed 31/10/19).

¹⁶⁴ Interview with the MHRR representative, 26/07/19.

¹⁶⁵ For example, “Diaspora Days” in Lopare, a town located in Republika srpska, have been held annually since 2011. seerural.org, “Organized Domestic Products and Household Work Fair within the manifestation ‘Diaspora Days’, 28th July, 2019, Lopare, Bosnia & Herzegovina”, <http://seerural.org/news/organized-domestic-products-and-household-work-fair-within-the-manifestation-diaspora-days-28th-july-2019-lopare-bosnia-herzegovina/> (accessed 31/10/19).

¹⁶⁶ Interview with the MHRR representative, 26/07/19.

existence, currently the management of the European migrant crisis is likely to receive the most attention as an alarming issue threatening the country's stability.¹⁶⁷ In terms of return of BiH nationals, based on the interview with an MHRR representative, more focus is given to unresolved refugee returns rather than highly skilled migrants. Moreover, current view of the state institutions, building upon the results brought by the recent study on diaspora,¹⁶⁸ is that the long-term return is considered rather unattainable. Reportedly, the major problems behind this are complicated citizenship reacquisitions and unfinished property restitutions.¹⁶⁹ The problematic reacquisition of the lost citizenship stems from the legal restrictions, which limited dual citizenship only to the countries having a bilateral agreement with BiH.¹⁷⁰ This was removed from the law only in 2016 after the court decided of its unconstitutionality.¹⁷¹

It is crucial to emphasize at this point that the brain gain initiatives in BiH constitute only a part of the present-day political tools designed to influence the locational decisions of qualified people. Even if the policies on return of highly skilled nationals to BiH were sufficiently developed, prioritized and put into practice, it is necessary to take the external policies into account. Foremost, BiH entering the European Union and its inherent open-border policy of Schengen zone would most probably result in a massive outflow of workers.¹⁷² The liberalisation of visa regime in 2010, easing the conditions for BiH workers in the EU member states, had already sparked the outflow of people: in 2018, more than 50 thousand BiH nationals left the country for the EU.¹⁷³ The contemporary

¹⁶⁷ European Commission, "Analytical Report: Commission Opinion on Bosnia and Herzegovina's application for membership of the European Union" (2019), <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20190529-bosnia-and-herzegovina-analytical-report.pdf> (accessed 26/12/19); Ivanova, "The return migration of highly-qualified workers in Bulgaria and in Bosnia and Herzegovina", 103-110.

¹⁶⁸ Halilovich et al., *Mapping the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Diaspora*.

¹⁶⁹ Although the majority of the property has been given back to their owners, there are still some refugees, especially in the US, who do not have a place to return to. *Ibid.*, 201; Interview with the MHRR representative, 26/07/19.

¹⁷⁰ As of 2019, the only bilateral agreements have been signed with Croatia, Serbia and Sweden.

¹⁷¹ Micinski and Hasić, "Dual citizenship and youth identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina".

¹⁷² Again, Croatia serves as a convenient example. Since entering the EU in 2013, at least tens of thousands of Croatians have deregistered from the country of 4.3 million people, while additional estimations claim that this number is significantly higher. Anja Vladislavjevic, "One-Way Ticket: Croatia's Growing Emigration Crisis", *Balkan Insight* (2019), <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/01/08/one-way-ticket-croatia-s-growing-emigration-crisis-12-21-2018/> (accessed 27/11/19).

¹⁷³ Sarajevo Times, "53,500 Nationals of Bosnia and Herzegovina left their Country for the EU!" (2019), <https://www.sarajevotimes.com/53500-nationals-of-bosnia-and-herzegovina-left-their-country-for-the-eu/> (accessed 21/12/19); Karabegović and Hasić, "Foreign Policy Relations with Diaspora".

state of the country's member negotiations with the EU is, nevertheless, far from promising, and the admission process is likely to take many years before it is settled.¹⁷⁴

Second, emigration of workers is likely to be influenced by policies of individual countries. So far, Slovenia and Croatia have been recruiting mainly low-skilled Bosnian workers,¹⁷⁵ but the upcoming German law on foreign labour, aiming at highly skilled workers, could represent a greater difficulty. The new immigration act which should come into effect in 2020 facilitates the employment of the foreign skilled incomers.¹⁷⁶ Given the fact that BiH has long been connected to Germany in terms of migration,¹⁷⁷ this law will presumably trigger further highly skilled emigration to this country.

Overall, the official policy scheme on return of the highly skilled migrants, which has not been put into practice yet, remains in the initial phase. Pushing the issue to the side-lines together with the unfavourable socio-political and economic situation in BiH leads to an uneasy environment for the potential returnees. It is important to note, though, that while especially the countries of Asian region support further research on this topic and subsequently formulate relevant policies to utilize the potential of educated diaspora, the current state of affairs in BiH is not unusual for the European environment. The return of highly skilled migrants is often deemed secondary to the European migrant crisis and the refugee return in general. Furthermore, the broader European political context suggests that attempts to return highly skilled nationals to BiH will be notably limited by the labour-attracting policies of more developed countries.

¹⁷⁴ European Western Balkans, "No EU candidate status for Bosnia and Herzegovina without government formation" (2019), <https://europeanwesternbalkans.com/2019/01/22/no-eu-candidate-status-bosnia-herzegovina-without-government-formation/> (accessed 27/11/19).

¹⁷⁵ Tim Judah, "Bosnia powerless to halt demographic decline", *Balkan Insight* (2019), <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/11/21/bosnia-powerless-to-halt-demographic-decline/> (accessed 26/12/19).

¹⁷⁶ One of the major amendments is that if the company seeks for a skilled worker, the German nationals will no longer be preferred. Tanja Zech, "The Skilled Labour Immigration Act: working in Germany", *deutschland.de*, <https://www.deutschland.de/en/topic/business/the-skilled-labour-immigration-act-working-in-germany> (accessed 27/11/19).

¹⁷⁷ Germany was the most popular country for Yugoslav gastarbeiters already in 1960s. See chapter 4.1.

4. Results: Return Decisions of Highly Skilled Migrants in Bosnia and Herzegovina

This chapter includes analysis of the interviews with 33 highly skilled returnees to BiH on the basis of classification of life phases, triggers leading to migration and primary reasons to return of each individual. Following the model of Ruth Achenbach, a qualitative analysis was used to identify the key influential factors of each category: stages of life in which the respondent found themselves at the moment of return, life events or incentives which instigated the consideration of return, and the most essential component of the return decision-making process, i.e. primary reasons for return. Furthermore, the results were analysed quantitatively in order to cover the mostly repeated patterns of return decisions.

4.1 Life Phase

It is hypothesized that over the life course, the individual preferences from the spheres of career, family and lifestyle tend to change significantly. Certain priorities are typical for specific age groups. Categorizing the agents into career- and family-related groups should be useful to identify their primary motivations, because intentions directly influence mobility behaviour.¹⁷⁸ For example, a graduate from a foreign university would aim to use the gained skills on the labour market in the country of origin, whereas family and lifestyle factors will play a more decisive role in the lives of people established in their working lives.¹⁷⁹ Similarly, a migrant in the family phase is more likely to prioritize children's needs than migrants in different life phases.¹⁸⁰ Therefore, the hypothesis for the career-related life phase is that career is decisive for students and young workers. As for the family-related life phase, two hypotheses are set: participants in the family phase will refer more often to family factors as decisive for the return, whereas young adults will prefer the factors falling into the career category.

Career-related Life Phase

The following table shows the correlations between the two career-related categories of respondents and the reasons for return they designated as decisive:

¹⁷⁸ Achenbach, *Return Migration Decisions*, 62.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 251.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 246.

Table 4 Decisive Factors for Return by Career-related Life Phase

	students/young workers (n=6)		established in working lives (n=27)	
	n	percentage	n	percentage
career	1	17%	4	15%
family	2	33%	3	11%
lifestyle	1	17%	4	15%
career and family	-	-	4	15%
career and lifestyle	-	-	1	4%
career, family and lifestyle	2	33%	8	30%
other ¹⁸¹	-	-	3	11%
career as a component	3	50%	17	63%
family as a component	4	67%	15	56%
lifestyle as a component	3	50%	13	48%

Although the number of interviewed young agents compared to the ones who are established in their working lives is considerably low (only 18%, n=6 out of the total number of respondents) so the distinctions between the two groups are not proportionate, it is clear that the career factors are not the sole decisive reasons for their return. On the contrary, the combination of career, family and lifestyle preferences together with primarily family reasons constitute the most important motivations in the locational decisions of young people in BiH. Surprisingly, not career but family reasons were identified as decisive next to the other factors in 67% of cases (n=4).

Among the family factors which were mentioned, especially closeness to family appeared to be of a great value to the respondents. This factor was significant enough to prevail over the career opportunities abroad:

“I knew it would be better in Turkey. I mean, it is obvious because the standard is much higher, and the companies are much better, better structured. They have their own human resource department, whereas here they do not. In Bosnia, there is no human resource, very little. We knew it all, especially I always knew that this is normal. However, there are things which are much more important. I recognized it that for me, the family comes first, so I returned solely because of the family. Everybody told me ‘you could have worked there; you could have had a good salary so you could support the family’. But again, I told them that when I finished working, the flat was empty. I am not that type. I am more of a family type. It

¹⁸¹ The factors which did not fit any of the preset categories are discussed in the subchapter 4.3.5 in detail.

was not my priority to have some wow job or something.”

- Emina, 27 years, NGO Office Assistant

The hypothesis states that the preference of a satisfying combination of career, family and lifestyle factors is characteristic for the agents established in their working lives. Yet, the results show that this is not an exclusive attribute of the older generations. A young returnee from the US expressed that although the career advancement abroad was at a high level, there were other factors that were more important to her:

“I wanted to study there. I really enjoyed the school, I got working experience and that’s it. I was just kind of, ok, let’s wrap it up. I mean, I could have continued there, but when I noticed that I was not actually developing neither as a personality, nor as anything else, but only as a small robot that works [...] While here, somehow, I have my family here, I know my city, somehow everything is back and I am no longer the same as I had been before. I got what I wanted, and now I love it here. I am in that balance right now.”

- Lejla, 23 years, Administrative Manager

The combination of the three spheres of preferences, i.e. balance between career, family and lifestyle, was decisive for the return of the third of agents established in their working lives (n=8). This confirms the expectations drawing on the theoretical backgrounds of the used model. Older respondents did not necessarily migrate for the sake of improvement of their careers, but having utilized the better options abroad, they gave preference to family and lifestyle factors to balance their overall satisfaction. However, they still take their professions into account, with 63% (n=17) of returnees in the established phase mentioning career factors among the decisive ones:

“I came back because nowhere else I can feel as complete as I can in my own country, both professionally and privately fulfilled, not more than here. And I think that the only quality emigration and leaving of the home country can happen only if the complete family resettles. But a human, as an individual, has to leave young so as to succeed to integrate into another environment. That is my experience.”

- Gordana, 43 years, Professor of Agriculture

Advantages of living back in the home country, namely closeness to the family members, familiar environment and language, represented a preferable change for this returnee from Japan, too:

“Perhaps it was the best decision at the moment, you know. There is no valid reason for me to point out that it was because of this and that, but at that moment, under those circumstances, it was the best what was on offer for us. Every other choice would mean that we would start from scratch again in some other country or something, since we were pretty tired of Tokyo. I did not have the strength to start somewhere from scratch again, to work so hard and justify myself as I did it in Tokyo [...] And if we had gone somewhere else, we would have had to do the same to prove ourselves. I just wasn’t at the life phase at the time to be able to give one hundred percent of myself. Bosnia seemed to be the best that was offered at that moment. It was at least a bit more relaxing, a bit more comfortable. At least I can speak the language. I mean, I don’t need to learn any new one, and such things.”

- Verica, 41 years, Professor of Dentistry

Summarizing the results, the respondents falling into the category of students or young workers did not indicate an unambiguous pattern of preferred sphere of factors decisive in return. In other words, students returning from an educational programme abroad do not necessarily look for the career options in their home country, rather they consider if they are satisfied in all three spheres of their lives, taking their family situation into account. Correspondingly, agents established in their working lives seem to balance their satisfaction in all three spheres of career, family and lifestyle. In spite the occupational/educational reasons were often included in the preferred combinations of the both categories, so it can be said that career factors constitute an important sphere, the family and lifestyle reasons were mentioned at an almost exact frequency. There is no clear-cut pattern in which group of career-related respondents prefers which sphere of factors.

Family-related Life Phase

Besides the career-related life phases, the respondents were divided into family-related life phases. The total number of respondents is represented quite equally in each of the three categories, with 42% (n=14) agents in the family phase, 30% (n=10) in the early adulthood and 27% (n=9) in the establishing phase.

The individual cited groups of decisive factors for return for each of the agent categorized in the family phase were as follows:

Table 5 Decisive Factors for Return by Family-related Life Phase

	early adulthood (n=10)		family phase (n=14)		establishing phase (n=9)	
	n	percentage	n	percentage	n	Percentage
career	1	10%	2	14%	2	22%
family	2	20%	1	7%	2	22%
lifestyle	2	20%	2	14%	1	11%
career and family	-	-	3	21%	1	11%
career and lifestyle	1	10%	-	-	-	-
career, family and lifestyle	4	40%	4	29%	2	22%
other	-	-	2	14%	1	11%
career as a component	6	60%	9	64%	5	56%
family as a component	6	60%	8	57%	5	56%
lifestyle as a component	7	70%	6	43%	3	33%

Career factors seem to be of a significant importance to more than a half of respondents in all the phases, but usually next to the family and lifestyle factors. As a sole reason for return, it was not proven that agents in the early adulthood phase prefer career factors. Nor was the case with family factors and the respondents in the family phase. Career, on the other hand, seemed to be slightly more prioritized by the agents belonging to this group. Interestingly, early adults tend to give preference to the lifestyle factors in 70% (n=7) of the cases.

Similarly, as in the case of career-related life phases, the combination of all the three spheres was detrimental, both for the young adults and the ones in the family phase, whereas the older interviewees in the establishing phase did not indicate a clear-cut scheme. The factors related to studies or occupation were rather evaluated within the considerations about overall satisfaction of the migrant, meaning that the family and lifestyle preferences represent inseparable share on the reasons they identified as decisive.

Regarding the early adults, career appeared influential in 60% (n=6) of the cases. However, as well as in the previous analysis, the family and lifestyle factors were not less important in deciding whether to return to the agents' home country. For example, another young Bosnian woman who returned from the US emphasized that the pursuit of the best career options is not something that would define her decisions:

“Every day I had new arguments for and against. And then, at some point, I even decided to stay. Because there was a deadline coming, I had to decide for something. I had a job offer, but I didn't want to go to the West Coast. I had an offer from Microsoft to continue working for them. But then I thought, well, if I stay, I will stay in New York, because I am here already. I

even started preparing myself for the interviews and such, and at some point, I thought I should stay, and then the rector called me [from Sarajevo] that he had heard of it. He called me and just asked where I was and what I was doing because I am a former student and they had an open position in academia or whatever. And then it made me think a bit more about it. So one day I woke up and I was like OK, I'm coming back. But now when I look at it in retrospect, now it's obvious to me that actually I wanted to go back all this time. But I think that the sensible thing to do was to stay there, because everybody was staying there."

- Džejla, 33 years, Assistant Professor of Computer Science

A young man who was born in Zenica but returned firstly to Mostar expressed the relative importance of career prospects:

"When I asked myself if I want to go back - since I had a permanent job in Siemens, I could have actually stayed permanently, I didn't have any problem with my working permit because I didn't need it, in fact that's why I graduated from the university up there -, I thought deeply about that decision. I asked myself if I wanted to return, if I am ready to return, even if it would prove to be a mistake later on. I had reasons solid enough to go into it. So I left. And I can't say that I repented because I was sure what I was doing. I had good reasons to do it."

- Emir, 30 years, Data Analyst

On the other hand, the respondents in the family phase do not only rely on family circumstances. For example, one participant mentioned that the family reasons were complementary to the time limitation related to career:

"I returned because, in the meantime, I had a contract. I wanted to come back to be fair to the employer who sent me there and that I give a chance to this institution, to start changing some things here, to advance the science and research at this institution. That is one reason. And the second reason why the return was important to me was that at the time, I had already been pregnant with my first child, therefore a private reason."

- Esma, 44 years, Employee of a Medical School

Another returnee from Germany did emphasize family as an important reason, but stated that the feeling of being able to contribute to the society through his career was also a motivation to come back:

"First thing is family [...] I have my parents here, my present wife has a sister who is in Canada but her parents are here as well. And we also wished to come back here, to see how things would go. My best friend at the time

went to the same studies to Vienna and decided to come back. So the first factor were social relations, family, my wife and planning family with her, my friend. Back then, before 2008, the economic recession had not been here yet, and it seemed to me that Germany is a place where I nevertheless don't know the people. Here I have a job, I work with people I know, I have a feeling that I will be able to contribute much more than if I worked there. There, I am like some screw, whereas here, I am somebody who is capable. I am currently in the position of the head of the department."

- Filip, 40 years, Lecturer of Social Sciences

In conclusion, neither the classification into the family life phases proved to reveal a clear-cut attachment of the respondents of different age and family preferences to concrete groups of decisive factors. Instead, it showed that the balance between a career, family and lifestyle is preferred also by younger returnees, who have not settled with their own families yet. However, similarly as in the previous case of career-related life phase, career still represents an inherent part of the locational considerations of the two out of three groups: early adults and agents in the family phase. On the contrary, the respondents in the establishing phase weigh career and family factors roughly in equal numbers.

4.2 Triggers

The initial situation in the migration decision-making process is characterised by various triggers. Thinking about relocation tends to be triggered by life events. An important transition is especially the end of a set time frame for living abroad. Finishing the limited study or working period in a foreign country naturally motivates the agent to reconsider his satisfaction with the current state. The priorities and preferences of an agent shift so that migration comes up as an option to either redefine pre-set goals (in case of failure) or define new ones.¹⁸²

The triggers may be expected or unexpected. However, the unforeseen events such as natural disaster or similar environmental crisis did not influence any of the participants in this study, therefore it will not be included in the analysis. Similar as life phases, the expected triggers are divided into career- and family-related ones. They were identified by tracking the respondents' migration experience and their own description of the moments they decided to return to their home country.

¹⁸² Ibid., 122.

The table below shows the types of triggers which were mentioned, sorted into the categories:

Table 6 Triggers for Return

	total (n=33)	
	n	percentage
career-related	20	61%
family-related	2	6%
career- and family- related	8	24%
other ¹⁸³	3	9%

Career-related Triggers

The vast majority of respondents mentioned career-related triggers as the life events that led them to the decision to return. While only the events related to study or occupation were identified in 61% of the cases (n=20), another 24% (n=8) mentioned them next to the family-related events. In total, 85% (n=28) of all returnees went through life events that were connected to their job or studies.

Table 7 Career-related Triggers for Return

	total (n=28)	
	n	percentage
end of educational programme	18	64%
job offer	5	18%
end of educational programme, job offer	4	14%
job switch	1	4%

The results show that end of educational programme seems to be the prevailing trigger related to career transitions. Altogether, 78% (n=22) of those who mentioned a career-related trigger returned to BiH after their educational programme finished. This suggests that after the limited time abroad, which is usually devoted to gaining experience, overall preferences are reassessed. The individual migrant may come to the conclusion that his next goals can be reached back in the home country:

“I wanted to believe that I could make the life I want in here. That I could have a family, a job, some financial stability. And not only that, but also security. And these were the reasons that I kept coming back. Again, I have a

¹⁸³ The triggers which did not fit any of the preset categories are discussed in the subchapter 4.2.3 in detail.

really good life in here. I miss nothing but the business things.”
- Alma, 38 years, Design Studio Owner

A returnee from multiple countries pointed out that the time spent abroad was rather a tool to gain professional experience, while staying in foreign countries would mean following an international academic lifestyle. On the other hand, return seemed promising in order to satisfy other preferences:

“I spent the whole time after the war abroad. And that was a long time. In fact, I spent a long time outside of all that context and all that story [...] There was one moment that, honestly, purely psychologically said, because I had been abroad for a long time, considering everything, I got to the doctorate offer I was to pursue in America back then, which meant another five to seven years abroad [...] It was not until 1995 that I re-enrolled in college for the next four years. And then I finished my Master's degree, and I was already in my 30s. And then, at that moment I had to decide if I was going to continue living my international life there or somewhere else. And so either I'm going to study until I am 35 or 37 or so, or I come back and begin life. I mean, you know, while you're in college, you know how it is. I mean it's great. Life was great and so on. But letting the idea go away a little bit and so on, being 30 years old you are nowhere. And then, where am I going to go and so on. And then basically I came here, and in a way I came back and said listen, I lost so much of my life on nonsense, wars, armies, this and that. Let's lose another year. I gave myself a deadline, literally, and then I got the feeling that in a year I would see if I manage.”
- Faruk, 50 years, Professor of Political Science

End of educational programme was often accompanied by a job offer in BiH. Regarding the sample composition, the open job positions were most of the times directly offered by an academic institution to its former students who went abroad for additional education. Some had an unwritten agreement promising a future employment, others had been directly contacted before they decided to come back to BiH:

“From 2004 to 2009 I was in Zagreb to study and then I came back here. I got a job here as an assistant at the faculty because somehow the faculty was in its infancy, this one in Mostar [...] They needed staff, and the only people available were the ones who wanted to enrol in a doctorate, and that's it.”
- Lucija, 30 years, Lecturer at a Faculty of Arts

Similarly, as it had been mentioned above, job offers tend to motivate people to reconsider their preferences in a relatively short time frame, like in the case of this returnee from Canada:

“It kind of came to shock to many people, especially given that, you know, I was kind of setting a career. I was running certain projects, I seemed like I was very rooted there. So when this opportunity came, like I said, it was at that point of decision: either I will take it, right, with everything, or I would not. And had I not had a job offer in Bosnia, I don’t think I would have made that decision because I knew I was going to something, right. So it was a very abrupt decision.”

- Lejla, 37 years, Lecturer of Architecture

To conclude, career-related triggers are by far the most often cited life events that initiate the considerations for return. More than three quarters of the interviewees mentioned end of educational programme before their return to BiH. A vast number of returnees, therefore, come back after they finished a study programme abroad. At the same time, job incentives serve as a supporting motivation to come back.

Family-related Triggers

Slightly more respondents mentioned life events related to family circumstances in combination with career-related events. In total, roughly one third of them experienced a family-related transition that led to return to BiH, with only 6% (n=2) identifying it as a sole trigger and the rest in combination with career-related trigger.

Table 8 Family-related Triggers for Return

	total (n=10)	
	n	percentage
childbirth	3	30%
starting to live with a partner	2	20%
having a partner who has the wish or necessity to move	1	10%
divorce	1	10%
death in family	1	10%
having experienced outmigration of close friends	1	10%
missing family members	1	10%

Childbirth and starting to live with a partner are the only two reasons related to family that were mentioned more than once by the interviewees. Especially the arrival of a new family member and the wishes to offer the best to the child play a role in migration considerations:

“[...] And then the first child, the second, the third. And then we finally realized that if we did not return in 2008, Ariana, the oldest daughter was 14 at the time, then we realized that we would not return to Europe because of

the children. And then we made a difficult decision, to come back from Australia to Bosnia. Maybe a brave decision. But we knew that the kids were very musical and would probably want to study music or art schools, so we were lucky that here we found a really good school, Montessori Bloom School, that private Montessori school in English, which provided the kids with the kind of school we couldn't provide them with in Australia. So in here we started activities, we worked, we were organized, responsible for their performing... We ran the whole project. Today we have the responsibility for the music programme at Montessori, Mozart. And so the proximity of Europe itself was very much enjoyed and we utilized that. So projects, activities and the education for children made a good decision altogether."

- Rusmir, 51 years, Musician, Composer and Principal of a Music School

The second reason, starting to live with a partner, was mentioned by a young woman who returned from Zagreb to Mostar. She described the attachment to her partner and family as a primary reason that motivated her to come back, together with the job offer. Responding to the question what was the reason to return, she said:

"Attachment to my boyfriend, meaning to the life together we planned, and work. These are the two key reasons I came back. The key is the material security that I have here right now. And then of course there is my family, there are all my other friends, my husband, his family, their friends. And I would not go anywhere else right now. As long as it works, as long as our primary needs are met, we will stay here. If any of them are not met, the emigration option then comes up. If not, we're happy here."

- Ivana, 34 years, Assistant Professor

Summing up, although the categorization of respondents into the career- and family-related life phases did not show that family factors, e.g. children's needs play a decisive role in return considerations of the agents in the family phase, it appeared to be valid in case of the family-related triggers. One third of the ones who cited them reported childbirth as an important life transition, leading to relocation. It is, however, needed to highlight the variety of life events which are influential in the migratory decisions. These refer to the specific situations related to partners, family members, but also close friends.

Other Triggers

The previously listed reasons to return, based on the model of Ruth Achenbach, are by no means exhaustive. They draw on the findings by the author and the life events that her respondents identified as influential in the initial situation of return decision,

categorized within the two umbrella clusters of career and family triggers. It is presumed that the life transitions are not region-specific, therefore they should apply to respondents in Asia, as well as in Balkans.

Nevertheless, some divergences appeared in the analysis of the returnees to BiH. Firstly, three respondents stated their overall dissatisfaction with living in the host country, which in the end resulted in return to BiH. These triggers cannot be recognized as career- or family-related. This is important because not solely the casual life transitions such as finishing studies, or a job offer lead to the decision to return:

“It was more of a spontaneous decision. I knew it back then. I got a really good job there, a really good opportunity, and I'm constantly grateful for it, but I didn't like the idea. Somehow, I had the idea of changing the world, of changing myself. And that is where I actually realized that I could not progress at anything, not on myself, not on any system. That I'm just a little robot that knows how to do that little part of my job and it's the same every day. Somehow, I felt like I was not needed. It can be done by anyone who graduates from the same school and, I don't know, has the same skills. And this was constantly dragging me here. Actually, when I started working, then I realized I wanted to work here [in BiH], to show myself a bit. To contribute to those changes somehow. But the decision was spontaneous.”

- Lejla, 23 years, Administrative Manager

Secondly, one woman said that missing her parents was something that motivated her to return, whereas this reason was absent in Achenbach's classification of family-related triggers:

“I started working there during the last year, I mean something unrelated to my studies. I worked at a company that had nothing to do with my profession. It was some kind of company that produced some machines, a German company, so I applied. With Czech and with English. My Czech was a little better then. And I was three days a week in there, so I combined a bit. For the last couple of months, it worked like this. And then I planned something like, maybe even staying in that job, but also to come back and apply again, enrol in a doctorate or something. And that was some plan for me. But I somehow missed my parents and... I don't know, and then I gave up. I quit my job and finished my studies and came back here.”

- Nevena, 34 years, Stage Designer

Thirdly, one location-specific reason, directly drawing on the post-conflict situation in BiH, appeared as a trigger. A man returned to Sarajevo primarily because he could get his flat back, thanks to the finished process of post-war property restitution:

“I thought I would live a bit here and a bit in Israel. So I was going to create this company of my own that would base on those relations between Israel and Bosnia, and relocate certain companies in Bosnia, but to do it in Israel as well. That was the idea. It all started well, but it could not be realized in the end. And that actually pulled me away. During the war, someone else occupied my apartment. And I was able to get him out of the apartment through the court, which was when I started thinking about going back to Bosnia.”

- Elias, 69 years, Jewish Community Advisor

The identification of triggers which instigated the return considerations are a useful tool to understand how the process of decision making works. Still, in the matter of importance, it is deemed secondary to the perception of the returnees’ primary reasons to return. It is necessary to emphasize that whether the interviewee’s decision to come back involved a career-related trigger, a family-related trigger or both of them does not directly respond to the categories of their primary reasons to return. The agents’ own perceptions of the main motivations for migration back to their home country are still the primary focus in pursue of answering the questions posed in this research.

4.3 Decisive Reasons

The following subchapters are devoted to the crucial reasons of the highly skilled migrants’ decisions to return. It is an uneasy task to trace the key points within an individual locational decision-making process so as to identify common phenomena. Achenbach’s model, however, offers a way how to focus on the aspects which tend to repeat in the narratives of the respondents. The individuals’ perceptions of their own life transitions and the subsequent decisions, including the choice of the primary reasons for coming back to their home country, should remain central in order to fully understand their actual motivations.¹⁸⁴

At the end of each interview, after deconstructing the individual steps in the migration process, participants were asked to provide a concise answer to the question why they came back to BiH. As was described in the methodology chapter of this study, this served to two purposes: firstly, to lead the respondent to identify the primary reasons, and secondly, to reassess the reasons given throughout the whole interview. The following table is a summary of the key spheres which were decisive for the returnees:

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 98.

Table 9 Decisive Reasons for Return

	total (n=33)	
	n	percentage
career	5	15%
family	5	15%
lifestyle	5	15%
career and family	4	12%
career and lifestyle	1	3%
career, family and lifestyle	10	30%
other	3	9%
career as a component	20	61%
family as a component	19	58%
lifestyle as a component	16	48%

The results indicate three major conclusions: Firstly, out of all the 33 participants, a third referred to the combination of career, family and lifestyle factors as decisive for their return. The second important finding is that there is no unequivocal sphere of factors which is leading among the others, either as a primary reason or as a component of complex reasons to return. The differing preferences of each participant are clearly demonstrated on the equal percentage in all the three spheres as a single reason to return: each cluster of factors was deemed decisive for 15% of returnees. The same proportion of respondents chose a combination of career with family or lifestyle, while the remaining identified other reasons for return.¹⁸⁵ Thirdly, analysing the three spheres as a component within a preferred combination, career stands out slightly, while family remains an important part of the return considerations. Last but not least, the lifestyle factors seem to bear some significance as almost half of interviewees believed them to be decisive.

Career, Family and Lifestyle

The greatest share of highly skilled returnees interviewed in this study chose the combination of career, family and lifestyle factors as decisive for return to BiH. These respondents usually described particular reasons falling into the three spheres during the interview, while at the end, when they were asked for a concise answer, they used abstract

¹⁸⁵ This is discussed in the subchapter 4.3.5. further below.

and metaphorical designations to sum up their perceptions of the return.¹⁸⁶ The table below shows the frequency of the returnees' reasons according to their explicit expressions:

Table 10 Combination of Career, Family & Lifestyle: Decisive Reasons for Return

	total (n=10)	
	n	percentage
balance	2	20%
belonging	2	20%
“sunce tuđeg neba neće vas grijati k'o što ovo grije” ¹⁸⁷	2	20%
“Bosna zimi po svu noć srebrom zvoni” ¹⁸⁸	1	10%
best decision at the moment	1	10%
meaningfulness	1	10%

Balance was a term used by this woman who prioritized the factors which mattered to her and which she could harmonize in BiH:

“I would say that I came back because I can have a balance here. Balance is the word. And a life which is a fulfilled life. Because I think I have different dimensions of life here. Something happens in every one of them, somehow. I have hobbies, I have some friends, I have a family, I have a job, I can travel, whatever. Whereas over there, I think some dimensions are maximized, and some are minimized. I think that here it is somehow all rounded, a more better rounded life. This is the balance.”

- Džejla, 33 years, Assistant Professor of Computer Science

A returnee who lived in Japan and Switzerland explained her feeling of belonging to the home country:

“Well, I simply belong here. I belong, this is my country, the end. Before leaving this place, maybe I had thought that maybe it might be better in America or somewhere else, I don't know. But yes, after that whole experience, now I see that I can have an interesting life. There is a lot of dynamics here, a lot of things are happening here. And it is very important to me that especially in Japan I have learned to enjoy the magic of my country.”

¹⁸⁶ In order to enable the comparison with other respondents, their specific career-, family- and lifestyle-related reasons were identified in the answers throughout the interviews and included in the categories which are summed up in the following subchapters.

¹⁸⁷ Translated as “the sun that shines in a foreign place will never warm you like the sun in your own”, this is an excerpt from the lyrics composed by a Bosnian poet Aleksa Šantić. His poem “Ostajte ovdje” (“Stay here”) is well known in BiH, while the mentioned line tends to be used often in the context of migration from the former Yugoslav countries. See also the film *Sunce tuđeg neba* (1968), <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0180220/> (accessed 07/11/19).

¹⁸⁸ Literal translation of this line is “Bosnia rings with silver all night long”. It comes from a song “Bosna” by Nedžad Ibrišimović, a Bosnian-Herzegovinian poet and song-writer.

That I love everything that is mine, that's what I learned in Japan."
- Suzana, 44 years, Senior Lecturer of Nanotechnology

Interestingly, three participants used lines of a poem and lyrics of a song to metaphorically express their reasons for return. This suggests that they feel emotionally attached to their country of birth. For example, a man who returned from Serbia described his perception in this way:

"We have this saying; the other place's sun does not warm you like the one in your fatherland. I was born here, I'm used to this mentality, this monetary currency here, then I can more easily estimate [...]."
Mitar, 32 years, Assistant Professor of Electrical Engineering

Similarly, a woman who lived and studied in Serbia, Slovenia and Italy used such expression:

"I was always coming back to my roots. Each person belongs to his own country. You can leave, but the roots are the roots. I don't think anyone will be as happy under someone else's sun as under their own. You should go for different experiences, but then return to your own country again."
- Duška, 42 years, Professor of Biotechnology

When asked why he returned, a man who came back from Germany highlighted the importance of his satisfaction with his multiple roles in life:

"Because I feel more meaningful. I have more life functions here than I would have anywhere else. I find them to be right. So whenever you think, you will get to this fact. In economic terms we are not doing great, but we are not bad either, so..."
- Filip, 40 years, Lecturer of Social Sciences

These respondents who mentioned factors from all the three spheres chose to sum up their return reasons in words which do not fall into Achenbach's model. The division between career-, family- and lifestyle-related factors decisive for return, inspired by her study, was chosen so as to identify the crucial reasons to come back according to the respondents' own perceptions. However, it is obvious that sometimes the agents do not describe their actions in terms of weighing the concrete factors belonging to the three spheres. They rather perceive them as based on an inner feeling that led them to make the decision to return, which is consequently explained as something unclassifiable in the

concrete groups of influential factors.¹⁸⁹ This needs to be taken in account when the motivations of the returnees are in question.

Last but not least, these respondents mostly tend to consider the influential factors which apply for the rest of the interviewees as well. From the career sphere, contribution, good career chances and good possibilities of upward mobility were mentioned. In terms of family-related factors, closeness to family prevails, while one person also considered the partner's wishes. The last category of lifestyle preferences is more complex and involves factors such as people and society, culture, feeling of home, values, cheap living etc. These individual reasons are explained in the following subchapters.

Career

Altogether, the factors related to profession or education were described as decisive in 61% (n=20) of the cases. The majority of the career-oriented respondents mentioned these factors as part of their complex preferences, whereas only 15% (n=5) identified solely the career reasons as decisive for their return. The table below shows the particular career-related factors of all the respondents who mentioned them among the decisive reasons for their return:

Table 11 Career-related Decisive Reasons for Return

	total (n=20)	
	n	percentage
contribution	7	35%
good career chances	4	20%
secured job	4	20%
established business	2	10%
finishing studies	1	5%
good possibilities of upward mobility	1	5%
satisfaction with current job	1	5%

More than a third (n=7) of the participants who mentioned career motivations emphasized the capability to contribute on various levels. Either to their home country, to its society or to the immediate working environment, usually in a wider sense. A woman who returned to Banja Luka after having completed her Ph.D. in Italy participated in the

¹⁸⁹ This is elaborated on in the subchapter 4.3.5.

establishment of a department, which was on a significantly lower level of development in comparison to the one at the Italian research institution:

“I’ll say one word. Challenge. A new challenge. A new challenge with new knowledge, with expanded knowledge. In a way a challenge to establish a system. Of course, in a way the challenge is to start from scratch, because it gives you the opportunity to create the system as it should be, to avoid all those mistakes that the Italians have. For example, to create a functioning system the way it should work. So... maybe a challenge. Let’s say this could be the challenge. Because I was not in a very different, exotic country, so to say, that I would be missing something. I was not really missing anything. But Italy is kind of close by. I can go there every now and then if I need to, so... Also, in Italy, I had a feeling that my home was close, there are telecommunications, so I wasn’t missing anything on that side. But I don’t know. In a way, a human, at least I feel that way, is still a kind of patriot having a desire to contribute to something. And if we study abroad, and then we just continue to work on ourselves without transferring some of that knowledge, then I am not fulfilled.”

- Biljana, 44 years, Senior Lecturer of Plant Protection

Together with contribution, good career chances represent the most frequently stated career reasons for people preferring combination of all the spheres (n=4 out of n=10). Another returnee from Italy who came back after finishing a doctorate programme said that although the situation in BiH is not ideal, it is still possible to find career options. Responding to the question whether she was sure that she would get a good job after returning from Italy, she replied:

“I was not, nor was there anyone who could guarantee that. But I knew I had a much better chance of having more stability here. Because I had better stability before I left. I had a steady job, with a salary I received always on time, so I didn’t have to worry about it... you know. A lot of possibilities of this and that, some loans, buying an apartment before I went on that scholarship... So I kind of knew that I could go back to something similar, that it would not be difficult. That I will manage. Even if I have to re-introduce myself or introduce myself to people. I’m not saying hey, I came back, now I have more knowledge, higher education, and so on. But I knew there was something that I could find stability in here.”

- Zahida, 45 years, Lecturer of Medicine

On the other side, some respondents (n=4) had their job secured before they returned to BiH. A young woman studied and worked in Zagreb until she got an offer to work at the faculty in Mostar:

“I would say that at that moment when I made the decision, it seemed like a better idea than staying abroad. And then when I started working there, I got an offer for some other jobs in Zagreb. For example, one of them was a really great offer. For 4 years, they pay a Ph.D. and you work on an annual project. This offer came 10 days after I came back. And then it was like, what now, because it was a really great offer in a CV, to write that project together with some work, and they payed for a doctorate, something I wanted. But I refused because, I don't know, because I just came back and so I couldn't end up coming back. All the stuff, contracts, papers I cancelled [in Zagreb], and then would come back again [...] When I decide, then I make it to the end, I try anything. I don't do things halfway. If I enrol in an education, I finish it. If i decide to work, I finish everything, and I go and try that. I can always leave. So I'm kind of critically black and white in that sense. If I decide for something, then I do it.”

- Nikolina, 27 years, Assistant Professor of Psychology

A previously established business in BiH, which was mentioned by two respondents, is something that keeps the migrants attached to the country. They feel obliged to continue working on a project they had started before. A woman who returned from Italy to Sarajevo answered the question what brought her back in these words:

“Because I have my firm here. The firm had already been here, so, as that was the basic motivation, I thought it was some safe way, that it was something that really connected me to Sarajevo. So my firm was the primary reason. And the second reason was that in Italy, that is, in Rome there was no job for my profession. So I saw that life would be quite difficult, some struggle to find a job... So it was not that Italy would be much better economically in comparison to us at the moment, neither at present. So this was the case. If I had the opportunity, if I had found a job there that was adequate, I would have probably considered staying [...].”

- Dina, 37 years, Lecturer of Architecture and Owner of an Architectural Firm

It is important to note that good career chances or good possibilities of upward mobility do play a role in BiH, despite the fact that it is recognized as a developing country. While a general perception contributes to the image that living and working in BiH might not offer as much career options as in more developed countries, this might not be the case for some returnees. Sometimes they consider the handicap of being a stranger in a foreign working environment as a decisive factor. A woman who has experience of working in Belgium reported that it is not easy to pursue the career goals from the position of being an emigrant:

“When I was in Brussels, I was also thinking if this was an opportunity that reminded me once again that I might be thinking about staying permanently. And again, it was outweighed by the feeling that here I could contribute more, and that I could not express myself professionally there as I can do here. That feeling that I wasn't ready to start justifying myself just for being a stranger prevailed. And that's what I would have to do in a foreign country. Any place I would start working, I would start from the lowest-ranked jobs. At that moment in my life, I wasn't ready to do it because I just didn't have the need. Maybe people who have no jobs or those who are in a family crisis are ready for that step. Like some middle-aged people who go to a foreign country and start their lives from scratch. At that point in my life, simply, I didn't want it, I didn't have to have it as a choice.”

- Gordana, 43 years, Professor of Agriculture

Another aspect connected to the career-motivated returns which appeared to bear significance in locational decisions is an official or unofficial contract of return. In some cases, employers of the agents who went abroad to attend an educational programme secured their return with an agreement that they would come back. These contracts are not necessarily written, but they might underlie the returnees' motivations to come back to a position which would otherwise be considered unfavourable when compared to the wide scale of options abroad:

“In a way I could continue [living there]. I even think there were options. One professor there in Italy was asking about me, what was my status, what were my wishes, what were my plans for the future. Maybe she even wanted me to stay. There were a little more difficult criteria to stay in the doctoral studies so that was the selection for me, more or less. So there was some possibility, I wouldn't talk about percentages, but some small percentage that If I had tried, I could have stayed. I didn't even try because, when I applied for the scholarship to Italy, one of the deals was that I will come back. I came back for the reason that I immediately got a job in a way. So I came back to the faculty and got a job as a plant health assistant [...] I had signed some kind of, it was not a contract, but more of an agreement to return. So in that respect I came back. And on the other hand, it was a challenge to get started after the master, so I purposefully went back, so to say.”

- Biljana, 44 years, Senior Lecturer of Plant Protection

On the other hand, this same strategy to retain highly skilled workers did not appear as the right approach in different situations. This returnee, whose sole reason for return was not job-related, criticised the agreements:

“[I returned] because of the parents. At first because of the safety, because I did not want to be alone. And then I decided I wanted to be with my parents as much as I could. Of course, [the leaving abroad] was because of my job, to work at my profession. But in here I always managed. I didn't have any nostalgia [...] In fact, I was very dissatisfied with the fact that we signed contracts to go back, in order to our country to progress or something... In fact, there are no such professions in this country at all. So I couldn't do what I studied, it wasn't an option for me. I say, I work with the NGO sector, but I can't make a living from it. When viewed from a longer-term side, that diploma is in the drawer. I have never used it, actually.”

- Lejla, 37 years, Ethnomusicologist

To summarize, these examples show that career factors tend to be the part of decisive reasons to return for the majority of people. Nevertheless, as it was suggested earlier, they are not identical to the motivations of migrants in developed countries who usually put focus on the high wages, level of technologies or work prestige. The specificities of the career reasons of the returnees to BiH lie in the wish to contribute to their working environment, a job that they had secured before they came back or a perception of good career chances in their particular field. The contracts which are meant to secure the return, though, do not create a clear-cut way back as some of the agents do not recognize them as a proper reason to return.

Family

Family-related factors were, correspondingly to the career-related ones, important to more than a half of all respondents (58%, n=19). As well as in the previous case, family circumstances were considered a single reason to come back by 15% (n=5) of participants.

Table 12 Family-related Decisive Reasons for Return

	total (n=19)	
	n	percentage
closeness to family	17	89%
following partner's wishes	1	5%
following partner's wishes, closeness to family	1	5%

The vast majority of agents who found family important in their locational decisions preferred to be close to their family members or partner. Returnees either resettle together with their partners to BiH, or return to be with the family which is based in BiH. The results suggest that the presence of family members in the home country and the

comfort to have them around is a great motivation that influences the decision whether to come back. Correspondingly, all the five respondents who prioritized solely family factors cited closeness to family as decisive.

Having been born in Sarajevo, an academic returned to Banja Luka where she has been based after years spent in Germany, Japan and Greece. To the question why she comes back, she replied:

“I don't know... maybe because my family is here, because my brother is here, because the person I love is here. So no world or globe is as important to me as this. And it is important for me to know a lot, it is important for me to learn, it is important for me to perfect myself. It is important for me to sort it all out in terms of career and profession. But the other side is also important to me. I say, everything I do and what I did, I do it to be a good wife and a good mother one day. To pass all the experience I have gained on to my children. That's my life password.”

- Bojana, 39 years, Assistant Professor of Civil Engineering

Being close to parents was decisive for this returnee from the US and a study period in Belgium:

“[I returned] because of the parents, mainly. They will not be living my whole life and I have been separated from them for quite some time. And they have supported me my whole life in all my missions, so I myself want to support them all the time. We are so close to our parents here in Bosnia, I think that the family is the pillar of our society. It's not the same everywhere like it is in Bosnia. It is a little different in the sense of responsibility. Simply, there are some unwritten norms that are different.”

- Lejla, 37 years, Ethnomusicologist

Periods of living abroad can lead to the feelings of loneliness, which might then contribute to the prioritization of family factors. This returnee from Germany and Belgium referred to her family being in Banja Luka as something that kept bringing her back:

“There was also a greater reason, that I felt very lonely there. And maybe if I went there for any of those family visits, if I had a partner who lived there, if I had stayed because of family, I might have stayed there. But, in fairness, it was outweighed by that private side that bounded me more to this country and this place. Simply, one feels unfulfilled.”

- Gordana, 43 years, Professor of Agriculture

In conclusion, unsurprisingly, the role of family factors can be unambiguously translated as the individual's need or wish to be close to the family members. As a single

contributing factor, it equals in importance to the spheres of career and lifestyle, whereas together with career sphere it creates the decisive component in the overall return considerations. Being close to the parents, partner and a wider family seems as a crucial motivation for roughly half of respondents. Despite that, clearly the individual preferences differ largely, as not everyone follows the pattern of coming back to their families.

Lifestyle

An unexpected result brought the analysis of the category of lifestyle preferences. Almost equally to the career- and family-related factors, lifestyle preferences had a decisive role in return decisions in almost half of cases (48%, n=16), while five people identified them as the primary reason to come back. During the interviews, the lifestyle factors were described in complex ways, reaching from geographical, economical, cultural to psychological terms. The interviewees had tendencies to combine various single factors in different order in the matter of importance. Yet, it is possible to detect some phenomena which are often repeated.

Table 13 Lifestyle-related Decisive Reasons for Return

	total (n=16)	
	n	percentage
environment	1	6%
established life	1	6%
feeling of home	1	6%
values	1	6%
people and society as a component	7	44%
lifestyle as a component	5	31%
culture as a component	4	25%
feeling of home as a component	4	25%
cheap living as a component	3	19%
location as a component	2	13%
environment as a component	1	6%
wish to improve BiH as a component	1	6%
values as a component	1	6%

As for the general number of mentions of individual lifestyle preferences, the one that clearly stands out is people and society, followed by a rather broad reasons of lifestyle in BiH, culture and feeling of home. The respondents usually compared the life in the countries they had previously lived in to BiH and its geographical, locational and other specific characteristics. Some of them, surprisingly, gave the lifestyle factors such a high

importance that they stated them as a reason to return. For example, a man who has wide experience with migration in countries in Europe and more distant countries in Asia highlighted the environmental advantages of living in BiH in relation to his outdoor hobbies:

“If I had to present a single one, I mean I said it was a combination of some factors, but if I had to present one, you know, the single contributing factor, that would be... That would be the nature. It's really so important in life to me, that outdoors life and such. After 20 minutes on a bike, I'm in the mountains. There is no one and no one controls me, no one pushes me, and I do whatever I want. And the accessibility of that nature, having still so much of the wilderness here... to me, that may be the crucial factor in my life. If you don't have it... First of all, you don't have it anywhere in Europe. You have beautiful places, there is everything. But the combination, that you are here in the city now and in five minutes by car you are in a wild nature, always enjoying something... You know, you can work and so on, you have million options what to do and such. This is the, what's it called, this is exactly the key factor for me. This is what made me stay.”

- Faruk, 50 years, Professor of Political Science

Some answers imply that sometimes people return because of an individual set of preferences that cannot be classified into exact terms. When the reasons are broad, the word “lifestyle” is used to encapsulate particular factors, such as the ones which were specifically mentioned by other respondents as well, i.e. people and society, culture, location, etc. An interviewee from Holland, after being a refugee and subsequently having settled in the country, came back to BiH in 2008:

“I think it was the lifestyle. The way of communication with people, the behaviour, the lifestyle that simply suited me, I would say. I knew that in here, speaking of some opportunities of the system, that all of that is somewhere on a lower level. However, I think that it was outweighed by the other thing. And the other thing is always the lifestyle, a way of life, something that suits you. There was no single specific reason, you know [...] For me it was simply this suits me more, I feel good when I'm here, and that's it.”

- Armin, 38 years, NGO President

Similarly, a young man who was born in Sarajevo, grew up in Norway and studied in England, returned because it suited his own lifestyle preferences:

“There is freedom here. Which is spread all over Sarajevo, at least I feel it that way. That means I can go out on Mondays and stay up until 2-3 in the

morning without it being a big deal. The same you can do on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. I am close to Bjelašnica [mountain], close to every other mountain, close to the sea... People are open to talking about planning what to do for fun. So there are a lot more things going on here in general, a lot more activity here. I can be involved, which is why I feel better in here. While in Norway and England what can be done is very limited. Again, if you want to go somewhere, you need to spend 2-3 hours on a train to some place, or you go by plane. And that is a plan from another aspect, it is not impulsive, it is not so free. Everything closes at ten, or at weekends at twelve or one, so you don't have much options other than sitting at home or going to the libraries. And people are not so open to any activity besides what they recognize as fun, which is cricket... Or I don't even know... How to sit in the park for 4 hours and watch a cricket match. And in Norway it is very similar, but there is a lot more rain."

- Kenan, 31 years, Student of Medicine

A man who spent many years of his life studying in multiple countries in Europe (Belgium, Czech Republic, Italy and Hungary) described his internal reasons for return predominantly in terms falling into the lifestyle category. He admitted that the key factors for coming back to Sarajevo may appear somewhat irrational in opposition to otherwise much more favourable options to live and work abroad:

"In reality, I came back because I think that here I can fulfil my life internally. That I live with my people, think in my own language, even though I spend 90% of my day in English. That I watch my news, eat my burek, eat these things... Some things that obviously my mom did a very good job at, instilling this in me as something that is inherently mine. And that no amount of hamburgers and pizzas and trdelniks and whatever could ever replace the smell of a morning burek or something like that. I mean however this sounded as a cliché... The morning newspaper in your language, your Bosnian coffee from your dzezva, and so on. It's the internalization of my kind of story. Where only your sun... The foreign sun will never warm you like the sun of your country, blah blah... It's valid to a certain extent."

- Jasmin, 31 years, NGO Director and Professor of International Relations

To conclude the lifestyle sphere which is influential in the returns of individual people, various sorts of factors can be considered important to particular migrants who have experienced living abroad. The foreign country which they had settled in might serve as a reference object to BiH, but this is not essential. A common denominator of the returnees who prioritized lifestyle is that BiH offers advantages which are of a non-pecuniary nature. That is everyday way of life, good feeling, a well-suited balance of the

factors they perceive to be crucial for their own personal satisfaction. This cannot be ignored, given the fact that these participants had much better options abroad in terms of level of education, salaries, or job prestige. The lifestyle reasons constitute an important sphere of factors which should be taken into account by the actors who wish to understand the returns in their complexity.

Other

The here presented model of returnees' patterns of behaviour adheres to the hypothesis that agents deliberately pick which career-, family- or lifestyle-related factors they put on the top ranks of their priority ladder. However, even though the regional context is taken into account, there is one clear deviation which does not fully fit into the model but appears to bear much significance to the returnees. An important aspect which emerged very often is the role of intuitive action.

In relation to the conceptual framework of this study, two significant findings came out of the analysis: Firstly, the choice of the majority of respondents to prefer some sort of balance between the three spheres of factors implies that it is necessary to question whether a person prefers strictly one group of factors or another. Secondly, following the results which quantified the preferred spheres, the hypothesis that a migrant usually tries to find a perfect balance between the three spheres in harmony with his/her own preferences can be confirmed. But at the moment of deciding whether to stay abroad or return, this balancing might be taking place rather unknowingly, in relatively less rational or "hard" terms, than according to a decision-making process as portrayed in the four-stage scheme drafted by Achenbach.

The moments of return, according to the respondents' own perceptions, were often characterized by intuitive incentives and feelings of spontaneity. A number of interviewed returnees (n=9) reported that they decided to come back on the basis of the inner feeling that they were doing the right thing. A woman who came back to Sarajevo after being a refugee abroad expressed that she did not consciously plan the return:

"It was the following of intuition. It was also about missing my parents who stayed here in Sarajevo, friends and relatives and so on. And I just thought at that time that it was time to go back. To get to that law school, to be with those people I couldn't be with for those four years, and then I would see what next. That I wouldn't plan anything. Maybe I would go back to the Czech Republic, maybe somewhere else, but I wasn't considering it at all.

Simply, it was the time to come back.”
- Jesenka, 35 years, Advocate

Some sort of natural feeling and spontaneous decision to return was reported by a student who came back to Banja Luka after finishing her studies in Belgrade. Her perspective of the return was accompanied by the feeling of belonging:

“I came back because I wanted to start here, to come to being, to start my own story. I just thought I belonged here at that moment, I just felt like I needed to come back here. I have no clever answer but simply my intuition told me I needed to be here.”
- Anja, 24 years, Lecturer of Chinese

These unspecified incentives tend to be connected to the lifestyle preferences as well. A woman who returned from Zagreb to Mostar primarily decided on the basis of her attachment to BiH, but she also described the importance of people and environment:

“Well, somehow, what matters to me the most is that it is natural to me. This is mine. And I love Bosnia and Herzegovina. I got an opportunity. I love people, I love the, as you said, cordiality. That contact, the humour [...] I kind of said to myself that I would go where I was given the opportunity. And by some logic I just didn't even expect the opportunity to be in Bosnia, I mean, I don't know why, I thought I would never get a job here. And then I got it and it was great for me. I thought it would be a lot harder to get a job in Herzegovina than somewhere in Croatia, or somewhere else abroad. But it turned out to be completely different and I was so happy about it.”
- Lucija, 30 years, Lecturer at a Faculty of Arts

The second important note is the role of the emotional factors in the perceptions of return. While the previously mentioned interviewees highlighted during the conversations that they found some sort of balance between career, family and lifestyle in BiH, other returnees (n=3) specifically pointed out that their particular reasons for return were of a nature which does not entirely fit in any of the three spheres. The terms these people used expressed some sort of their emotional attachment, perception of the situation as a coincidence, or even destiny. These cases do not unambiguously imply that the reasons for return were spontaneous or intuitive, and as such need to be categorized separately.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, the post-war context in BiH suggests that emotional reasons for return would

¹⁹⁰ However, the two other types of returns which are described in this subchapter may be also complementary to each other.

most likely emerge in the cases of former refugees. Even though two out of three respondents mentioning emotional reasons did explicitly refer to war as a factor which inevitably formed their migration experience, none of these people had had a refugee status. Hence, ascribing the importance of emotional factors to solely post-conflict reconciliation would be simplistic.

The case of a woman who returned from Great Britain, where she had already established her family life, suggests that the decision-making process involving a deliberate balancing between career, family and lifestyle does not always take place. Rather, she reviewed her return as a sort of unplanned set of circumstances which influenced her to make that decision:

“This is very hard to say, so I hope I won’t jinx it... It was a coincidence but also a great luck at the moment, which was of the same nature as what Anthony Giddens calls faithful moment. That at the very moment I had a reason to return and at the very moment there was a place for me here.”

- Andrea, 47 years, Professor of Literature

Similar was the situation of a man who left Israel and decided to stay in Sarajevo. He perceived his return as a combination of factors as well, but at the end of the interview he highlighted that what he believes was decisive for his return was of a rather metaphysical nature:

“Well, I think that it was a destiny that I left Bosnia, and a destiny that I went back to Bosnia. And neither of it was an intention. So everything was kind of totally normal that I come back, because also when I left, it was normal to leave because there was a war here. And my children had already been in Israel. So it was normal to leave so I could be with my children. Without thinking about the war, what could have happened here and so on. And when I came back, I came back because I got this apartment, I had no intention of coming back. And I came back because the destiny determined that I got a job right away, that I started writing some books here and that I got that apartment of mine [...].”

- Elias, 69 years, Jewish Community Advisor

A woman who had lived in Canada for the most of her life pointed out that the main reason for her to come back to Sarajevo was based on her emotional attachment to the place she was born. This urge to return was, according to her own perception, a motivation that outweighed the fact that she had her career life successfully set abroad:

“It was my love for Sarajevo. Sorry... I think, all of us who survived the war carry a bit of unresolved emotional attachment to the place of birth. And because it happened so abruptly and you kind of acquire a new life, you never get chance to deal with that, because you're too busy adapting to your new life. And this is something that just perpetuates. And you see, I am not that much of an emotional person, but every time it comes to talking about Sarajevo as a city, I get very emotional. And there are not many things I get so emotional about. So I can't figure it out for myself, I can't figure out why this happens. And to give you a rational answer, I cannot. But there is something about this place, I don't know if everyone experiences it, and if everyone from Sarajevo who's left abruptly experiences it, I don't know if anyone who's left some country abruptly feels this... or maybe it's just this weakness that I carry. And so for me it's purely, purely, short answer, it's my love for this city. That in the end ended up being stronger than my love for my career and my love for my immediate family and my love for everything else. And how long this love for Sarajevo will last? I don't know. Right? Because the reality of things is setting in. So I apologize for my reaction, this is kind of a touchy subject. And I wouldn't be here if it wasn't touchy because by any rational means, by any rational stands, my decision doesn't make sense and I realize that.”

- Lejla, 37 years, Lecturer of Architecture

Last but not least, in the pursue of a complex understanding, it is necessary to take the respondents' evaluation of satisfaction with the return into account. Surprisingly, two thirds of participants did not doubt their return (n=22, 66%). They were usually aware of the unfavourable socio-economic conditions in BiH, but took the opportunity of returning as a challenge, or hoped for the gradual improvement in the country. One man responded to the question whether he regretted returning to BiH followingly:

“As for the moving to Bosnia, no. At that time, I did not regret it. And I still think it's like that [...] Speaking about the country in general, it has changed. But not so negatively, there are also positive changes. There are a few changes to worse. But this all comes together, certainly [...] The positive is that the more this country is liberated, the more things you can do in here. In the sense that you have more options now. Let's say you want to go by plane somewhere, you have more opportunities to go somewhere. There are some newly-opened places that had not been here before, for example in the mountains or in some smaller cities. There are more international people. And it creates an interesting atmosphere when there are different people. As for some things that are worse, it seems to me that people have become a little more pessimistic, a little more withdrawn than they had been before, when I came to Bosnia in 2008. That's my feeling.”

- Kenan, 31 years, Student of Medicine

On the other hand, one third of the respondents (n=11, 33%) was not sure whether they are satisfied with their return. Oftentimes, they mentioned worsening atmosphere in BiH in predominantly political terms, which was usually also the same reason why they would consider leaving the country again:

“The more the time passes, the older I get, the more I am not happy. I was satisfied before, obviously my needs were not great. And now, as one gets older, those needs are a little bigger. At least that’s my case. And then you see that here you are not being provided with some things. Especially, when one goes abroad very often like I do, then luckily or unfortunately, however you look at it, you have the opportunity to see what it looks like in Vienna or Berlin or in Zurich and so on. And then you see that only then you can actually see what you’re missing. So pleased I was, now not so much.”

- Ivica, 38 years, Professor of German Studies

To summarise this subchapter, firstly, it is necessary to recognize that individual cases of returns may be motivated by rather spontaneous rather than deliberately elaborated reasons. Although it is indisputable that various career-, family- and lifestyle-related preferences are influential when the people are deciding whether to migrate, the case of returns might be of a different nature for a significant proportion of people. Secondly, the emotional factors of attachment to BiH and the individual beliefs about the coincidental or higher-purpose-motivated nature of the return demonstrably do play a decisive role for some returnees. Thirdly, even though the sample in this study cannot be deemed representative, a high number of returnees are sure that they made a right decision to return. This is important particularly in relation to the key problems hampering return which were defined by policy advisors. In other words, while the poor (or worsening) political, social and economic state of BiH undoubtedly shed a bad light on the attractiveness of the country, there are individual preferences which can counterbalance these factors.

In general, these findings imply that it is an uneasy task to categorize all the particular motivations into tables and figures. Nevertheless, if these cases are omitted as marginal, the full understanding of these individuals’ realities would be lost in oversimplified theories and policies. More importantly, these examples confirm that the concrete perceptions of the returnees, leading to the final decisions, tend to be of a complex nature demanding a close examination.

5. Discussion and Limitations

This study adopted a holistic approach in order to answer the initial question, i.e. why do highly skilled people return to BiH. There are several levels on which the results show the scale upon which this issue remains greatly under researched, particularly in terms of methodology.

On the level of research in BiH, partial insights in the returnees' motivations were brought by various authors, but no further attempt at unification of the results has taken place. The governmental intentions to depict the return potential focus predominantly on the perspectives of people in diaspora. But the vague results based on the questionnaires of Bosnians and Herzegovinians abroad carry a rather confusing meaning, given the fact that planning the return is of a marginal importance in comparison to the actual return reasons.¹⁹¹ This argument, which had already been described in the literature, is supported by the results of this study showing that many people based their decision to return on an intuitive feeling at a particular moment. Furthermore, the brain gain policy proposals are built on basic presumptions that highly educated people are attracted by quality of working environment (high wages, quality of research centres), while there is a single focus on structural reintegration factors as supportive tools (diploma recognition, retaining of the citizenship, property restitution, employment). Indeed, job opportunities do play a certain role, especially as a trigger to begin considering returning, and predominantly after finishing studies abroad. However, the results of this study suggest that usually the qualities of career life in BiH that are important to the actual returnees scarcely relate to growing level of structural development (such as efficient administration or technological equipment in the working environment). Quite the contrary, the essence of their contribution lies in accepting the challenge to improve their working environment, being capable of changing the system and also having a good perspective of upward mobility in comparison to the foreign job market. It is clear that the returnees are ready to give up on material gains next to the possibility to fulfil their career-related aspirations in non-

¹⁹¹ For example, 509 participants from Australia were asked if they plan to return to BiH permanently, given the following options: Yes, to work and live in BiH (47), Yes, for retirement (91), No, never (81), Do not know/Difficult to say (300). The conclusion of the authors is that "[...] while it is difficult to make any kind of assumptions about diaspora's intention to return to BiH permanently since the majority of the respondents are not sure of when they intend to return, it is clear that most do not have immediate plans to return." Halilovich et al., *Mapping the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Diaspora*, 65.

economic terms. Hence, the supportive programmes advised by policy makers are of a secondary importance.

On the global level of research of highly skilled migration, there are deficiencies in the means of theoretical approaches. The vast majority of the recent work on the topic of returning highly skilled migrants has emerged without a solid theoretical basis but managed to draw valuable conclusions in terms of explaining the individual return reasons in concrete, location-specific contexts. The conclusions of studies focusing on highly skilled returnees in regions different from Balkans indicate that family and lifestyle reasons, including emotional factors and wish to contribute, are of a greater significance than career factors. But these works do not use identical methodologies, terminologies or categorizations. The outcomes of this study suggest that there is not a single group of factors that would be unambiguously decisive of the return of highly skilled people. Rather, the most frequent trend seems to be seeking balance between career, family and lifestyle preferences. On the other hand, if the model in this research adopted alternative classification, the outcomes could as well be fundamentally different.¹⁹² The nature of the results, therefore, lies in the methodology and operationalizing the gathered data, which is heavily reliant upon the author. Nevertheless, there is a clear evidence that career reasons do not constitute a single group of factors which are determinant of the highly skilled migrants' location decisions.

As for the limits of this work, there is a number of restraints which should be taken into account. First and foremost, the 33 respondents in this study can by no means serve as a representative sample. Given the lack of statistics, it is not possible to determine the exact number of returned highly skilled migrants in BiH, therefore the full comprehension of their motivations is currently unattainable. Secondly, in relation to the former limit, the sample consists of unequal proportions of the representatives of different age and occupational field: the vast majority of participants are employed in academia, while only a

¹⁹² For example, the factor of “contribution“, here and in Achenbach’s study categorized into the career sphere, would be considered a non-career motivation by other authors. Another example would be the evaluation of the cases where the participants identified balance between career, family and lifestyle. This complex conclusion, attempting to provide a conceptual generalization, did not appear in any of the research of other authors, which leads to an oversimplification that returnees decide on the basis of a single sphere of factors. Last but not least, emotional reasons in this study had to be given a special subchapter, whereas other authors classify these factors as a part of lifestyle preferences, which bears inaccurate implications. If this research applied a different methodology, the overall conclusion might as well be that the emotional reasons are the most decisive for the return. For alternatives, see for example Horstein Tomić, Pichler and Scholl-Schneider, eds., *Remigration to Post-Socialist Europe*.

few of them are young students and not a single respondent was in retirement. This condition prevents the study from determining which type of migrant is most likely to return to BiH.¹⁹³ The reasons of returnees of all kinds of age and occupation were, nevertheless, comparable and did not imply significant differences. The sample also contains the respondents living exclusively in the urban environment, where the largest proportion of interviewees came from Sarajevo (n=18) in comparison to other cities in BiH. Thirdly, although this study aims to understand the return motivations of highly skilled people in the context of the contemporary struggle for attraction of the “best and brightest”, it was not evaluated to what extent the respondents actually represent a “real” brain gain. This is largely due to the lack of means to measure the contribution.¹⁹⁴ Nevertheless, as most of the participants held high-ranking positions and a significant proportion of them hoped for a contribution of their know-how gained abroad, it is evident that this sample meets the requirements of the general brain gain hypothesis.

Drawing on these implications, the following proposals are advised to develop the state of art in order to ensure the future comparability of various studies on this topic. Ideally, the main task of the scholars attempting to understand return motivations should be to create a comprehensive theory and an analytical model recognizing that a migrant is first of all a person with individual preferences falling into the spheres of family, career and lifestyle, using a clear standardized terminology while integrating the emotional factors. Additionally, in practical terms, in order to identify the return potential in diaspora, it should be taken into account that some returnees did not plan to come back but made their decision on the basis of an intuitive impetus. In case of BiH, the attention should be directed more towards the ones who came back to get the full image of their realities. These people most likely serve as a more relevant source of data for the developing brain gain policies than the diaspora due to the dubious importance of the initial plan to return. If a holistic theory and a model with exact methodology is promoted, an inter-regional comparison would be possible. Consequently, the future research might as well be devoted to examination of the commonalities or disparities of highly skilled migrants around the

¹⁹³ The three key types of potential returning migrants to BiH were defined by Halilovich et al.: people of retiring age, circulating migrants and naturalized refugees. See chapter 3.2.

¹⁹⁴ Some scholars took the frequency of citations or patents as indirect criteria of brain gain, which is, of course, a rather insufficient methodology. See for example Thijs A. Velema, “The contingent nature of brain gain and brain circulation: their foreign context and the impact of return scientists on the scientific community in their country of origin”, *Scientometrics* 93 (2012), 893–913; Vracic, “The Way Back: Brain Drain and Prosperity in the Western Balkans”.

world. A complex theoretical understanding and monitoring the feedback might, in effect, lead to efficient brain gain policies in BiH and abroad.

Conclusion

Why do some highly skilled migrants return to BiH is a simple question with a complicated, yet an attainable answer. The 33 highly educated Bosnians and Herzegovinians interviewed in this study, regardless of the phase of life they found themselves in, mostly sought balance between their career, family and lifestyles. In terms of career, it was usually an end of educational programme or a job offer that brought them back to BiH, but the satisfaction with this sphere of life appears to be weighed with the possibility to contribute and progress in a way which the more developed countries do not offer. The concrete family reason leading the migrants to return is unsurprising: typically, closeness of relatives was something that the respondents deemed a decisive factor. Last but not least, the lifestyle in BiH, its society and specific culture are no less important. In general, the results pointed out that most people intuitively balance their goals and needs. But at the same time, humans are individual in the spheres of life they choose to give the most importance to: some of them prefer having a satisfying career, others being with their family or living a daily life according to their habits in the society that they know well.

Having adopted Achenbach's model of analysis, this study tested several hypotheses. The statement that the presence of relatives is the decisive factor in the family sphere can be confirmed. On the other hand, the key presumption that career is the most frequent reason for return did not prove valid on this sample. This, on one hand, corresponds to the vast majority of empirical studies on highly skilled return migration decisions, but on the other hand contradicts Achenbach's research on skilled Chinese migrants. The discrepancy needs to be further examined and highlights the necessity of the development of a unified methodology to obtain comparable results. Indeed, career as a component of the decisive factors does appear in most of the cases, but usually in a combination with family, lifestyle or both. Also, to the contrary to the expected result, a few cases showed that lifestyle preferences can have a decisive role. Returnees often described that people and society, culture and the BiH lifestyle in general were important to them. The reasons behind the differing importance of lifestyle in China and BiH, in the returnees' perspectives, remains unclear and this should be explored in future research.

Little evidence was found in relation to the life phases. Students and young workers do not prefer career considerations, nor do early adults. Similarly, agents in the family phase do not exclusively refer to the family reasons. On the other hand, although the division into the career- and family-related life phases did not show any significant distinctions in the return reasons, the identification of triggers came out as a useful variable. The initial motives which sparked thinking about return do not necessarily relate to the categories of primary reasons to return. In this case, the great majority of participants came back to BiH on the basis of a secured job. Thus, career-related motivations usually began the process of return migration, while in the end, non-career factors were deemed equally or even more important in the perspectives of the returnees.

This research has brought results which are of theoretical as well as practical relevance. In terms of theory, it highlighted the flaws within the general state of art. Firstly, the methodological disparities between studies on highly skilled migrants make the further research and potential comparability of the location-specific results difficult, if not impossible. Secondly, in relation to this, there should be a consensus about the role of emotional factors, i.e. what reasons are considered emotional and how they differ from the career, family and lifestyle categories. The emotional nature of return should also be examined in order to provide more comprehensive explanations of this feature. Thirdly, it is suggested here that some returnees make their decision in a rather intuitive sense, which is a phenomenon that has not been described in the literature so far. Generally, the established categorization into various skill levels of migrants and their particular reasons for return seems useful for research as it shows clear differences, but a substantial unification of methodology is crucial to enable the progress of the contemporary state of the art. In practical terms, the answers provided by the participants and the contextual comments contribute to the scarce literature on the highly skilled returnees to BiH. The policy makers involved in the initial phase of the defining diaspora strategy might use the findings of this study as an inspiration for the development of the future brain gain policies, particularly in terms of the holistic approach and cautious work with economic-based hypotheses about the returnees' motivations.

To summarize, this study calls for supplementary attention to the issue of highly skilled return migration. A conscientious approach, integrating the findings of great theories as well as empirical academic and non-academic explorations in diverse locations should facilitate the development of a comprehensive model of analysis, which could

reveal similarities between the motivations of highly qualified people in different regions. A mainstream belief that this type of migrant is motivated by merely economic incentives is false, which usually applies both to developed and developing countries. Scholars attempting to fully understand the issue of highly skilled people's return decisions should, then, take this into account and apply a corresponding methodology. The key source of knowledge are the returnees themselves, and the focus on their particular view of their life choices offers authentic insights.

Summary

This diploma thesis has attempted to fill the gap in the qualitative data on highly skilled return migration. Based on 33 in-depth interviews with tertiary educated returnees to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the study identified the key factors which were decisive to the respondents. It contextualized the findings by introducing the contemporary socio-economic and political situation in the region, as well as the theoretical approaches and policies emerging from the research on this topic. The results have shown that the majority of interviewees return in order to balance their life preferences from the spheres of career, family and lifestyle, while some refer to emotional reasons. Another important finding is that sometimes the decision to return was not based on deliberation, but rather upon an intuitive feeling. The study wishes to contribute to the overall state of art and suggests that a possible future development of a model of analysis would enable an inter-regional comparison, which could reveal common features of highly skilled migrants around the world.

List of References

- Achenbach, Ruth. *Return Migration Decisions: A Study on Highly Skilled Chinese in Japan* (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2017).
- Al-Ali, Nadej and Koser, Khalid, eds. *New Approaches to Migration?: Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home* (London: Routledge, 2002).
- Alatović, Sanja. “Washington Consensus and Bosnia and Herzegovina“, paper presented to conference entitled International Conference of the Faculty of Economics, University of Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina (2010), <http://connection.ebscohost.com/c/articles/79299883/washington-consensus-bosnia-herzegovina> (accessed 20/12/19).
- Balasubramanyam, Vudayagi and Greenaway, David, eds. *Trade and Development* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996).
- Bolognani, Marta. “The Emergence of Lifestyle Reasoning in Return Considerations among British Pakistanis”, *International Migration* 52, 6 (2014), 31-42.
- Bonifazi, Corrado and Mamolo, Marija. “Past and Current Trends of Balkan Migrations”, *Espace populations sociétés* 3 (2004), 519-531.
- Borjas, George J. and Bratsberg, Bernt. “Who Leaves? The Outmigration of the Foreign-Born“, NBER Working Paper 4913 (1994), <https://ssrn.com/abstract=238135> (accessed 09/11/18).
- Bosankić, Nina, Mešić, Enisa and Šošić, Bojan. “The Floating Pumpkin Syndrome: Forced Migration, Humanitarian Aid, and the Culture of Learned Helplessness”, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 21, 1 (2019), 61-73.
- Božić, Aleksandar. “A Two-Way Ticket: Return Migration of Tertiary (Post-)Graduates as a Potential Channel of the Brain Gain Process in Bosnia and Herzegovina“, ERSTE Foundation Fellowship for Social Research Report (2012), 1–57.
- Cassarino, Jean-Pierre. “Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited,” *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 6, 2 (2004), 253-279.
- Castles, Stephen. “Twenty-First-Century Migration as a Challenge to Sociology”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33, 3 (2007), 351-371.
- Cerese, Francesco P. “Expectations and Reality: A Case Study of Return Migration from the United States to Southern Italy“, *The International Migration Review* 8, 2 (1974), 245-262.
- Chacko, Elizabeth. “From Brain Drain to Brain Gain: Reverse Migration to Bangalore and Hyderabad, India's Globalizing High Tech Cities”, *GeoJournal* 68, 2 (2007), 131-140.
- Chaloff, Jonathan and Lemaître, Georges. “Managing Highly-Skilled Labour Migration: A Comparative Analysis of Migration Policies and Challenges in OECD Countries”, OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers 79 (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2009), <https://doi.org/10.1787/225505346577> (accessed 27/09/19).

- Chappell, Laura and Glennie, Alex. “Show Me the Money (and Opportunity): Why Skilled People Leave Home — and Why They Sometimes Return“, Institute for Public Policy Research (2010), <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/show-me-money-and-opportunity-why-skilled-people-leave-home-%E2%80%94-and-why-they-sometimes-return> (accessed 28/09/19).
- Chossudovsky, Michel. “Dismantling former Yugoslavia, recolonising Bosnia”, *Development in Practice* 7, 4 (1997), 375-383.
- CIA. “The World Factbook: Bosnia and Herzegovina”, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/print_bk.html (accessed 24/10/19).
- Coleman, James S. ”Social capital in the creation of human capital”, *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (1988), 95-120.
- Constant, Amelie and Massey, Douglas S. “Return migration by German guestworkers: neoclassical versus new economic theories“, *International Migration* 40, 4 (2002), 5-38.
- Dahlman, Carl and Tuathail, Gearóid Ó. “Broken Bosnia: The Localized Geopolitics of Displacement and Return in Two Bosnian Places”, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95, 3 (2005), 644-662.
- Daugeliene, Rasa and Marcinkeviciene, Rita. “Brain circulation: Theoretical considerations” *Engineering Economics* 3 (2009), 49-57.
- de Koning, Mireille. “Return Migration to Bosnia and Herzegovina: Monitoring the Embeddedness of Returnees”, Master Thesis (University of Amsterdam, 2008).
- Dedić, Midhat. “Kako se boriti protiv 'odliva mozgova' iz BiH”, Al Jazeera Balkans (2019), <http://balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/kako-se-boriti-protiv-odliva-mozgova-iz-bih> (accessed 16/12/19).
- Donais, Timothy. *The Political Economy of Peacebuilding in Post-Dayton Bosnia* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2005).
- Dustmann, Christian, Bentolila, Samuel and Faini, Riccardo. “Return Migration: The European Experience“, *Economic Policy* 11, 22 (1996), 213–250.
- European Commission. “Analytical Report: Commission Opinion on Bosnia and Herzegovina’s application for membership of the European Union” (2019), <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20190529-bosnia-and-herzegovina-analytical-report.pdf> (accessed 26/12/19).
- European Committee of the Regions. “Addressing brain drain: the local and regional dimension” (2018), <https://cor.europa.eu/en/engage/studies/Documents/addressing-brain-drain/addressing-brain-drain.pdf> (accessed 25/10/19).
- European Western Balkans. “No EU candidate status for Bosnia and Herzegovina without government formation” (2019), <https://europeanwesternbalkans.com/2019/01/22/no-eu-candidate-status-bosnia-herzegovina-without-government-formation/> (accessed 27/11/19).
- Fawcett, James T. “Networks, Linkages, and Migration Systems”, *The International Migration Review* 23, 3 (1989), 671-680.

- FBiH. "Strategija razvoja Federacije BiH 2010.-2020." (2010), <http://fmks.gov.ba/stara/kultura/legislativa/strategije/StrategijarazvojaFBiH2010-2020.pdf> (accessed 20/12/19).
- Fetahagić, Maida et al., "Social Inclusion in Bosnia and Herzegovina", UNDP, National Human Development Report (2007).
- Findlay, Allan M. and Lowell, Briant L. "Migration of highly skilled persons from developing countries: Impact and Policy Responses", *International Migration Papers* 44 (2001).
- Fňukal, Miloš and Šrubař, Michal. "Nucené migrace vyvolané rozpadem Jugoslávie a jejich dopad na migrační politiku vybraných evropských zemí (1991-2006)", *Slovanské historické studie* 33 (2008), 119-181.
- Friedman, Sheldon. "The effect of the US immigration Act of 1965 on the flow of skilled migrants from less developed countries", *World Development* 1, 8 (1973), 39-44.
- Gallup. "Potential Net Migration Index", http://news.gallup.com/migration/interactive.aspx?g_source=link_news9&g_campaign=item_245204&g_medium=copy (accessed 24/10/19).
- Gëdeshi, Ilir and King, Russell. "Research Study into Brain Gain: Reversing Brain Drain with the Albanian Scientific Diaspora", UNDP (2018), https://www.undp.org/content/dam/albania/docs/Brain_Gain%20web.pdf (accessed 30/12/19).
- govinfo.gov. "Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965", <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-79/pdf/STATUTE-79-Pg911.pdf> (accessed 19/12/19).
- Grigolo, Michele, Lietaert, Matthieu and Marimon, Ramon. "Shifting from academic 'brain drain' to 'brain gain' in Europe", *European Political Science* 130, 9 (2010), 118-130.
- Gupta, Deepak, Nerad, Maresi and Cerny, Joseph. "International Ph.D.s: Exploring the Decision to Stay or Return", *International Higher Education* 31 (2003), 15-16.
- Halilovich, Hariz et al. *Mapping the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Diaspora: Utilizing the Socio-Economic Potential of the Diaspora for Development of BiH* (Sarajevo, 2018), https://www.researchgate.net/publication/329713763_Mapping_the_Bosnian-Herzegovinian_Diaspora_Utilizing_the_Socio-Economic_Potential_of_the_Diaspora_for_Development_of_BiH (accessed 28/12/18).
- Hasić, Jasmin and Karabegović, Dženeta, eds. *Bosnia and Herzegovina's Foreign Policy Since Independence* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).
- Hendl, Jan. *Kvalitativní výzkum: základní metody a aplikace* (Praha: Portál, 2005).
- Horstein Tomić, Caroline, Pichler, Robert and Scholl-Schneider, Sarah, eds. *Remigration to Post-Socialist Europe: Hopes and Realities of Return* (Wien: LIT Verlag, 2018).
- Horvat, Vedran. "Brain Drain. Threat to Successful Transition in South East Europe?", *Southeast European Politics* 5, 1 (2004), 76-93.

- Human Rights Watch. "World Report 2017: Bosnia and Herzegovina", <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/bosnia-and-herzegovina> (accessed 25/10/19).
- Imamović, Adisa. "Zastrašujući podaci: Stotine ljekara otišlo iz FBiH 2016", TVN1 (2017), <http://ba.n1info.com/Vijesti/a132717/Zastrasujuci-podaci-Stotine-ljekara-otislo-iz-FBiH-2016.html> (accessed 24/10/19).
- index.hr. "Zašto ljudi bježe iz Hrvatske? Zbog vjerske zadrnosti, korupcije i uhljeba" (2018), <https://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/zasto-ljudi-odlaze-iz-hrvatske-zbog-vjerske-zadrnosti-korupcije-i-uhljeba/1018200.aspx> (accessed 27/11/19).
- IOM. "Assisted Voluntary Return for Vulnerable Cases to BiH and to Serbia and Montenegro Including Kosovo", <http://www.iom.ba/AVR-1.html> (accessed 27/11/19).
- IOM. "Return and Reintegration Key Highlights 2018", https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/our_work/DMM/AVRR/2018_return_and_reintegration_key_highlights.pdf (accessed 25/10/19).
- IOM. "Temporary Return of Qualified Nationals", <http://www.iom.ba/TRQN.html> (accessed 27/11/19).
- IOM. "World Migration Report 2020", <https://publications.iom.int/books/world-migration-report-2020> (accessed 28/11/19).
- Iredale, Robyn. "The migration of professionals: theories and typologies", *International Migration* 39, 5 (2001), 7-26.
- Isaacs, Ann K., ed. *Immigration and Emigration in Historical Perspective* (Pisa: Plus, 2007).
- Ivanova, Vanya. "The return migration of highly-qualified workers in Bulgaria and in Bosnia and Herzegovina – policies and returnees' responses", *SEER Journal for Labour and Social Affairs in Eastern Europe* 1 (2015), 93-111.
- Jenne, Erin K. "Barriers to Reintegration after Ethnic Civil Wars: Lessons from Minority Returns and Restitution in the Balkans", *Civil Wars* 12, 4 (2011), 370-394.
- Judah, Tim. "Bosnia powerless to halt demographic decline", *Balkan Insight* (2019), <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/11/21/bosnia-powerless-to-halt-demographic-decline/> (accessed 26/12/19).
- Kellogg, Ryan P. "China's Brain Gain? Attitudes and Future Plans of Overseas Chinese Students in the US", *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 8 (2012), 83-104.
- King, Russell and Oruc, Nermin. "Editorial Introduction: Migration in the Western Balkans – Trends and Challenges", *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 21, 1 (2019), 1-10.
- King, Russell. "Generalizations from the history of return migration" in *Return migration: journey of hope or despair?* (Geneva: United Nations, IOM, 2000).
- klix.ba. "Do danas 71.321 osoba se odrekla bh. državljanstva, najviše zbog sticanja njemačkog", <https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/do-danas-71-321-osoba-se-odrekla-bh-drzavljanstva-najvise-zbog-sticanja-njemackog/160807028> (accessed 20/12/19).

- Koser, Khalid and Salt, John. "The Geography of Highly Skilled International Migration" in *International Journal of Population Geography* 3, 4 (1997), 285-303.
- Koser, Khalid. *International Migration: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Kosłowski, Rey. "Selective Migration Policy Models and Changing Realities of Implementation", *International Migration* 52, 3 (2014), 26-39.
- Kupiszewski, Marek et al., "Labour migration patterns, policies and migration propensity in the Western Balkans", IOM (2009), https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/labour_migration_patterns_western_balkans.pdf (accessed 20/12/19).
- Kuznetsov, Yevgeny, ed., "Diaspora Networks and the International Migration of Skills: How Countries Can Draw on Their Talent Abroad", World Bank (2006), <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/465841468313860840/Diaspora-networks-and-the-international-migration-of-skills-how-countries-can-draw-on-their-talent-abroad> (accessed 28/11/19).
- Lang, Thilo and Nadler, Robert, eds. "Return migration to Central and Eastern Europe: transnational migrants' perspectives and local businesses' needs", *Forum IfL* 23 (2014).
- Lee, Everett S. "A Theory of Migration", *Demography* 3, 1 (1966), 47-57.
- Lee, Jenny J. and Kim, Dongbin. "Brain gain or brain circulation? U.S. doctoral recipients returning to South Korea", *High Educ* 59 (2010), 627-643.
- Levitt, Peggy. "Social Remittances: Migration Driven Local-Level Forms of Cultural Diffusion", *The International Migration Review* 32, 4 (1998), 926-948.
- Light, Ivan, Bhachu, Parminder and Karageorgis, Stavros. "Migration Networks and Immigrant Entrepreneurship" (California, LA: UCLA, Institute for Social Science Research, 1989), <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/50g990sk> (accessed 28/09/19).
- Logue, Daniel. "Moving Policy Forward: brain drain as a wicked problem", *Globalization, Societies and Education* 7, 1 (2009), 41-50.
- Mahroum, Sami. "The international policies of brain gain: A review", *Technology Analysis & Strategic Management* 17, 2 (2005), 219-230.
- Majstorović, Danijela and Turjačanin, Vladimir. *Youth Ethnic and National Identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
- Marfouk, Abdeslam, Brücker, Herbert and Capuano, Stella. "Education, gender and international migration: insights from a panel-dataset 1980-2010" (2013), <https://www.iab.de/en/daten/iab-brain-drain-data.aspx> (accessed 22/10/19).
- Mayr, Karin and Peri, Giovanni. "Return Migration as a Channel of Brain Gain", NBER Working Paper 14039 (2008), <https://www.nber.org/papers/w14039> (accessed 09/11/18).
- MHRR BiH. "Policy on Cooperation with Diaspora" (2017), <http://www.mhrr.gov.ba/iseljenistvo/Dokumenti/PolitikaE%20final1.pdf> (accessed 31/10/19).

- MHRR BiH. “Priručnik za povratnike”,
<http://www.mhrr.gov.ba/iseljenstvo/Publikacije/Prirucnik%20za%20povratnike.pdf>
 f (accessed 30/10/19).
- MHRR BiH. “Uspješne priče Archives - Interaktivni portal za Dijaspору iz BiH”,
<https://dijaspора.mhrr.gov.ba/category/uspjesne-price/> (accessed 31/10/19).
- MHRR BiH. Migration in the Function of Development (2015),
https://issuu.com/unitednations_bih/docs/migration_in_the_function_of_develo
 (accessed 29/10/19).
- Mihajlovic, Steven. “Yugoslav Gastarbeiter: The Guest Who Stayed for Dinner”,
Northwestern Journal of International Law & Business 8, 1 (1987), 181-196.
- Ministarstvo sigurnosti BiH. “Migracioni profil Bosne i Hercegovine za 2018. godinu”
 (2019), <http://msb.gov.ba/PDF/010720191.pdf> (accessed 24/10/19).
- Ministarstvo sigurnosti BiH. “Migracioni profil Bosne i Hercegovine za 2012. godinu”
 (2013), http://msb.gov.ba/PDF/Migracioni_profil_2012_BOSa.pdf (accessed
 24/10/19).
- Nenadić, Mario et al. “Uporedna analiza pristupa pravima izbjeglica i raseljenih osoba”,
 Ministarstvo za ljudska prava i izbjeglice Bosne i Hercegovine (Sarajevo, 2005),
<http://fmroi.gov.ba/bosanski/1.%20Uporedna%20analiza%20o%20pravima%20pristupa%20izbjeglica%20i%20raseljenih%20osoba.pdf> (accessed 30/12/19).
- OHR. “Bosnia and Herzegovina: Ethnic composition”,
<https://reliefweb.int/organization/ohr> (accessed 19/10/2019).
- OSCE. “Dayton Peace Agreement” (1995), <https://www.osce.org/bih/126173> (accessed
 27/11/19).
- Pavković, Ivan. “Odlasci ljekara: BiH godišnje gubi 50 miliona eura”, Al Jazeera Balkans
 (2018), http://balkans.aljazeera.net/video/odlasci-ljekara-bih-godisnje-gubi-50-miliona-eura?qt-view__programs__programs_mega_menu_panel_pane=0&page=1
 (accessed 24/10/19).
- Pavlov, Tanja, ed. *Brain gain policies and practices in the Western Balkans*, Group 484
 (2013), <http://www.crpm.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/From-Brain-Gain-Policies-to-Practices-.pdf> (accessed 30/12/19).
- Pavlov, Tanja, ed., *Return of highly qualified migrants to the Western Balkans*, Group 484
 (2011),
<http://www.ukf.hr/UserDocsImages/Return%20of%20Highly%20Qualified%20Migrants%20to%20the%20Western%20Balkans,%202011.pdf> (accessed 30/12/19).
- Podgorelec, Sonja, Gregurović, Margareta and Klempić Bogadi, Sanja. “Immigrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina in Croatia: A Sense of Belonging and Acceptance in the New Social Environment”, *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 82 (2019), 5-23.
- Porobić, Selma. “Daring ‘life-return projects’ to post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina”,
International Migration 55, 5 (2017), 192-204.
- Pugh, Michael. “Transformation in the political economy of Bosnia since Dayton”,
International Peacekeeping 12, 3 (2005), 448-462.
- Ravenstein, Ernst G. “The Laws of Migration”, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*
 48, 2 (1885), 167-235.

- Reich, Michael, Gordon, David M. and Edwards, Richard C. "Dual Labor Markets: A Theory of Labor Market Segmentation", *American Economic Review* 63, 2 (1973), 359-365.
- Sarajevo Times. "53,500 Nationals of Bosnia and Herzegovina left their Country for the EU!" (2019), <https://www.sarajevotimes.com/53500-nationals-of-bosnia-and-herzegovina-left-their-country-for-the-eu/> (accessed 21/12/19).
- Schiff, Maurice and Özden, Çağlar. *International Migration, Remittances, and the Brain Drain* (Washington, DC: World Bank and Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
- seerural.org. "Organized Domestic Products and Household Work Fair within the manifestation 'Diaspora Days', 28th July, 2019, Lopare, Bosnia & Herzegovina", <http://seerural.org/news/organized-domestic-products-and-household-work-fair-within-the-manifestation-diaspora-days-28th-july-2019-lopare-bosnia-herzegovina/> (accessed 31/10/19).
- Şener, Yilmaz. "Return Migration of Qualified Turkish Migrants from Germany and the US", *Journal of Humanity and Society* 8, 3 (2018), 51-72.
- Simon, Herbert A. "A Behavioral Model of Rational Choice", *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 69, 1 (1955), 99–118.
- Song, Hahzoong. "From Brain Drain to Reverse Brain Drain: Three Decades of Korean Experience", *Science, Technology & Society* 2, 2 (1997), 317-345.
- The Presidency of BiH, "The Foreign Policy Strategy of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2018-2023" (2018), <http://www.predsjednistvobih.ba/vanj/default.aspx?id=79555&langTag=en-US> (accessed 21/12/19).
- Todaro, Michael P. "A model of labor migration and urban unemployment in less developed countries", *American Economic Review* 59, 1 (1969), 138-48.
- Trading Economics. "Bosnia and Herzegovina GDP Annual Growth Rate", <https://tradingeconomics.com/bosnia-and-herzegovina/gdp-growth-annual> (accessed 24/10/19).
- Trading Economics. "Bosnia and Herzegovina Unemployment Rate", <https://tradingeconomics.com/bosnia-and-herzegovina/unemployment-rate> (accessed 28/11/19).
- Trošt, Tamara P. and Mandić, Danilo, eds. *Changing Youth Values in Southeast Europe: Beyond Ethnicity* (London: Routledge, 2017).
- Uherek, Zdeněk et al. *Migrace: Historie a současnost* (Ostrava: PANT, 2016).
- UNDP. "Mainstreaming the Concept on Migration and Development into Relevant Policies, Plans and Actions in BIH: Diaspora for Development (D4D)" (2016), https://www.ba.undp.org/content/bosnia_and_herzegovina/en/home/operations/projects/poverty_reduction/migration-and-development1.html (accessed 30/10/19).
- UNHCR. "Handbook for Repatriation and Reintegration Activities" (2004), <https://www.unhcr.org/411786694.pdf> (accessed 28/12/19).
- UNHCR. "UNHCR Population Statistics – Data – Overview", <http://popstats.unhcr.org/en/overview> (accessed 20/12/18).

- Uvalic, Milica. “Science, Technology and Economic Development in South Eastern Europe”, UNESCO, Science policy series 1 (2005).
- van Gorp, Jasmin and Smets, Kevin. “Diaspora organizations, imagined communities and the versatility of diaspora: The case of Former Yugoslav organizations in the Netherlands”, *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 18, 1 (2015), 70–85.
- van Houte, Marieke and Davids, Tine. “Moving back or Moving forward? Return migration, development and peacebuilding“, *New Diversities* 16, 2 (2014), 71-87.
- Velema, Thijs A. “The contingent nature of brain gain and brain circulation: their foreign context and the impact of return scientists on the scientific community in their country of origin”, *Scientometrics* 93 (2012), 893–913.
- Věra Brázová et al., *Migrace a rozvoj: rozvojový potenciál mezinárodní migrace* (Praha: FSV UK, 2011).
- Vladislavljevic, Anja. “One-Way Ticket: Croatia’s Growing Emigration Crisis”, *Balkan Insight* (2019), <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/01/08/one-way-ticket-croatia-s-growing-emigration-crisis-12-21-2018/> (accessed 27/11/19).
- Vracic, Alida. “The Way Back: Brain Drain and Prosperity in the Western Balkans”, *European Council on Foreign Relations Policy Brief* 257 (2018).
- World Bank. “Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011”, 2nd edition (2011), <https://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLAC/Resources/Factbook2011-Ebook.pdf> (accessed 30/12/19).
- World Bank. “Migration and Remittances Factbook 2016”, 3rd edition (2016), <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/23743/9781464803192.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y> (accessed 30/12/19).
- Zech, Tanja. “The Skilled Labour Immigration Act: working in Germany”, *deutschland.de*, <https://www.deutschland.de/en/topic/business/the-skilled-labour-immigration-act-working-in-germany> (accessed 27/11/19).
- Žila, Ondřej. *‘Jedna Si Jedina Moja Domovina?’ : Etno-demografické proměny Bosny a Hercegoviny v letech 1945-2013* (Praha: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, 2014).
- Zweig, David and Changgui, Chen. *China's Brain Drain to the United States: Views of Overseas Chinese Students and Scholars in the 1990s* (London: Routledge, 1995).

ZÁVĚREČNÉ TEZE MAGISTERSKÉ PRÁCE NMTS

Závěrečné teze student odevzdává ke konci Diplomního semináře III jako součást magisterské práce a tyto teze jsou spolu s odevzdáním magisterské práce do SIS předpokladem udělení zápočtu za tento seminář.

Jméno:

Anna Andrllová

E-mail:

anna.andrlova22@email.cz

Specializace (uved'te zkratkou)*:

BAS

Semestr a školní rok zahájení práce:

LS/2018

Semestr a školní rok ukončení práce:

ZS/2020

Vedoucí diplomového semináře:

doc. PhDr. Luboš Švec, CSc.

Vedoucí práce:

PhDr. Ondřej Žíla, Ph.D.

Název práce:

Return Decisions of Highly Skilled Migrants in Bosnia and Herzegovina after 2005 / Důvody vysoce kvalifikovaných migrantů k návratu do Bosny a Hercegoviny po roce 2005

Charakteristika tématu práce (max 10 řádek):

Odliv mozků (tzv. brain drain) je fenomén, který v daytonské Bosně a Hercegovině (BiH) představuje celospolečenský problém. Na druhé straně, návrat vzdělaných lidí nemá v literatuře dostatečné zastoupení, zejména v prostředí rozvojových zemí. Důvody k návratu tohoto typu migrantů jsou často redukovány na ekonomické motivace, ačkoliv empirické studie z různých oblastí světa naznačují, že vedle těchto faktorů jsou pro navrátilce důležité také rodinné, emocionální či lifestylové preference. Tato práce si klade za cíl prověřit poznatky existujících studií na základě osobních interview s 33 vysoce kvalifikovanými navrátilci do BiH.

Vývoj tématu od zadání projektu do odevzdání práce (max. 10 řádek):

Původní teoretický základ v mainstreamových pojetích brain drainu byl změněn na kombinaci předpokladů hlavních teoretických přístupů k migraci, výsledků empirických studií z různých regionů a konceptu německé výzkumnice Ruth Achenbachové. Úspěšného sběru dat bylo docíleno nejen původně zamýšleným snowball efektem, ale také oslovením relevantních osob prostřednictvím emailových adres na stránkách univerzit v BiH. Jazyk práce se změnil z českého na anglický, zejména z etických důvodů vůči účastníkům výzkumu, kteří neovládají češtinu.

Struktura práce (hlavní kapitoly obsahu):

Úvod

1. Stav poznání v oblasti vysoce vzdělané návratové migrace

2. Metodologie

3. Migrační profil BiH

4. Výsledky: důvody k návratu vysoce vzdělaných migrantů do BiH

5. Diskuze a limity

Závěr

Hlavní výsledky práce (max. 10 řádek):

Práce přinesla nové poznatky v teoretickém a praktickém ohledu. Z teoretického hlediska

upozornila na nedostatečnou metodologii existujících výzkumů na toto téma, poukázala na důležité konsekvence plynoucí z nesjednocených přístupů k tématu v různých regionech a navrhla vytvoření komplexního modelu, který by umožnil regionálně komparativní analýzu. Z praktického hlediska práce přinesla potřebná data o vysoce vzdělaných navrátilcích v BiH. Ačkoliv téma navrátilců se uprchlíků je na západním Balkáně extenzivně pokryto, málo pozornosti je věnováno těm, kteří se vracejí i přes nepříliš uspokojujivý socio-ekonomický a politický vývoj v zemi.

Prameny a literatura (výběr nejpodstatnějších):

Achenbach, Ruth. *Return Migration Decisions: A Study on Highly Skilled Chinese in Japan* (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2017).

Halilović, Hariz et al. *Mapping the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Diaspora: Utilizing the Socio-Economic Potential of the Diaspora for Development of BiH* (Sarajevo, 2018), https://www.researchgate.net/publication/329713763_Mapping_the_Bosnian-Herzegovinian_Diaspora_Utilizing_the_Socio-Economic_Potential_of_the_Diaspora_for_Development_of_BiH (accessed 28/12/18).

Porobić, Selma. "Daring 'life-return projects' to post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina", *International Migration* 55, 5 (2017), 192-204.

Zweig, David and Changgui, Chen. *China's Brain Drain to the United States: Views of Overseas Chinese Students and Scholars in the 1990s* (London: Routledge, 1995).

MHRR BiH. *Migration in the Function of Development* (2015), https://issuu.com/unitednations_bih/docs/migration_in_the_function_of_develo (accessed 29/10/19).

Hasić, Jasmin and Karabegović, Dženeta, eds. *Bosnia and Herzegovina's Foreign Policy Since Independence* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

Etika výzkumu:**

Etické aspekty výzkumu jsou zajištěny zaznamenaným ústním či písemným souhlasem s účastí na výzkumu. V případech, kdy si přál být dotazovaný anonymizován, tak bylo učiněno. Výzkumem nebude nikomu způsobena újma.

Jazyk práce:

anglický

Podpis studenta a datum

Schváleno	Datum	Podpis
Vedoucí práce		
Vedoucí diplomového semináře		
Vedoucí specializace		
Garant programu		

* BAS – Balkánská a středoevropská studia; ES – Evropská studia; NRS – Německá a rakouská studia; RES – Ruská a eurasijská studia; SAS – Severoamerická studia; ZES – Západoevropská studia.

** Pokud je to relevantní, tj. vyžaduje to charakter výzkumu (nebo jeho zadavatel), data, s nimiž pracujete, nebo osobní bezpečnost vaše či dalších účastníků výzkumu, vysvětlíte, jak zajistíte dodržení, resp. splnění těchto etických aspektů výzkumu: 1) informovaný souhlas s účastí na výzkumu, 2) dobrovolná účast na výzkumu, 3) důvěrnost a anonymita zdrojů, 4) bezpečný výzkum (nikomu nevznikne újma).