

Return migration in Central Europe: current trends and an analysis of policies supporting returning migrants

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forum



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Heft 21

Thilo Lang (Hrsg.)

Return Migration in Central Europe: Current trends and an analysis of policies supporting returning migrants

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Content

1	Introduction	5
	Thilo Lang, Zoltán Kovács, Lajos Boros, Gábor Hegedűs, Gábor Lados	
2	Comparative Report on Re-Migration Trends in Central and Eastern Europe	11
	Stefanie Smoliner, Michael Förschner, Josef Hochgerner, Jana Nová	
2.1	Introduction	11
2.2	International Theories of Return Migration	12
2.3	Defining and Measuring Return Migration	17
2.4	Synthesized Findings: Return Migration Trends in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE)	21
2.4.1	Return Migration in CEE - Cross-Country Results	21
2.4.2	Return Migration in CEE - Country Specific Empirical Studies	23
2.4.3	Synthesis of National Results	38
2.4.4	Who Comes Back? Data Analysis of Return Migration	41
2.5	Return Migration - The Regional Perspective	46
2.5.1	Returning Migrants and Regional Development: Theoretical Concept	46
2.5.2	Regional Economic and Labour Market Profile	48
2.5.3	Perspectives for Returning Migrants	50
2.6	Conclusions	51
2.7	References	54
3	Returning People to the Homeland: Tools and Methods Supporting Remigrants in a European Context	58
	Zoltán Kovács, Lajos Boros, Gábor Hegedűs, Gábor Lados	
3.1	Introduction	58
3.2	Factors and Impacts of Return Migration	58
3.3	National Policies Aimed at Stimulating Return Migration	61
3.4	Local and Regional Best Practices to Generate Return Migration	68
3.5	Types of Best Practices, their Feasibility and Adaptability	88
3.6	Conclusions and Recommendations	92
3.7	References	94
	List of Authors	95

1 Introduction

Thilo Lang, Zoltán Kovács, Lajos Boros, Gábor Hegedűs, Gábor Lados

After 1989 Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) has gone through important political, economic and social changes. The entry of many CEE countries to the European Union during the first decade of the 21st century enhances the European integration. Joining the EU accelerated economic growth of these countries and opened work migration flows, mainly from Central Europe to North-Western Europe. Economically motivated migration of in particular young and well educated people from the New Member States to high-income countries is currently dominating international migration flows in Europe thanks to the free right to work in any other EU Member State (DRBOHLAV et al. 2009; MARTIN & RADU 2011).

This process generates new challenges in territorial development. On the one hand, the ratio of foreigners dramatically increased in some of the core regions; on the other hand, regions affected by emigration faced serious demographic consequences. Migration, both extra-European and intra-European, has a significant impact on the demographic and labour force development of regions. Advanced regions normally benefit from migration, whereas poorer regions suffer from it. In addition to its impact on the labour market, migration reduces ageing in affluent regions and increases it in poor ones (ESPON 2010a). In this respect we can identify core regions and crisis regions of migration within Europe.

Figure 1 shows population change in Europe for the period of 2000-2007, combined with data on natural change and balance of migration. Regions are classified in six groups according to their demographic profile and migration balance. Based on the ESPON-analysis, regions gaining or losing population through migration can be delimited. One of the most striking dividing lines on the map is running between Eastern and Western Europe. Regions suffering from emigration are located mainly in the former state-socialist countries, including Eastern Germany. Ten out of fifteen EU regions suffering most intensely from out-migration are located in Eastern Central Europe. If we add the three East German regions then the thirteen most seriously hit regions are in the post-socialist countries. In addition to post-socialist countries, southern parts of Mediterranean countries (Greece, Italy) and remote sparsely populated regions of Scandinavian countries lying beyond the Arctic Circle are suffering from emigration. Beside these extensive areas, smaller regions in the core of Europe (e.g. Central France, Northern England) are also hit hard by emigration. They can be commonly characterised as “internal peripheries”.

In the EU15 almost all regions, except those in north-eastern France, northern Portugal, north-eastern Finland and some regions in the former East Germany profit from migration. The most profound gains were recorded in Italy north of Naples, south-western France, some south-western regions of Spain and in Algarve, all forming a broad Mediterranean crescent, and in east and south-west England (ESPON 2010a).

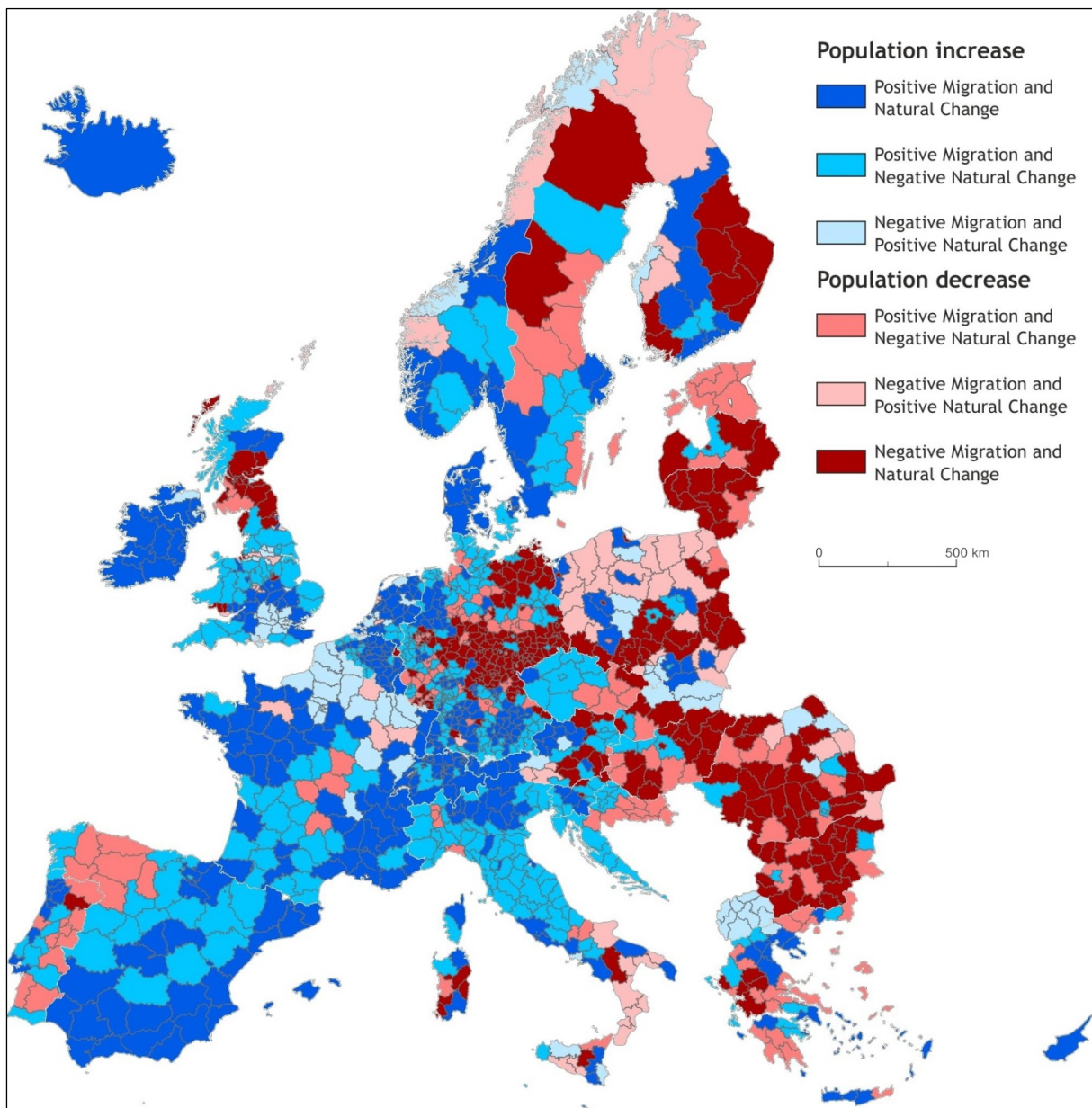


Fig. 1: Population Change by Main Components 2000-2007, NUTS3 level (for colour illustration see <http://www.ifl-leipzig.de/de/publikationen/zeitschriften-und-reihen/forum-ifl.html>)
 Source: ESPON 2010b, p. 15

At the regional scale, population change through migration is caused by two different components: internal migration between regions within individual countries and international migration to and from different countries. To fine-tune the picture both components should be taken into consideration when analysing the migration record of regions within Europe. As figure 2 shows in about 64 % of EU regions the total migration balance was positive for the period of 2005-2010. The combination of positive internal and positive international migration occurred in many cases (42 %), which was followed by the combination of negative internal and positive external migration (19 %). Conversely, there are hardly any regions with positive internal migration and negative external migration. Regions where both components are negative (13 %) can mainly be found outside the largest metropolitan regions and geographically mostly in the eastern part of Europe (ESPON 2010c).

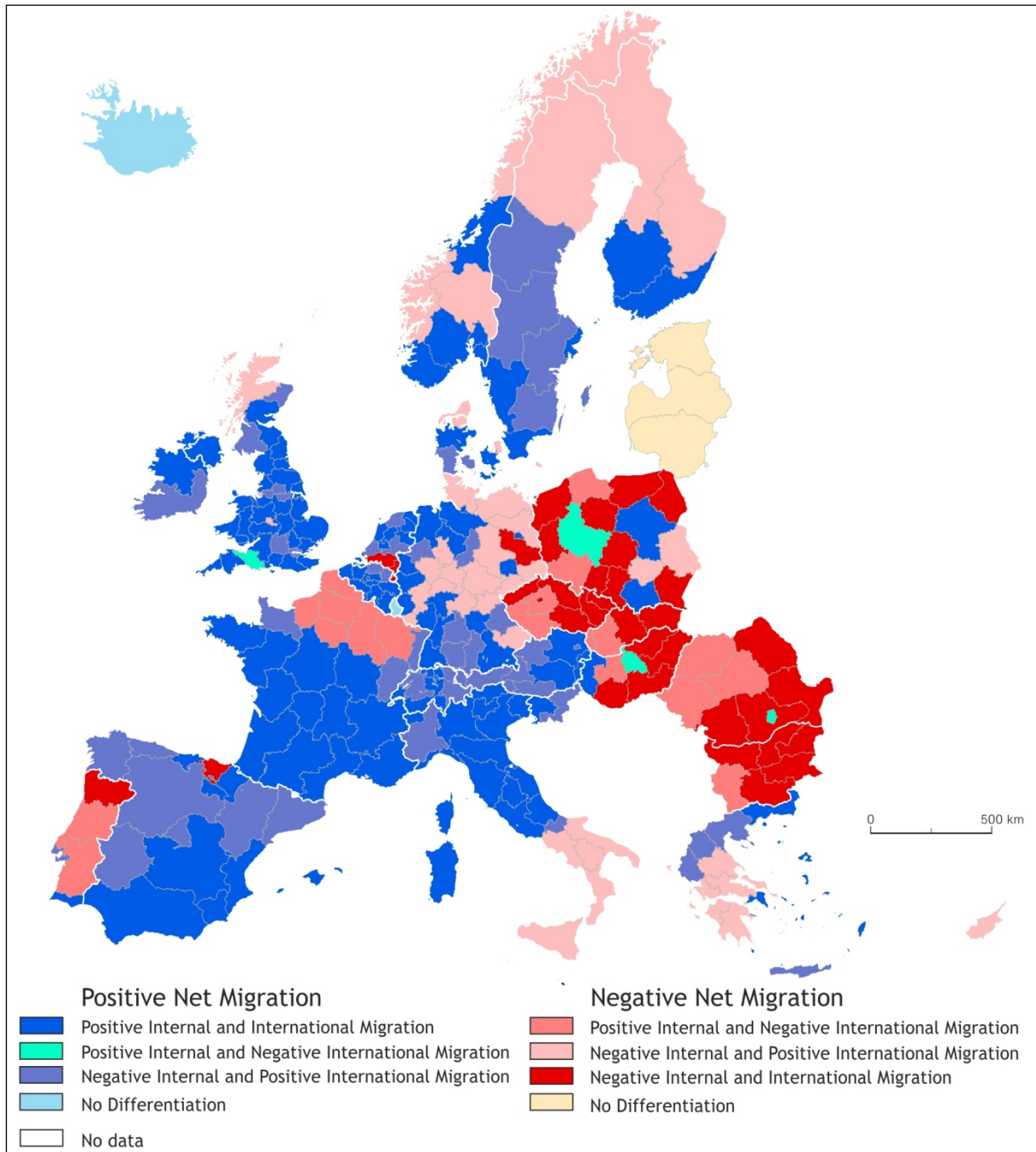


Fig. 2: Net Migration: Internal and international migration balance in 2005-2010, NUTS2 level (for colour illustration see <http://www.ifl-leipzig.de/de/publikationen/zeitschriften-und-reihen/forum-ifl.html>)

Source: ESPON 2010c, p. 3

Considering the dimensions, East German and Bulgarian regions suffered most from population decline caused by migration, whereas regions of Ireland and Southern Spain gained the greatest numbers of immigrants in relative terms between 2000 and 2007. Except for some of the capital cities' and regional centres' regions, the overwhelming majority of regions in the former state-socialist countries suffered from emigration. It also seems to be a common trend that population losses caused simultaneously by national and international migration tend to overlap in the

eastern regions of these countries. Migration loss of regions in the EU15 is normally caused by internal migration only (e.g. northern Scandinavia, northern Scotland, eastern Germany, southern Italy and Greece). Negative balance of international migration plays a role only in Portugal and northern France.

According to estimations the annual turnover of migration is around 2 million in the ESPON countries. Migration flows between European countries go mainly from East to West. This pattern becomes clear from figure 3 where migration flows involving more than 5,000 people in the years of 2006 and 2007 are indicated. There were altogether 79 such relations within Europe in these two years. The greatest flows were recorded between Germany and Poland (223,000) and between Spain and Romania (102,000). Migration between Romania and Italy (76,000) and between Spain/Poland and the UK (52,000) were also considerable. The map indicates that migration flows favour mainly major European metropolitan regions, like London, Madrid and Paris, but other capital city regions also attract large number of international migrants (ESPON 2010d).

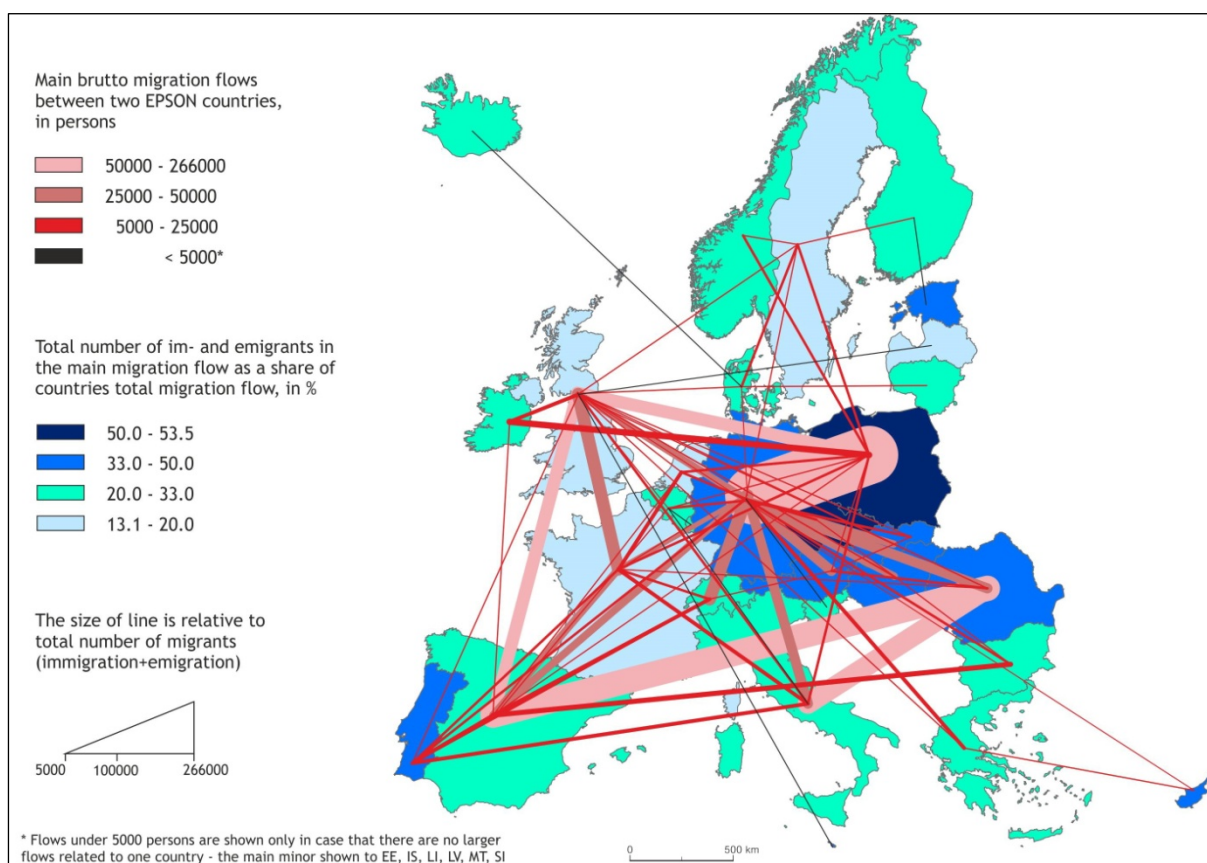


Fig. 3: Main bilateral gross migration flows (for colour illustration see <http://www.ifl-leipzig.de/de/publikationen/zeitschriften-und-reihen/forum-ifl.html>)

Source: ESPON 2010b, p. 49

Considering internal migration flows involving more than 2,500 persons the advantageous position of major metropolis regions becomes even clearer. There were 658 such connections in Europe in 2007, and the greatest ones were directed to the most important global cities of Europe including London, Paris or Madrid, and cities of the Ruhr agglomeration. Regional disparities in economic development and income level within countries appear also strikingly on

the map. Migration flows inside Sweden directed predominantly from north to south, in Germany from east to west, in other countries (e.g. GREECE, Hungary) from the less developed peripheries to the core (capital) regions.

As we have seen emigration is a serious problem for many rural regions especially in CEE-countries. But the migration process is not only a one-way and irreversible phenomenon (GMELCH 1980, CASSARINO 2004, SILLS 2008). In this context the issue remigration gained relevance in the past years. Empirical studies show the willingness of many people to come back to their countries. However, this process is often associated with significant problems of reintegration. Often the home regions neglect the returning migrants' contribution to regional economic development of these countries, and they do not support migrants in their return. It is estimated, that up to 50 % of these outmigrants would return to their home countries within 5 years after emigration – a huge potential for regional development as these people gained new social, cultural and professional competencies while being abroad. This is where the project “Re-Turn: Regions benefitting from returning migrants” takes its starting point. Re-Turn's main objectives are linked to the development and implementation of services needed to support migrants in their wish to return, the promotion of returning migrants as a human capital resource for innovative business development, the creation of framework conditions for reintegration into their home countries' labour markets and social communities. The project aims at developing, testing and implementing joint strategies, new support policies, tools and services in the participating regions. With this volume of forum ifl, we present two studies which were established in the framework of the Re-Turn project: *A Comparative Report on Re-Migration Trends in Central Europe* (chapter 2) and a study about support policies: *Returning People to the Homeland: Tools and Methods Supporting Remigrants in a European Context* (chapter 3). Both studies help to shed light on a number of open research questions around the issue of return migration.

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2 Comparative Report on Re-Migration Trends in Central and Eastern Europe

Stefanie Smoliner, Michael Förschner, Josef Hochgerner, Jana Nová

2.1 Introduction

Migration is a highly discussed topic – both in sending as well as in receiving countries. There are multiple motives which cause people to migrate: people migrate in search of a new job, better career opportunities, higher income, better quality of life or as a result of political or religious persecution (KLAGGE et al. 2007, p. 1). For different reasons, some of the migrants return to their country of origin, and specifically the highly-skilled among them can be drivers of innovation and impact on the economic development. Return migration has the potential to reverse negative outcomes of brain drain and support sustainable economic prosperity in developing and newly industrializing countries (see HUNGER 2004).

Compared to the huge empirical literature on migration in general, relatively few papers provide evidence on labour market outcomes of high-skilled return migrants in their home countries. There is a constantly growing literature on return migration in developing countries (e.g. African countries), and recently, return migration has been discussed in the light of Central and Eastern European countries as well (see KLAGGE et al. 2007, p. 1). These countries experienced profound political and economic changes in the last two decades and need skilled return migration to reverse negative effects of brain drain.

Therefore, return migrants from Western European countries are a particularly important group on Central and Eastern European labour-markets. Precise, comparable numbers of returnees in CEE (Central and Eastern Europe) are still missing, but scholars put their number at about half a million these days. As they are a fast-growing group, they will be certainly above one million in a few years time (see MARTIN & RADU 2011, p. 2).

After the opening of the borders in 1990 and the EU enlargement, migration from the relatively poorer countries of CEE to the richer countries in Western Europe gained importance. Many skilled and unskilled workers migrated, hoping to find jobs with better career opportunities and increased income. In 2004, some Western European countries started to grant free access to CEE workers, which increased migration flows from Eastern European countries again (MARTIN & RADU 2011). Labour inflows to Western European countries enhanced economic development (see BLANCHFLOWER et al. 2007), but ‘the main home countries of intra-EU migrants experienced a negative supply shock with emigration adding to labour market bottlenecks and wage and inflation pressure’ (MARTIN & RADU 2011, p. 3).

In the last years, the situation has changed. The economic crisis in 2008 hit many of the main destination countries (like UK, Ireland, Spain etc.) and ‘CEE countries experienced a period of rapid economic expansion, resulting in increased job opportunities and fast convergence of wage and income levels between home and host countries, especially for skilled labour’ (ibid.). These circumstances have made return migration attractive to many CEE workers.

According to the SOPEMI Report 2008, many migrants opt for temporary migration and return migration has to be seen as one part of the whole migration story. Between 20 % and 50 % of immigrants leave within five years of arriving in a country, some to return home and some

to move to a third country (OECD 2008, p. 163). Therefore, return migration is a highly important topic in Central Europe and will even gain importance in the upcoming years.

So far, no comparative report on return migration for the whole Central European Region has been written. Against this background, this report presents comparative insights of return migration in Central Europe and especially in the seven partner countries Austria, Germany, Czech Republic, Italy, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia of the Re-Turn Project, funded by the European Union. The main objective of this comparative report is to present the current situation of return migration in Central Europe, similarities and differences between involved states and regions as well as the unexploited potentials of returnees to be able to use return migration to foster knowledge development.

The following chapters are organized as follows. *Chapter 2.2* provides an overview of international theories of return migration. The main aim of this part is to understand which micro and macro factors influence the decision to return and how contextual situations as well as institutional aspects shape return experiences and how they influence the re-integration of returnees in the origin-country. *Chapter 2.3* defines return migration and describes the available data sets, which can be used to analyse return migration in Central Europe. *Chapter 2.4* provides a detailed overview of the available research on return migration in Central and Eastern Europe. First, cross-country studies for the region are reviewed. Second, eight country reports on return migration are presented, based on a review of available country-specific research. Third, descriptive statistics on return migration are provided based on Labour Force Survey Data from 2005-2008. *Chapter 2.5* explores skilled return migration to Central Europe and its impact on economic development in a regional perspective. The role of regional factors as providing opportunities or posing problems for migration-induced development will be analysed. Finally, *chapter 2.6* summarises key findings.

2.2 International Theories of Return Migration

Although theoretical considerations of return migration can be traced back to the 1960s, it was not until the 1980s that scholars started to debate on potential impacts of return migration on origin and destination countries. Recently, return migration processes in Central and Eastern European Countries have attracted attention, as these countries experienced profound political and economic changes in the last decade. Therefore, the number of empirical and theoretical approaches on return migration increased, but so far, there exists no broad in-depth theoretical framework for return migration (SCHMITHALS 2010, p. 283). Thus, general migration theories, which also cover the aspect of return migration, offer a possibility to better understand the magnitude and dynamics of return migration to origin countries (see CASSARINO 2004).

Subsequently, six different theoretical approaches to return migration will be reviewed. They differ with respect to the level of analysis (individual or household), the primary motives which drive return (economic aspects, non-economic aspects) as well as micro- or macro dimensions of return migration.

The Neoclassical Approach

In the past, migration processes have often been explained using economic reasons. Economic approaches see migrants primarily as rationally acting individuals, who emigrated to maximize

their earnings and career opportunities. In this light, returns to the home country occur, when migrants failed in fulfilling their aspirations related to the migration plan. 'They may for example underestimate the difficulty of mastering the host country language, of gaining recognition for foreign qualifications, or of putting their professional experience to profitable use. When they have an offer of employment, candidates for migration may underestimate the cost of living, and in particular the cost of housing, and thus overestimate the living standard and the savings capacity they will enjoy in the destination country' (OECD 2008, p. 178). Put differently, migrants who 'miscalculated the costs of migration and who did not reap the benefits of higher earnings' (CASSARINO 2004, p. 255) return as a consequence of imperfect information, failed experiences abroad or downgrading of their human capital. Contrary to this approach, the New Economics of Labour Migration have a positive view of return migration.

The New Economics of Labour Migration

According to the New Economics of Labour Migration, migrants go abroad for a specific period of time to receive higher income and accumulate savings. A return to the home country is the logical consequence of the successful achievement of all migration related goals and targets. With the words of CASSARINO (2004), return migration is a 'calculated strategy' and the 'natural outcome of a successful experience abroad during which migrants met their goals (i.e. higher incomes and accumulation of savings) while naturally remitting part of their income to the household. Remittances are part and parcel of a strategy aimed at diversifying the resources of the household with a view to better compensating for the risks, linked to the absence of an efficient insurance market in home countries. They also constitute one explanatory factor in the return decision, together with the attachment to the home country' (CASSARINO 2004, pp. 255f.). A return to the home country is part of the migration strategy of a migrant's household, not of the migrant itself. If the liquidity of the household in the home country is guaranteed, the expectations of the migrant's household are met and the return is organized. This temporary migration project definitely has an impact on the migrant's integration into the host society, his behavior towards human capital accumulation and his professional advancement in the destination country (see CASSARINO 2004).

Shortcomings of both theories (the Neoclassical Approach and the New Economics of Labour Migration) include that the focus is only put on financial and economic factors, without explaining how remittances and accumulated human capital are used in home countries (see CASSARINO 2004, p. 257). Returnees are exclusively viewed as 'foreign-income bearers' (ibid.). Furthermore, these theories only explain which motives drive the intention to return, but they do not elaborate on how the return is organized and prepared. In addition it can be criticised, that the economic approaches do not touch the aspect to where returnees return and adapt their considerations accordingly. Another approach, influenced by neoclassical considerations, is Lee's Push-Pull Model.

Push-Pull Model (Lee 1966)

This theoretical approach followed the neoclassical considerations of RAVENSTEIN (1885, 1889), who assumed 'that the main currents of migration flow from regions with fewer opportunities to regions with better prospects' (SCHMITHALS 2010, p. 284). Lee built on this notion but broadened the approach. By highlighting the importance of intervening obstacles and personal factors, he

pointed out that migrants may act and behave irrationally. In addition, Lee described in his papers, that every migration flow produces a counter flow. Lee formulated the following reasons (LEE 1966, p. 22; cit. after SCHMITHALS 2010, p. 284):

- 'the acquisition of new attributes at destination that the migrants gain often allows them to return on improved terms,
- migrants became aware of opportunities at origin that they had not taken advantage of before, or they may use their contacts in the new area to set up business in their home area, and
- it is likely that children born at destination will accompany the return migrants, as many other people who have become aware of opportunities at the place of origin through the migrants'

A paradigm which takes personal and contextual reasons for return migration into consideration is the structural approach.

The Structural Approach

In the 1970s and 1980s, sociologists, social geographers and anthropologists started to think about return migration. Their considerations were mainly triggered by considerable return flows of the so-called 'guest workers' (german: Gastarbeiter). The structural approach focuses on situational and contextual factors in the origin countries to explain why some returnees appear as actors of change and innovation and others don't. According to the structural approach existing power relations, traditions and values in the home country have an even stronger impact on the reintegration and the innovation potential of returnees than the returnees' human and financial capital (CASSARINO 2004, p. 259).

Looking at different expectations and motivations of returnees, CERASE (1974) suggested the following typology of returnees (taken from CASSARINO 2004, p. 258):

- '*Return of failure* pertains to those returnees who could not integrate in their host countries owing to the prejudices and stereotypes they encountered abroad. Their difficulties in taking an active part in the receiving societies or in adapting themselves to host societies were strong enough to motivate their return'.
- '*Return of conservatism* includes migrants who before emigrating had planned to return home with enough money to buy land with a view to <liberating themselves from loathsome subjection to the landowners> (CERASE 1974, p. 254 cit. after CASSARINO 2004, p. 258). Because of these aspirations and strategies, conservative returnees only tend to satisfy their personal needs, as well as those of their relatives. Conservative returnees do not aim at changing the social context they had left before migrating, rather, they help to preserve it'.
- '*Return of retirement* refers to retired migrants who decide to return to their home countries and to acquire a piece of land and a home where they will spend their old age'.
- '*Return of innovation* is no doubt the most dynamic category of returnees in Cerase's typology. It refers to actors who are <prepared to make use of all the means and new skills they have acquired during their migratory experiences> (CERASE 1974, p. 251 cit. after CASSARINO 2004, p. 258) with a view to achieving their goals in their origin countries, which, according to them, offer greater opportunities to satisfy their expectations. Cerase notes that these returnees view themselves as innovators, for they believe that the skills acquired abroad as well as their savings will have turned them into <carriers of change> (CERASE 1974

cit. after CASSARINO 2004, p. 258). Nonetheless, Cerase observes that these returnees are unlikely to be actors of change in their home countries because of the resilience of strong power relations and vested interests which prevent innovators from undertaking any initiatives that could jeopardise the established situation and the traditional power structure’.

According to the structural point of view, two factors influence the strength of the impact which returnees may have on the origin country: time and space. The aspect of ‘space’ pertains to the area, where returnees settle – whether it is a rural or an urban place (CASSARINO 2004, p. 260).

The aspect of ‘time’ concerns – on the one hand - the years stayed abroad and on the other hand contextual differences, which occurred before and after migration (see CASSARINO 2004, p. 259). The optimal duration of a stay abroad is difficult to define, but scholars indicate that a short duration is useless as returnees do not have the time to gain new skills. But a too long duration abroad may also be hindering as returnees may be alienated from their origin society or too old to innovate (ibid.). ‘(...) an optimum length of absence might be found whereby the absence is sufficiently long to have influenced the migrant and allowed him to absorb certain experiences and values, and yet sufficiently short that he still has time and energy upon return to utilize his newly acquired skills and attitudes’ (KING 1986, p. 19).

Further, BYRON & CONDON (1996) point out that returnees have to comply with origin-specific symbolic and behavioral patterns in order to re-integrate and become re-accepted by members of the origin country. Therefore, they ‘tend to orient their consumption patterns to unproductive investments and to conspicuous consumption’ (BYRON & CONDON 1996, p. 100; cit. after CASSARINO 2004, p. 260). Moreover, ‘resources tend to be monopolised by the family members who invest savings in the building of big houses and in the purchase of luxury cars, instead of using savings to modernise, for example, agricultural machinery. These consumption patterns reproduce and breed the unequal relationship between the core (receiving countries) and the periphery (sending countries) – a fundamental of the structural approach to international migration, in general, and to return migration, in particular’ (CASSARINO 2004, p. 260).

The structural approach is criticized by many scholars. Firstly, because of its focus on economic and financial dimensions. Secondly, because of the fact that returnees’ actions are seen very pessimistically. This is mainly because supporters of the structural approach believe that traditional values and patterns of behaviour will dominate in the long run and will not give a chance to innovative ideas. As returnees lost ‘contact’ to the origin society due to their stay abroad, they do not find the right words and actions to successfully pursue their interests. This thesis is strongly questioned by scholars who support a transnational approach.

The Transnational Approach

Representatives of the transnational approach see return migration as a part of the whole migration story and not as the final stop of the migration cycle. According to this approach, migrants develop a transnational identity (or double identities) due to strong social and economic links to their home country. These links are established by regular contact with members of the origin society, frequent visits of the home country and the sending of remittances to family members. The links are maintained and fostered during the stay abroad, to facilitate the re-integration process upon return. ‘Return takes place once enough resources,

whether financial or informational, have been gathered and when conditions at home are viewed as being favourable enough' (CASSARINO 2004, p. 264).

Interestingly, transnationalism does not only refer to sustaining strong links to family members and friends as well as to professional contacts, but also to 'the multifarious ways in which migrants feel linked to one another by their common ethnic origins and in-group solidarity' (CASSARINO 2004, p. 263). In this context, AL-ALI & KOSER (2002, p. 10) argue that '(a) characteristic of transnational migrants is that they maintain economic, political and social networks that span several societies. What defines membership of these networks is a common country of origin or a shared origin.' Common ethnicity, common origin and kinship linkages appear to be the main factors that lubricate transnational activities and define transnational identities (CASSARINO 2004, p. 263).

The transnational approach is similar to the social network approach in highlighting the importance of cross-border networks and links to prepare the process of return. But the two approaches differ with respect to the nature of networks and links.

The Social Network Approach

The social network approach states that migrants often belong to cross-border networks which involve migrants as well as non-migrants. Shared interest is the central dimension which causes people to form a network and exchange. Unlike representatives of the transnational approach, supporters of the social network approach believe that 'linkages reflect an experience of migration that may provide a significant adjunct to the returnees' initiatives at home. Social structures increase the availability of resources and information, while securing the effective initiatives of return migrants. Thus, the composition of networks, which consist of a multiplicity of social structures (ECCLES & NOHRIA 1992), as well as the configuration of linkages, is of paramount importance to examine the fundamentals that define and maintain the cross-border linkages in which return migrants are involved' (CASSARINO 2004, p. 265).

Like the structural and the transnational approach, social network theory also sees the returnees' motivations embedded and shaped by contextual (social, economic and institutional) dimensions at home as well as by the relevance of the returnees' own resources (see CASSARINO 2004).

The Revisited Approach by Cassarino (2004)

In his research, CASSARINO (2004) expresses the need to revisit the conceptual approach of the returnee suggested by international theories of return migration introduced before. He specifies the following reasons (CASSARINO 2004, p. 270):

- First, the analytical framework of return migration needs to be broadened because of the growing diversity of migration flows (migrant students, asylum seekers, refugees etc.).
- Second, liberal reforms in many migrant-sending countries have created the basis for increased business activities.
- Third, return became – because of cross-border mobility – a multiple-stage process
- Fourth, it is easier for migrants nowadays to prepare for their return by using different technological means of communication.

In his theoretical considerations CASSARINO (2004) highlights two pre-requisites, which are important for a returnee to be able to impact on the development of the origin-country: resource mobilisation and preparedness.

'Resource mobilisation draws on the above-mentioned insights of social network theory and pertains to tangible (i.e. financial capital) and intangible (i.e. contacts, relationships, skills, acquaintances) resources that have been mobilised during the migration experience abroad' (CASSARINO 2004, p. 271). Resource mobilisation clearly differs with respect to the legal status, the experience of migration, the duration of the stay abroad, the socio-economic background as well as the motivations and projects of the returnees.

'Preparedness pertains not only to the willingness of migrants to return home, but also to their readiness to return. In other words, the returnee's preparedness refers to a voluntary act that must be supported by the gathering of sufficient resources and information about post-return conditions at home' (ibid.). In general, the higher the preparedness, the greater is the probability that a returnee is able to mobilise valuable resources, which will pay off in the origin country. In order to understand the way in which returnees mobilise resources, CASSARINO (2004) states 'these networks do not emerge spontaneously; rather, they are responsive to specific pre- and post-return conditions. They also generate a continuum between the migrants' experiences lived in host countries and their situations in origin countries. This continuum regards exclusively those returnees who benefit from a high level of preparedness. Conversely, it is non-existent for returnees having a low or no level of preparedness' (CASSARINO 2004, p. 275). In summary, returnees can be successful actors of change in their origin country, if

- 'they prepare their return autonomously and long enough,
- conditions in receiving and sending countries are favourable enough to allow resources to be mobilised,
- cross-border social and economic networks are dynamic, and
- there is a continuum to allow resources to be mobilised not only before but also after return' (CASSARINO 2004, p. 276).

Conclusion

The comparative analysis of international theories of return migration has shown a range of different motives (of economic and non-economic nature) which drive migrants to return. Further, the structural approach and network theory offered valuable information regarding the contextual situation and the need to pay attention to situational and institutional aspects, which shape return experiences and influence the re-integration of returnees in the origin country. The revisited approach of return migration by CASSARINO (2004) puts the focus on various micro and macro factors, which influence the decision to return and the return process itself and shape its impact on the development of the origin country.

2.3 Defining and Measuring Return Migration

Return Migration is a complicated issue: attempts to measure this phenomenon face two challenges: defining return migration and data availability. First, we will deal with the question of defining a returnee. Return is often part of a very complex migration process. Below, three possible scenarios are visualized:

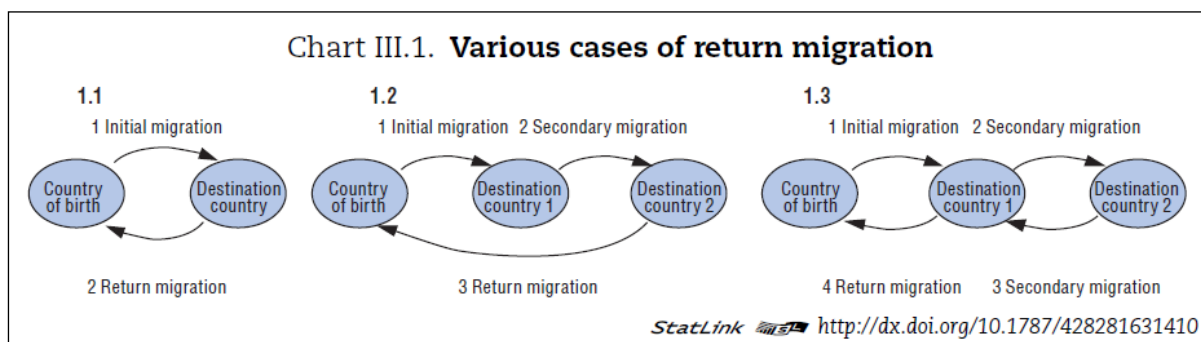


Fig. 1: Three possible scenarios of return migration

Source: OECD 2008, p. 165

The feasibility of measuring the length of stay in the host and home countries depends on the availability of data. In the example shown in figure 2, if place of residence is observed only at dates t_0 , t_1 and t_2 , then cases 1 and 2 are the same. But in reality the two cases are completely different as far as migration history is concerned. Thus, the reality is more complex. 'Even if temporary returns are particularly difficult to identify, as are short stays in the host country, it would be particularly important to be able to distinguish true returns from mere visits of migrants to their home country' (OECD 2008, p. 165).

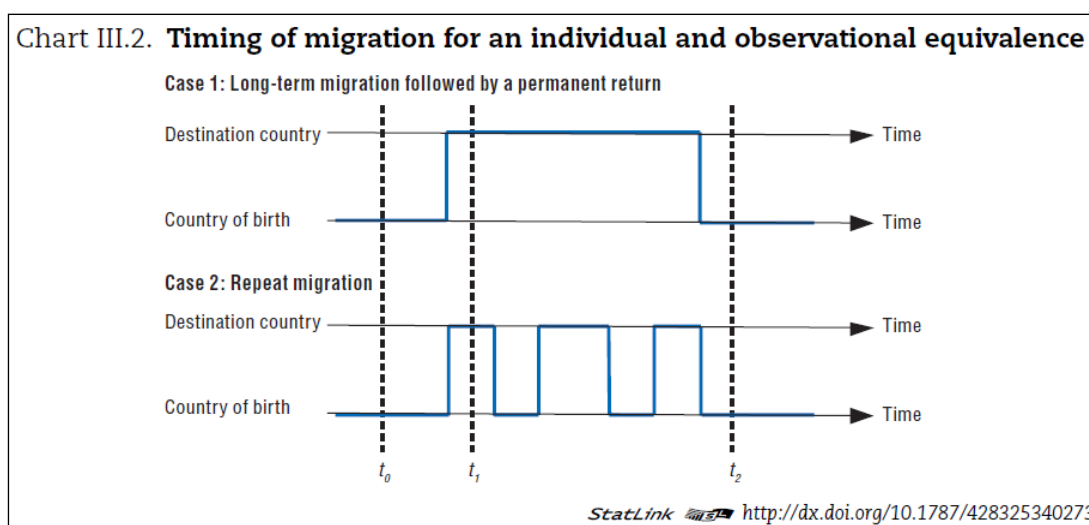


Fig. 2: Timing of migration for an individual and observational equivalence

Source: OECD 2008, p. 165

The United Nations Statistics Division for collecting data on international migration defines returning migrants in the following way: returnees are 'persons returning to their country of citizenship after having been international migrants (whether short-term or long-term) in another country and who are intending to stay in their own country for at least a year' (OECD 2008, p. 164).

This definition includes the following information:

- country of citizenship
- place of residence abroad

- duration of stay in the destination country
- duration of stay in the country of citizenship.

According to this definition a person's origin country is his country of citizenship. This fact can be questioned, as it is possible that migrants obtain the citizenship of the destination country or people possess two citizenships. Therefore, it is better to define returnees as: 'persons older than 15 years of age, who returned to their country of birth after having been international migrants in another country'. This revised definition includes the following information:

- country of birth
- place of residence abroad
- age (older than 15 years, as we are interested in the economically active age group).

Of course, using this definition it is not possible to differ between the various forms of return migration, indicated in figure 1, which would be in any case a very difficult task, as data availability of return migration is in general very scarce and limited with respect to international comparison.

Subsequently, different data sources which could be used to identify returnees will be presented and their main limitations discussed:

1 – Data from Population Registries (see OECD 2008, pp. 166f.): Population registries collect data on the entries and exits from the country. Incoming migrants have to register upon arrival and people emigrating have to de-register. Therefore, this data set could be used to identify returning nationals.

Problematic about the use of data from population registries is:

- First, people could leave the country without de-registering and if they return, their entry to the country is not recorded.
- Second, it is not always possible to identify, to which country the emigrating person is moving.
- Third, no information on socio-demographic and labour market characteristics is collected.
- Fourth, the data collected is often not comparable between countries and not all countries have population registries. Data of population registries are available for Germany, Austria, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, the Nordic Countries, Spain, and Switzerland.

2 – Longitudinal Surveys: Longitudinal Surveys are rich datasets, as they gather information at multiple points in time on the labour market activities and other significant life events of several groups of people. Based on longitudinal data it is possible to study the individual behaviour of people during a longer period of time. If a longitudinal data set contains the information about why people leave, longitudinal surveys provide for a direct measurement of emigration and eventually return.

Main limitations include the often fairly small sample sizes of longitudinal data sets and therefore the problems of representativeness for the broader population. In addition, a longitudinal survey with which return migration can be measured is available for Germany (GSOEP - German Socio-Economic Panel). Most other countries do not conduct longitudinal data on this topic.

3 – Population Census: Most population censuses collect information about the previous place of residence five years prior to census date. Using this information it is possible to compare returning migrants with people who never left the country according to various socio-economic characteristics. Unfortunately, no question about the duration of residence abroad is included in the data set, therefore the calculation of return rates differs from return rates computed from surveys conducted in the destination country.

The main limitation of this dataset is that those population censuses are conducted every decade, which means for some countries, that the data are comparatively 'old'. Especially with respect to profound changes, which took place in Central Europe in the last two decades and the economic downturn in 2008/09, return migration flows may have changed.

4 – Labour Force Survey (see MARTIN & RADU 2011, pp. 7f.): The Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS) is a very valuable source of information because of the common standardised set of questions used across the EU and the rather large size of the samples conducted. It is possible to identify recent return migrants using the retrospective information on the country of residence one year before the survey and the country of birth.

Additional interesting variables which are included in the dataset:

- general demographic characteristics (age, gender, marital status)
- educational attainment
- the individual's labour market activity and main job
- information on the labour market status one year before the survey
- household characteristics
- indicators for regions at NUTS 2 level.

Main limitations of this data set include that:

- First, returnees can only be identified during the first year upon their arrival from abroad. It is therefore not possible to analyse the re-assimilation patterns of returnees over a longer time span.
- Second, since the probability to be included in the LFS in the first year after return might be lower than afterwards, it is very likely that the actual magnitude of return flows is underestimated.

5 – European Social Survey: The European Social Survey (ESS) is a biennial multi-country survey covering over 30 nations. The first round was fielded in 2002/2003, the fourth in 2008/2009. In this survey returning migrants can be identified based on the following variables: Born in country, spent at least 6 months working abroad over the last 10 years and returned (available since round 2005). Additional information which is available:

- socio-demographic information (age, gender, marital status)
- education
- current occupation
- income

The main limitations of this dataset is its

- fairly small sample size, and the fact that
- no information on previous job and income is available.

6 – *IOM Data*: The IOM (International Organization for Migration) collects data on forced and assisted return. Assisted voluntary return includes organizational and financial assistance for the return and where possible, reintegration measures offered to the individual. The data derives mainly from government records and IOM's programmes and research. Main limitations of these data sets include, that the origin countries of assisted voluntary and forced returnees are often not documented. In addition, no information on further socio-demographic and labour market characteristics of the returnees is collected for most countries. Last, IOM data are not representative, as not all returnees use IOM services for their return.

2.4 Synthesized Findings: Return Migration Trends in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE)

Compared to the huge empirical literature on migration in general, relatively few papers provide evidence on labour market outcomes of high-skilled return migrants in their home countries. 'So far, research has mainly focused on China, India, Taiwan or African countries' (KLAGGE et al. 2007, p. 2). But recently, return migration has also been discussed in the light of Central and Eastern European countries. These countries experienced profound political and economic changes in the last decade and need skilled return migration to reverse negative effects of brain drain and foster knowledge-based development (KLAGGE et al. 2007).

This chapter reviews the current state of the art of remigration trends in the Central and Eastern European Region. First, main findings from comparative and cross-country studies will be presented. Second, available research based on country-specific survey data will be reviewed. Third, main remigration trends are presented based on a descriptive analysis of LFS-Data (2005-2008).

2.4.1 Return Migration in CEE - Cross-Country Results

Subsequently, two studies will be presented:

- 1 – 'Skill Diffusion by Temporary Migration? Returns to Western European Work Experience in Central and East European Countries' by IARA in 2008
- 2 – 'Return Migration: The Experience of Eastern Europe' by MARTIN & RADU in 2011

1) Skill Diffusion by Temporary Migration

IARA (2008) used data from the Central and Eastern Youth Eurobarometer from 2003 to investigate earnings differences between young males from Central and Eastern Europe with and without Western European work-related experiences. The final sample contains information on 3,831 individuals. Based on her statistical analyses, in which she also controlled for selection effects, IARA (2008) came to the following main results:

- Western European work experience is rewarded on CEE labour markets. Controlling for several factors (e.g. age), young males with Western European work-related experience earn on average 30 % more compared with stayers. Two interpretations of this finding are possible: First, this premium can be understood as evidence for a skill transfer which takes place during the stay in the host country. With the words of IARA (2008, p. i): 'temporary migrants may upgrade their skills by learning on the job in countries with higher

technological development, and subsequently bring human capital to their source country, thus adding to know-how diffusion and the catching-up of their economy'. Second, it is possible that foreign work experience from Western Europe signals 'higher productivity' or 'valuable human capital' to employers on CEE labour markets, who are in turn willing to pay more income for their employees. Although, based on the analysed data set it is not possible to decide which interpretation is correct, IARA (2008, p. i) supports the first one, arguing 'we show that the premium found for return migration does not primarily reward the language proficiencies of returning migrants, and we further provide indicative evidence that no earnings premium is obtained for work-related stays abroad in other central and eastern European transition countries'.

- In addition, IARA (2008) highlights the finding that the propensity to participate in Western European work-related experience is comparatively lower among those with low education levels. 'With the results of substantial earnings premia to such experience, temporary migration appears to improve the labour market situation of those who are in a relatively advantageous position already, instead of being equally accessible to the more disadvantaged' (IARA 2008, p. 33).
- Further, the results show that movers and stayers receive rewards for different human capital characteristics. For example, 'the less educated of the movers fare significantly worse than the stayers, compared with the better educated in the respective group' (IARA 2008, p. 32).

In conclusion, findings suggest that the temporary migration of people from CEE has a positive impact on the labour markets of the origin countries and contributes to the 'catch-up' (IARA 2008, p. 33) of CEE countries and the exchange of professional knowledge on methods, techniques and standards.

2) Return Migration: The Experience of Eastern Europe

Using data from Labour Force Surveys (2002-2007) and the European Social Survey (ESS 2006/07), MARTIN & RADU (2011) perform a cross-country analysis of return migration in five Central and Eastern European countries: Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Romania. The aim of this study is to find out, how foreign work experience influences the labour market outcomes of return migrants in the respective countries.

In terms of socio-economic characteristics, findings show that return migrants are a positively selected group. 'At the time of return they are younger both compared to non-migrants and to the recent migrants still residing abroad. Apart from Romania, all countries seem to attract returnees who attained more years of formal education than non-migrants' (MARTIN & RADU 2011, p. 14).

With respect to income premia, the authors show that returnees receive significant income premia both from self-employment and from dependent employment. Foreign work experiences are definitely rewarded on home country labour markets. Average income premia for work abroad range between 10 % and 20 %.

Further, MARTIN & RADU (2011) found that returnees have a higher probability to not actively participate on local labour markets. This finding could be explained by arguing that returnees lack important social ties and networks, which usually help to find a decent job on the home country labour market. Alternative explanations provided by HAZANS (2008, p. 3) suggest, that

'due to savings from higher earnings abroad, return migrants can afford to search for a job longer'. HAZANS (2008) formulates the thesis, that returnees may be more self-confident and may aim 'higher' in terms of income and career opportunities due to their foreign work experiences and therefore search longer. But, of course, there is also the possibility that recent domestic human capital is more valuable than foreign work experience in specific jobs or that employers are just unsure about how to evaluate foreign experiences. Another explanation suggests that employers in the home country may take foreign work experiences as a signal of being unsuccessful in the local labour market (see HAZANS 2008, p. 3).

Moreover, MARTIN & RADU (2011) found that returnees are more likely to be self-employed than non-migrants, but this finding is not robust. With respect to this finding, evidence is rather mixed. WAHBA & ZENOU (2009) show in their research on Egyptian returnees that a lack of social networks on the home country labour market makes it more difficult to become self-employed. Contrary, MARTIN & RADU (2011) believe that, due to their stay abroad, returnees may possess skills and character traits (like entrepreneurial skills and risk proclivity) which make them opt for self-employment.

Finally, MARTIN & RADU (2011) conclude, that if returnees are independent or self-employed, they can expect higher wages than non-migrants, which definitely makes a temporary migration more attractive than a permanent stay in the host country. With respect to the impact of return migration on the development of the entrepreneurial base of the origin country, the authors suggest a more detailed analysis of the professional development of returnees several years after their return.

2.4.2 Return Migration in CEE - Country Specific Empirical Studies

As previously said, return migration is a scarcely studied domain in Central and Eastern European countries. Because of a lack of comparable data, the available papers in this research field are mainly based on country-specific survey data. The sample of return migrants covered in these papers is often very small (see MARTIN & RADU 2011 for an overview). Consecutively, eight 'Country reports on Return Migration' are presented.

(1) Return Migration in the Czech Republic

Research and data on brain drain and return migration in the Czech Republic are rather scarce. The few research studies that exist, suggest that, although emigration of highly-skilled nationals takes place today in Czech Republic, it is not yet causing a dramatic decline in the number of tertiary educated workers in the country (VAVREČKOVÁ & Baštýř 2009). However, an exodus of highly-qualified Czechs may result in a short term destabilisation of certain economic sectors. 'The most significant impacts can be expected among relatively small professional groups of highly skilled experts, who are hard to replace if they go abroad' (VAVREČKOVÁ & BAŠTÝŘ 2009, p. 3).

The Czech Republic is experiencing a gradually growing immigration of foreigners along with a rather stable emigration of natives. Inflows of immigrants of Czech origin are also rather low (see DRBOHLAV et al. 2009). According to national statistics for the year 2009, about 39,000 immigrants entered the country. Due to the economic crisis, this was nearly half the number of entries registered in the previous year (78,000). Most of the foreign immigrants come from

Ukraine, Slovak Republic and the Russian Federation. In 2009, outflows of Czech nationals almost doubled with respect to the year 2008, growing from about 6,000 to almost 12,000 persons. Most Czechs emigrate to Germany, the UK, the U.S., Canada or Switzerland.

In terms of return migration, inflows of German and Moldovan nationals more than halved. In contrast to the general trend, inflows from the United States continued to increase in 2009, albeit at modest level (about 2,500) (see OECD 2010, p. 272).

Using qualitative face-to-face interviews, VAVREČKOVÁ & BAŠTÝŘ (2009) conducted a research study on tertiary-educated Czech specialists who had worked in qualified positions abroad and who have returned to the Czech Republic from a long-term stay abroad. 'The aim of the survey was to ascertain the degree of integration (adaptation) by Czech specialists of various professions who had returned from more developed countries to the Czech Republic' (VAVREČKOVÁ & BAŠTÝŘ 2009, p. 70). Main findings show, that 'the considerably higher incomes on offer is not the only motive encouraging university educated Czechs to work abroad: other motivations include the experience it would afford, the generally better equipped workplaces, the opportunity to make personal contacts and to establish a basis for future career progress' (ibid.).

All interviewed returnees rated their experience of working abroad very positively. Gained language skills (knowledge of four international languages, three of them to a very good standard, is no exception among the respondents), newly acquired expertise (finding out about work procedures, technologies, methods) as well as increased self-confidence and ability to cope with stress situations were seen as valuable souvenirs from the stay abroad. After returning home most of the respondents managed to make use of the experiences they gained abroad. They state that their time abroad positively affected their work career (VAVREČKOVÁ & BAŠTÝŘ 2009, p. 74).

VAVREČKOVÁ & BAŠTÝŘ (2009) also studied the migration attitudes of four groups of experts identified as being susceptible to migration, based on quantitative, standardized questionnaires. These chosen groups are doctors (N=462), IT/ICT specialists (N=276), technical engineers from corporate research and development (N=418) and doctorate students (N=523). The findings of the four questionnaires are analyzed and compared with the results of a survey of the migration attitudes of the Czech population as a whole.

Main findings include that 'the readiness to migrate among the tertiary-educated is influenced by age, language skills, family circumstances and personal qualities. The majority of respondents were not motivated to leave the Czech Republic for good. The reason for this was strong family ties and concerns about the different socio-cultural environment and the status of being "foreign" in the receiving country' (VAVREČKOVÁ & BAŠTÝŘ 2009, p. 58). They found that there exist significant differences in the readiness to migrate between the different expert groups as well as the Czech population as a whole.

'One significant finding is that, with the exception of technical engineers, the intensity of the inclination to migrate is markedly higher among the tertiary-educated than in the ordinary population. The declared foreign migration of specialists usually covers a longer period of time and comprises a higher proportion of potential permanent migrants compared to the population as a whole' (VAVREČKOVÁ & BAŠTÝŘ 2009, p. 57).

Doctors, for example, show a high willingness to go abroad. The dissatisfaction with their income, especially among the young doctors entering the profession and 'the moods and

uncertainty surrounding the introduction of healthcare reforms' (ibid.) increases the motivation to go abroad. Among IT specialists and technical engineers the willingness to go abroad is rather weak – their earnings level is close to that of foreign counterparts. In contrast, doctorate students show a high motivation to go abroad. 'Scientists' decisions to migrate are not determined primarily by income levels abroad but by academic and intellectual motivations (prestigious institutions, state-of-the-art facilities, interesting research projects), a broad base of international scientific contacts and their own social networks' (VAVREČKOVÁ & BAŠTÝŘ 2009, p. 58).

Further, they found that scientific disciplines differ with respect to scientists' willingness and preparedness to go abroad. 'It was found that proclaimed potential mobility is higher among respondents from the medical sciences and natural sciences fields, who also display the lowest level of satisfaction at the prospects for future growth in their chosen field in the Czech Republic. Economists and representatives of technical sciences rate their prospects in the Czech Republic most highly and their motivation to work abroad is relatively low' (ibid.).

Interestingly, up to the middle of the 1990s, the Czech Republic was experiencing internal migration – many scientists left the academic field and joined the private sector (e.g. finance, business) (ibid.). But since the accession to the European Union, spending on research constantly increased and enabled Czech scientists to find work in the domestic intellectual and academic sphere (ibid.). Therefore VAVREČKOVÁ & BAŠTÝŘ (2009, p. 58) conclude: 'If the existing conditions remain unchanged we do not (therefore) expect a large-scale exodus of scientists going abroad. (...) We believe that the risk of brain drain does not at present represent pronounced quantitative losses in the Czech Republic, but rather qualitative losses. Among doctors, for example, it is alarming that experienced middle-aged specialists (with two and more attestations) are planning to go abroad as well as young doctors. As the Czech Republic does not possess sufficient information about incoming experts from abroad or about their degree of integration into Czech society, we do not know to what extent the incoming foreign experts can replace the outgoing Czech experts.'

(2) Return Migration in Austria

Return migration makes up 13 % of total immigration to Austria (data refer to 2010). In 2010, 16,000 Austrians returned to their home country (Eurostat database 1998 - 2010). Until now, only few studies deal with return migration to Austria (MORANO-FOADI 2005; FORSTENLECHNER 2010) and with high-skilled emigration from Austria (WARTA 2006; BREINBAUER 2008).

BREINBAUER (2008) conducted a quantitative survey with Austrian mathematicians (N=59) living abroad. He finds that high-skilled Austrian workers mainly emigrate to gain new qualifications and competences as well as to improve their career chances (BREINBAUER 2008, p. 182). Further, he explores that only 7 out of 10 emigrants are in contact with research institutes in Austria and about one third of the Austrian mathematicians living abroad do not hold any professional contact with other scientists of Austrian citizenship. In this context, he sums up that scientists abroad do not perform a bridging function for other Austrian scientists residing in Austria. With respect to researchers' return potential, the author finds that it is fairly small. According to his results, two thirds of the respondents state that they want to stay in the destination country. Interestingly, half of the respondents recommend to junior scientists to go abroad but return after several years (BREINBAUER 2008, p. 185). He asked Austrian emigrants

about how they think brain drain from Austria could be avoided. In this context, most respondents highlight the following changes in the Austrian science system: increased internationalization, development of a transparent and competitive scientific structure, reduction of bureaucracy and hierarchies, greater openness and more stable career opportunities for talented young scientists. In addition, there should be the honest willingness to work with international experts abroad (BREINBAUER 2008, p. 188).

In line with these results, WARTA (2006) analyses tertiary-educated Austrians who took part in an FWF (Austrian Science Fund) mobility program (Erwin Schrödinger) and finds that “the use of new methodologies and techniques” as well as “specialisation” are major factors which drive Austrian researchers to go abroad. In terms of return migration, her research shows that only 50 % of former grant holders went directly back to their former position in Austria, 12 % got another job in Austria, 8 % received another research grant or further funding from the FWF, and 29 % of tertiary-educated Austrians decided to stay in the destination country after the scholarship expired. This number even increased in the recent years (WARTA 2006, p. 21). This rate appears high, but it is relatively low compared with the rate of researchers who received another funding, namely the Marie-Curie scholarship. 43 % of former high-level Marie-Curie fellows stayed abroad after their fellowship expired (WARTA 2006, p. 21). WARTA (2006) analyses the reasons for not returning and shows that most Schrödinger fellows state that they had problems finding a job on the Austrian labour market. WARTA (2006) believes that this reason may once have been important, but questions its validity for current times. Today the labour market for researchers has internationalized. She believes that low return rates can be attributed to the following factors: fellows tend to stay abroad because:

- 1 - ‘foreign work experiences promote the research career
- 2 - the home institution of the fellow may not be able to integrate the fellow and his new competencies, and
- 3 - a high proportion of fellows become professors, positions open to international competition’ (WARTA 2006, pp. 24f.).

Contrary to WARTA (2006), BIFFL (2006) highlights that the segmentation of the Austrian labour market may still be one of the main barriers for nationals residing abroad. In Austria, only a profession in the internal labor market segment provides good wages and career prospects; but entering internal labor markets and career paths is very difficult and often only possible via internal career ladders. ‘A characteristic of Austrian career developments are low entry wages in an international comparison and slow wage increases as turnover is still high close to the entry port. Thus, entry wages tend to be below productivity but continued employment bears the prospect of recuperating foregone earnings from the age of the mid 30s onwards’ (BIFFL 2006, p. 26). Natives, residing abroad, may decide against a return to Austria, because they are not willing to start at the very beginning of a career path. As empirical research on this topic is missing, this aspect remains an open question.

To understand the reasons for return, the research of FORSTENLECHNER (2010) is very useful. In his comparative, qualitative study on self-initiated return migrants to the UK, France, Germany and Austria, he conducted 42 interviews (5 qualitative interviews with Austrian returnees) and showed that respondents returned to their home countries because of a multitude of reasons: family reasons, financial reasons, employment contract termination in the host country as well as bureaucratic issues (e.g. problems with visa for partner and children).

When returning, FORSTENLECHNER (2010) finds that most respondents did not receive, seek or expect any help from the government. When asked about how the government could incentivize and accompany the return progress, the majority of returnees either did not discuss this question or reacted with surprise. According to FORSTENLECHNER (2010, p. 168) '14 out of the 25 respondents rejected the concept of government help for repatriation entirely'. Those respondents who provided recommendations, identified the following possibilities that could – at least partially – ease the return process: financial incentives (e.g. tax breaks), help with procedures (e.g. educational attestation of children's education) and better support and advice from the embassy in the host country (FORSTENLECHNER 2010, p. 169).

MORANO-FOADI (2005) conducted research dealing with the international mobility of scientists in the discipline of physics and life science in the United Kingdom, Portugal, Italy, Austria and Greece. For Austrian returnees she finds that 'the longer one is away, the more complicated the return is' (MORANO-FOADI 2005, p. 150). Although she generally finds that mobility is considered a 'plus' (MORANO-FOADI 2005, p. 156) in Austria, returning scientists are exposed to various return and reintegration problems, which are not further described in the study. She concludes her research saying 'returnees are not welcomed back'.

To sum up, from previous research we know that highly-skilled emigrants leave Austria to gain new qualifications and skills and to boost their career. Most of them are very satisfied with their stay abroad and considerable shares of them do not hold any professional contact with other researchers in Austria. The return potential among Austrian emigrants is fairly small- the majority fears problems on the Austrian labour market when coming back. If they return, main reasons for repatriation are family reasons, financial reasons or bureaucratic issues.

(3) Return Migration in Germany

As Germany is a declared immigration country, most research on migration addresses the aspect of immigration. In 2010, 789,000 immigrants entered the country. Immigrants mainly came from Poland (126,000), Romania (75,000), Bulgaria (39,000), Hungary, Turkey and the U.S. (each 30,000) (data: German Federal Bureau of Statistics). But Germany is not only an immigration country; a considerable number of German citizens also leave the country. In 2010, 141,000 nationals left Germany. The most popular destination countries for German citizens were Switzerland (22,000), the U.S. (13,000) and Austria (11,000).

Statistical analysis by ÜBELMESSER (2006) and ERLINGHAGEN (2009) point out that German emigrants are a positively selected group with respect to age and education compared to non-mobile Germans. More than half of German emigrants, aged 25-64, have a tertiary degree – but only one quarter of the German non-mobile population has obtained academic credentials (ETTE & SAUER 2010). In addition, SAUER & ETTE (2007, p. 73) found that German emigrants are not only 'male, single and young' but also 'older, married and wealthy', as there exists a fairly large retirement emigration from Germany. In general, international migration of German nationals occurs mainly in Western Germany, regardless of which type of migration.

LIEBAU & SCHUPP show in their research based on data of the Socio-Economic Panel 2009, that every eighth German national thinks about going abroad and every eleventh German national thinks about leaving Germany within the next twelve months (LIEBAU & SCHUPP 2010, p. 2).

HEIMER & PFEIFFER (2007) conducted a quantitative online survey of German emigrants, who are between 20 and 65 years of age. Based on the results of cluster analysis, the researchers could identify the following five main motives for emigration (HEIMER & PFEIFFER 2007, pp. 31-33):

- The biggest cluster contained skilled Germans who emigrated because they wanted to increase their life quality. Intentions to return are rather low in this group. 61 % of the interviewees could not think of returning to Germany within the next years.
- The second cluster is made up of German academics whose main motives for emigration were unsatisfactory income and employment perspectives in Germany. Return motivation is very high within this group; more than half of those interviewees state that they will return in the upcoming years.
- The third largest cluster contained young academics who emigrated because they were looking for new experiences and challenges. A return to Germany is very likely within the next years.
- Cluster four is made up of highly-skilled, established professionals, who emigrated because they were looking for new perspectives. Two-thirds state they intend to return to Germany in the upcoming years.
- The last cluster contained family-oriented skilled workers. Their main motive for emigration was the improvement of family- and friendship relations abroad. Occupational reasons have taken a back seat. In this group, the motivation to return to Germany is very low.

LIEBAU & SCHUPP (2010) also studied main motives for emigration and found that already collected experiences from a stay abroad, social ties abroad and unsatisfactory financial conditions (LIEBAU & SCHUPP 2010, p. 2, 5) in the home country caused Germans to move away. According to ETTE & SAUER (2010) the share of highly-skilled Germans emigrating has strongly increased in the last two decades. This fact has raised the question among scholars of whether Germany is experiencing brain drain. For example HOLZNER et al. (2009) and BRÜCKER (2010) state that the rather low- and medium-skilled immigrant flows to Germany cannot compensate for the high outflows of highly-skilled nationals. At the moment, current research shows, that this fear proves to be unfounded.

- First, attitude and actual behavior do not go hand in hand to a strong degree. Only 4 % of Germans, who stated that they want to go abroad in 1998, actually went abroad until 2009 (LIEBAU & SCHUPP 2010, p. 7).
- Second, the emigration of Germans is in the majority of cases not permanent. About 68 % of German emigrants return after their stay abroad (LIEBAU & SCHUPP 2010, p. 3, estimation for the year 2008).

According to official data, 115,000 Germans (including 3,360 ethnic Germans – ‘Spätaussiedler’) returned in 2009 (data: German Federal Bureau of Statistics). Findings by HEIMER & PFEIFFER (2007) also support the high return potential among Germans living abroad. Results from an online-survey of high-skilled German emigrants show, that more than two-thirds of the academic respondents working in science and research state that they have already organized their return home. According to ENDERS & BORNMANN (2002), German emigrants spend around 3 to 5 years abroad until they decide to return. Interestingly, people in dependent employment are more prone to return than self-employed respondents.

With respect to main motives for a return migration, the authors highlight private reasons (social ties to family and friends), occupational- and income specific aspects (unfulfilled

occupational expectations), personal well-being and homesickness. Only a very small number of interviewees stated that they could not afford a living in the destination country (HEIMER & PFEIFFER 2007, p. 41, 44).

According to research by ETTE & SAUER (2010) and Liebau & Schupp (2010) based on representative SOEP (German Socio-Economic Panel Study) -data, German returnees are a highly-selected population. LIEBAU & SCHUPP (2010) show for example, that the higher the educational credentials a German emigrant possesses, the more this person opts for a temporary rather than permanent migration. This finding is validated by research of ETTE & SAUER (2010) who found that the share of highly-educated people is even higher among German returnees than among German emigrants. This means that the most skilled people return to Germany. Interestingly, in term of high-skilled occupations, true differences exist: the share of scientists among German returnees equals that of German emigrants, but the share of executives and senior management is significantly lower among German returnees than among German emigrants.

Nevertheless, to conclude, findings point on average more into the direction of brain circulation than brain drain. Although many highly-skilled Germans decide to emigrate, most of them return after several years. On the long run, Germany might even benefit from this brain circulation taking place.

(4) Return Migration in Hungary

According to recent Hungarian statistics, Hungary is experiencing a significant share of skilled emigration. About 13 % of skilled migrants from Hungary are residing in another OECD country in 2000 (SZEMÉLYI & CSANÁDY 2011, p. 32). The traditional migration destinations are Austria and Germany – skilled and semi-skilled Hungarian workers come to those countries. More recently, qualified Hungarians migrate also to new destinations, e.g. UK and other EU 15 countries, where they often take jobs for which they are overqualified (see HÁRS 2010). Research for the period of 2008-2009 shows that 3/4 of all Hungarian emigrants are men (HÁRS 2010, p. 3). Previous research also proved the circular character of Hungarian emigration; most emigrants from Hungary prefer several shorter periods of labour migration in the destination country (ibid.).

Hungary is experiencing a significant share of return migration as well. These return migrants are either motivated by their desire to retire in their home country or they want to make use of new opportunities accorded by Hungary's transition to a market economy (Co et al. 2000). Return migration is the strongest from the new destination countries (HÁRS 2010, p. 8).

The share of Hungarian returnees increased during the crisis, while emigration was increasing as well (HÁRS 2010, p. 5). According to HU LFS Data, 'the most successful returnees seem to be those who had non-manual jobs abroad. They hardly experience a period without work following employment abroad. Returnees with lower education are more likely without a job; but in the period of the crisis the difference became smaller' (HÁRS 2010, pp. 6f.).

MARTIN & RADU (2011) compared Hungarian returnees with non-migrants with respect to observable characteristics such as education and age using the Labour Force Survey 2002-2007. They show that at the time of return, returnees are younger and better educated than non-migrants. In addition, returnees are more likely not to participate in the labour market or to switch into self-employment than non-migrants (MARTIN & RADU 2011, p. 14). Potential explanations for this finding suggest that a lack of human and social capital on the local labour

market may be responsible, or returnees may just search longer for a job and aim 'higher' than non-migrants due to their savings from abroad. They also show that returnees receive significant income premia both from self-employment and from dependent employment.

Research by Co et al. (2000) on return migration in Hungary shows rather different results. They use data from the Hungarian Household Panel Survey (1993 and 1994) and come up with a sample of 3,145 people in working age, out of which 167 were returnees (Co et al. 2000, p. 59). Using different econometric estimation techniques and controlling for self-selection into migration and return, they consistently find that there is no wage premium for male returnees; on the contrary, female returnees who have been to OECD countries earn a 67 % premium over those who have not been abroad (Co et al. 2000, p. 71). According to the authors this can be explained by the following two factors: 'First, there is a clear dichotomy in the types of industry men and women enter. The results suggest that the types of industries men enter (e.g. heavy industries and construction) do not offer any wage premium for foreign experience; while the industries women enter are exactly those industries where foreign experience matters (e.g. financial services). Second, say there is wage premium to having gone abroad, the insignificant abroad coefficient for men suggests that 'lost contact through having gone abroad may have resulted in lower wages' (ibid.). Hence, the high income premia for women result from the skills acquired abroad which are valued in specific industries of the local labour market and the possible undergoing of wage cuts which experienced women who have not been abroad during the transition phase (ibid.).

In order to assess the return potential among migrants, SZEMÉLYI & CSANÁDY (2011) use a snowball-sampling approach to survey skilled Hungarians living and working outside their country of origin. To sum up the main results, the authors found that 'return is more likely if the respondent owns property in Hungary, emigrated no sooner than five years before taking the survey and does not work in the education/research sector' (SZEMÉLYI & CSANÁDY 2011, p. 44).

The main push factors responsible for leaving Hungary were income aspects, professional development/career opportunities and the overall political situation. 'Current emigrants are also pushed by the limited job market in Hungary for professionals in the natural and technical sciences, especially in R&D' (ibid.).

Concerning their current situation, Hungarians are in general more satisfied with their job in the destination country than with their last job in Hungary (SZEMÉLYI & CSANÁDY 2011, p. 38). 'In their last job in Hungary they earned (corrected for an average yearly salary increase in Hungary since the year they left) typically between net 1.5 million and 3.5 million HUF (around \$9-20,000) per annum, while currently their salary is between 6 and 16 million HUF (around \$35-90,000). This means that they earn an average of 4 times the money they would earn if they had stayed' (SZEMÉLYI & CSANÁDY 2011, p. 39). Despite these income advantages, migrants only send to Hungarian family members a few percent of their current income (ibid.).

With respect to contact to Hungarians the authors found that 'regardless of years spent abroad most of them (migrants) maintained at least 6 contacts. It is worthwhile to mention that half of them also often meet Hungarians in their current country of residence. Talking about other connections, one in six is a member of a Hungarian professional institution in Hungary and only 5 % are members of a cultural one. If we compare it to such relations in the current country we find the ratios of 15 % and 50 %, respectively. It seems common in this group that professional relations to Hungarian institutions in the country of residence and in the source

country are equally important' (SZEMÉLYI & CSANÁDY 2011, p. 42). Asked about their future plans '40 % answered yes to the question of returning to Hungary, though one third of them only after 10 years. 30 % were unsure, a further 30 % said no' (SZEMÉLYI & CSANÁDY 2011, pp. 39f.).

The authors of this study conclude that 'the results suggest that as long as the mentioned differences do not decrease significantly, return migration will be moderate. So will the emigration continue while these differences prevail' (SZEMÉLYI & CSANÁDY 2011, p. 44).

(5) Return Migration in Italy

There is relatively little research on brain drain (AVVEDUTO & BRANDI 2004; BECKER et al. 2004; BRANDI & CERBARA 2004; BRANDI & SEGNANA 2008) and return migration (MONTELEONE & TORRISI 2010; BIONDO & MONTELEONE 2010) in Italy.

According to Migration Statistics by Eurostat, Italy received 440,301 immigrants in 2003, from which only 47,530 were nationals (returnees) and 392,771 were non-nationals (HERM 2008, p. 9). The fact that a considerable number of highly-skilled Italians are leaving the country is well-established. Italy exports 30,000 researchers per year and only 3,000 researchers enter the country (THE CHRONICLE 2006). Migration statistics show that the profile of Italians emigrating has almost reversed. 'Initially, the subjects in question had low-level education (...) and today's emigrants are chiefly highly qualified workers' (MONTELEONE & TORRISI 2010, p. 18). If the flows of skilled Italians emigrating during the recent years is measured, one can see that 'the number of Italians returning to Italy from abroad minus the number of Italian graduates emigrating is always negative' (MONTELEONE & TORRISI 2010, p. 5); an interesting finding, showing that Italy's return migration is not consistent with migration trends for most European countries. MAYR & PERI (2008) as well as DUSTMANN & WEISS (2007) show in their research that people from richer countries (East Europe, Asia and Latin America) have a higher probability to migrate and to return home compared to people from poorer countries (e.g Africa) (see BIONDO & MONTELEONE 2010, p. 2). This seems not to be valid for Italy.

In their research on Italian return migration, MONTELEONE & TORRISI (2010) deal with two research questions. First, they want to find out, whether the Italian brain drain can be considered temporary or permanent. Second, they want to estimate the emigration potential of highly skilled Italians living in Italy.

Based on the results of their empirical online-survey (N=1,400), they conclude for the first research question that 'in Italy, the brain drain seems to be permanent: emigrants seem unwilling to return to their country of origin as they are attracted by better conditions in the country of destination; over 70 % of interviewees revealed a low propensity to return to Italy or none whatsoever' (MONTELEONE & TORRISI 2010, p. 2). In addition, they analysed the profile of Italian researchers that emigrate from Italy: 'The researchers are young and well-qualified; they decided to emigrate to enhance their knowledge and work experience. The expectations of researchers abroad are not disappointed. Generally, the level of social and working satisfaction is very high. The interviewees stated that they had worked abroad for a long time, and that the longer they stay abroad the lower is their propensity to return to Italy. People who work in a foreign country are more satisfied with their jobs and have more incentive to increase their productivity as they live in an economic and social context which appreciates, both in terms of remuneration and academic recognition, the work they do' (MONTELEONE & TORRISI 2010, p. 20).

To answer the second research question, they carried out another online-survey with 4,700 Italian researchers, living in Italy. 'It emerges from the survey that if researchers do not emigrate in the first part of their life they are likely to stay in Italy forever: the longer an agent spends in Italy, the more difficult he/she will find it to leave in the future. The reason is fundamentally linked to family ties that are created at a later stage and after the start of employment' (ibid.).

They address in their research the potential reasons for the low propensity of highly-skilled Italians to return and formulate key solutions for policy makers. According to the researchers, Italian brain drain experiences appear to be a consequence of a structured set of problems which engrave on the Italian scientific research (BIONDO & MONTELEONE 2010, p. 5). Based on previous research they sum up the following potential causes (see BIONDO & MONTELEONE 2010, p. 2):

- scarce availability of research funds;
- either scarce or not meritocratic career opportunities;
- lack of adequate infrastructures;
- very low wage structure and therefore life-style limitations;
- environment not sufficiently stimulating.

In terms of solutions to the brain drain problem, the authors highlight the need to build up a new incentive system for academic workers and a more stimulating environment to develop scientific excellence. In detail they suggest the following options:

'First of all a new framework in educational system can be desirable as students could enter faculties with more basic knowledge, leaving the academic sector the role for giving them applications and scientific attitudes, instead to strengthen previous weak scholastic curricula. Secondly, enrolment procedures for academic careers may find new solutions to select more profitable work force. Thirdly, research needs experience but also young force and enthusiasm. Therefore, the incentive to focus on the lowering of the average age for academic personnel is strong: usually the more experienced agents can cover leading roles, but the younger can hold more dynamic and well-paid positions. Fourthly, the existence of a strong and well visible link between academic research and firms' innovation appears to be widely desirable. This could guarantee the existence of funds for research for technical sciences. Last but not least, economic treatment of professors is a key note in all of this framework. Academic personnel is often made by people who severely dedicated their younger years to study. This individuals must find opportunities to gain what they deserve: chances to demonstrate their value before entering; chances to grow in their career after they find their job' (BIONDO & MONTELEONE 2010, p. 6).

(6) Return Migration in Poland

Based on previous research, one can conclude that until now Poland has experienced already three phases of return migration. 'The first phase lasted till 1938, and involves traditional return migration, which were the result of mass economic emigration of Poles to the United States in 1919-1938 (CHAŁASIŃSKI 1936; NIEMYSKA 1936; WALASZEK 1983). In the communist period (1945-1989) the migration system was dominated by emigration. Statistical data show that out of more than 3 million emigrants only 55,000 returned in the years 1961-1989, which is the second phase. Political and other emigrants that left Poland before 1990 and came back since then constitute the third and current phase of return migration' (KLAGGE et al. 2007, p. 8).

Poland has been a typical emigration country until 1989. Since then, its migration situation has changed, and Poland can nowadays be characterised as an emigration-immigration country (see KORYŚ & WEINAR 2005). Since the opening of the borders, large numbers of Poles and their foreign-born children (second generation of Poles) as well as immigrants from other Western and Eastern European countries entered. Especially interesting is here, that the number of highly-skilled immigrants is fairly large. Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004 was again a trigger for many Polish emigrants to return - but, in addition, also many especially young and well-educated Poles left Poland to live and work in England or Ireland (see KLAGGE et al. 2007, p. 8).

According to the Polish Population Census (PPC) conducted in 2002, which provides detailed information on returning migrants, 69,700 Polish nationals, half of them female, have returned to Poland in the period 1989-2002. According to the PPC, highly-skilled returnees mainly come from the U.S. (17.6 %), Germany (15.9 %), Great Britain (7.5 %), France (5.7 %) and Canada (4.9 %). The majority of them are at age of economic activity – 90 % of them are between 25-59 years old, less than 10 % is at retirement age (see KLAGGE et al. 2007, p. 12).

KLAGGE et al. (2007) also highlight the high educational level of Polish returnees: 'In comparison to the Polish population as well as to Polish emigrants, adult return migrants are relatively well educated. 27 % of them hold the highest educational degree (university degree); while this percentage is as low as 14 % in the adult Polish population and 10 % among adult Polish emigrants (Central Statistical Office)' (KLAGGE et al. 2007, p. 9).

Most of the highly-skilled returnees are employees. 'Almost 90 % of them work in the service sector and the vast majority represent professions such as high-ranking officials, managers and specialists. In comparison with other return migrants those with a university degree are strongly overrepresented in these positions, but have a lower level of self-employment' (KLAGGE et al. 2007, p. 12). Only 13 % are self-employed without employees and 9 % employ other people (ibid.). Interestingly, out of 69,700 returnees, 28 % left Poland again before 2002. But the people who left were generally lower skilled than those returnees who decided to stay and live in Poland also after 2002 (KLAGGE et al. 2007, p. 9).

GRABOWSKA-LUSINSKA (2010) analysed the career patterns of returnees on the basis of an ethno-survey (N=406). The results show that approximately 8 % of the returnees could enhance their career after return, but the majority of the respondents state that either nothing has changed in terms of their career path or that the experience of migration has even enhanced the fragmentation of their career (GRABOWSKA-LUSIŃSKA 2010).

BUDNIK (2007), doing research on potential polish emigrants, found that 'the propensity to emigrate for unemployed people is significantly higher than the propensity to emigrate of employed or workers out of the labour market' (BUDNIK 2007, p. 6). Her findings are validated by a report on the objective and subjective quality of life in Poland (THE COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL MONITORING 2005), which states that over 20 % of unemployed were interested in working abroad. BUDNIK (2007) further analysed the situation of Polish returnees and found that 'return migrants had around three times higher probability of finding a job after a return to the source country than unemployed or non-participants. If the return migrants were positively selected or they were able to accumulate a job relevant human capital abroad, an increase of emigration after 2004 might be seen as a factor reinforcing labour market activity foremost of those who would otherwise find it hard to enter employment' (BUDNIK 2007, pp. 14f.).

Interestingly, research by HEFFNER & SOŁDRA-GWIŹDŹ (1997) showed that returnees are rather heterogeneous in terms of their educational level according to their previous place of residence. German return migrants with dual Polish-German citizenship 'were on average, less educated and did not have special qualifications before or after returning to Poland. Despite this fact, upon return many of them would start their own businesses. The main reason for their return is their failure in the receiving country related to economical and integration problems. They mostly return to places from which they left, what shows that they maintain strong ties with the sending region' (KLAGGE et al. 2007, p. 14). The authors argue that these results do not reflect the general situation of returnees in Poland.

Polish social scientists (WEINAR 2002; GÓRNY & OSIPOVIČ 2006) have conducted several qualitative interviews with Polish returnees. The most important finding from their research is that the main motivation to come back to Poland goes beyond economic reasons and the returnees' own economic well-being. Most of them state that they want to contribute actively to the economic, social and political development in Poland – thus making them potential innovation actors with respect to local and regional development (KLAGGE et al. 2007, p. 13, 15).

The qualitative studies also revealed that the majority of the interviewed returnees intend to stay in Poland (IGLICKA 2002). Of course, some returnees state that they were disappointed with the political and economic situation of the country and thus decided to emigrate again. 'In a study on return migration of second-generation British Poles, GÓRNY & OSIPOVIČ (2006) showed (...) that at the beginning of the 1990s (many of them) took part in recreating the country's economy, thus realizing their ideological reason of return. After 1993, when a post-communist government began to rule and the situation on the labour market had started to deteriorate (increasing unemployment), they lost their faith in the possibility to support Poland's development' and thus went back to Britain (KLAGGE et al. 2007, p. 14).

(7) Return Migration in Slovenia

Slovenia is neither primarily an emigration country nor does it have an emigration tradition like neighboring countries (e.g. Croatia). According to HORVAT (2004, p. 87), Slovenia experiences brain circulation, but not brain drain.

In 2009, 27,400 foreigners immigrated to Slovenia. The vast majority were citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina (47 %). A further 13 % were from Kosovo, 11 % from Macedonia and 11 % from Serbia. Most immigration is temporary labour migration, in particular for construction (see OECD 2010, p. 320). In terms of emigration, data based on deregistration from registers shows that about 3,700 Slovene citizens emigrated from Slovenia in 2009, the majority to Germany (18 %), Croatia (13 %) and Austria (12 %). This is a decline of about 22 % vis-à-vis 2008. In particular, registered emigration to Germany has declined strongly (ibid.).

The Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia (SORS) provides data on return migration. In 2010, 2,711 nationals entered Slovenia, 1,553 men and 1,158 women. 59 % of male returnees and 53 % of female returnees were in an economically active age (between 20-59 years) when they entered Slovenia. With respect to educational qualifications, data shows that 31 % of Slovenian returnees have obtained tertiary education, 53 % possess upper secondary education and 16 % basic or less education. In terms of occupations, 30 % of Slovenian returnees work in a highly-skilled job (managers, scientists), 36 % hold a medium-skilled job (technicians, service workers) and 33 % work in elementary occupations.

Compared to other ex-Yugoslavian countries, Slovenia has a strong economy and is on a good way towards a knowledge-based economy. Living standards and the socio-economic development of the country are relatively high, acting as 'pull-factors', which attract scientists and experts from poorer countries in the European Union (see HORVAT 2004). With the words of HORVAT (2004, p. 87): 'Brain circulation positively influences socio-economic development and contributes to the pluralistic and multicultural image of the country. Also, it aids the development of the technology required to maintain a competitive economic profile. In this comparative overview, Slovenia is an illustration of a country without brain drain, which corresponds strongly to its higher stage of development and consolidated democracy.'

Research by SCOTT (2003) shows that according to the available unofficial data around 2-3 % of highly-educated Slovenians left the country in the last decade. This number is not worrying at all, as it is generally known that approximately the same number of foreign highly skilled people enter Slovenia. Edvard Kobal, Director of the Slovenian Scientific Foundation, confirmed the assumption that brain circulation is taking place in Slovenia. 'Kobal states that the inflow of foreign students and highly skilled labour to Slovenia is almost equal to the emigration of highly skilled Slovenians. This situation is perceived as normal in the academic community' (HORVAT 2004, p. 89).

Results from a survey on Slovenian scientists show, that 'push factors' like a decent standard of living, which generally cause highly-skilled nationals to emigrate, are already achieved by most of Slovenian scientists. 'The majority of the interviewees placed themselves slightly above the middle of the social ladder' (HORVAT 2004, p. 88). In addition, Slovenian scientists expressed an optimistic attitude when asked about their nearer future. Results of the survey also show that Slovenian respondents 'had many more contacts with foreign countries than the respondents in the region on average; almost half of them were participating in joint projects with foreign countries, which implied that in the observed year on average 30 % of them planned to go to the West and a much lower percentage to the East' (BEVC 1996, p. 17, according to HORVAT 2004, p. 88).

Based on the results of this survey, a very interesting finding could be achieved: when Slovenian respondents were asked about the motives which caused them to emigrate for some time, they generally referred to economic motives (BEVC 1996). This introduces a new aspect into the discussion on brain drain. 'While under conditions of brain drain science-based motives represent a reason to migrate, under conditions of brain circulation, when conditions for adequate scientific work are guaranteed, economic reasons prevail as the main criteria to emigrate' (HORVAT 2004, p. 88).

Research on highly-skilled Slovenians, living abroad, shows that they are interested in returning to the research sphere of Slovenia's higher education system (HORVAT 2004, p. 88). 'In addition to that, Slovenian scientists abroad cultivate the connections with their home country, especially with the institutions where they obtained their degrees. Some of them even work as consultants or researchers in Slovenia. Although there is still no available data to empirically confirm this correlation, one can assume that the participation of those scientists positively influences the country's development' (HORVAT 2004, p. 89).

(8) Return Migration in Slovak Republic

Emigration from the Slovak Republic: According to the Labour Force Survey of the Statistical Office for the second quarter of 2010 the number of Slovak citizens working abroad reached 130,500. Slovaks working abroad constitute 5.6 % of total employed persons in the Slovak Republic. Mostly young people (up to 34 years) go abroad, who finished their education and started their careers and professional skills development. Research by KEŠELOVÁ (2007) shows that among Slovak emigrants who have an idea of their length of stay abroad (62.6 %), there is almost one fifth of people who are planning to stay abroad permanently; 46.7 % want to stay abroad for more than one year. Most people emigrate from the Prešov region in the Slovak Republic. This region has been – for a long time - facing the highest unemployment rate in the country and shows a high concentration of Roma citizens.

Returnees in the Slovak Republic: In 2008, a new phenomenon occurred; Slovak nationals living abroad started to return home as many of them lost their jobs due to the global economic crisis in destination countries. Lots of Slovaks returned to the eastern part of the Slovak Republic, which has been facing high emigration in the previous years. But Slovaks also returned to the cross border regions (border to Hungary), which have always been affected by commuting migration. It is estimated that currently 1/3 of returned migrants are registered as unemployed at Employment Offices in the Slovak Republic. Data of the National Labour, Social Affairs and Family Office (ÚPSVAR) show that the majority of unemployed returnees possess secondary or vocational education and about 6 % possess tertiary educational degrees. But formal qualifications of returnees differ strongly according to the country of destination. Slovaks returning from the Czech Republic and Hungary have in general lower educational qualifications than Slovaks returning from the UK. Returnees with lower qualifications show consequently more problems getting integrated into the local labour market than highly-skilled returnees.

Although return migration is a scarcely studied domain in the Slovak Republic, some research exists, exploring returnees' potentials and expectations. WILLIAMS & BALÁŽ (2005) study three subsamples of Slovak nationals returning from the UK: professionals and managers, students and au pairs. The results of this research show that returnees from all three subsamples were able to enhance their competences, even the last group – the au-pairs, who were formally employed in low skilled, routine jobs (WILLIAMS & BALÁŽ 2005, p. 452). Further, almost one half of the returnees felt they had improved their job positions upon return. The highest positive proportion – 56 % was amongst students, but this partly reflects leaving formal education to enter employment. However, 48 % of professionals considered they had improved their job positions since their return. Au pairs realized the least benefits in terms of enhanced jobs but, nevertheless, 34 % claimed improvements. These findings lead to the critical question, asking for the extent to which these improvements were related to the migration experiences. Based on interviews this question was explored in relation to status and income effects. Half of the interviewees felt that they had improved their status or their income due to their stay in the United Kingdom. Even short term mobility has had the potential for all three types of migrants to realize economic benefits.

Research by WILLIAMS & BALÁŽ (2005) also shows that a considerable number of returnees become self-employed: 9.3 % of professionals, 10.9 % of students and 6 % of au-pairs established businesses upon returning from the UK. The entrepreneurs in all three subgroups stressed the importance of their visits to the UK in becoming self-employed. They highlighted

that the output of staying abroad should not so much be seen in acquiring and transferring specific professional knowledge or skills, but in the broader experience of being abroad (WILLIAMS & BALÁŽ 2005, p. 457). In terms of newly acquired competences and knowledge, all three groups of returned migrants stated that they had significantly improved their English language competence. The largest gains in foreign language competences were realized by au-pairs, reflecting the fact, that they had the lowest level of competence before going abroad and high rates of attendance in formal language courses. However, most interviewees considered they had improved their competences not through formal channels but through practice (WILLIAMS & BALÁŽ 2005, p. 461).

Further, interviewees highly appreciated the benefits of improved self-confidence, learning new approaches to work, a greater ability to deal with new challenges and acquiring new ideas. Some returnees highlighted the fact that they had gained a deeper understanding of the institutions and practices of Western European societies. The most valued were also things such as a total change of mind, ability to manage crises, ability to communicate and independence.

To sum up, WILLIAMS & BALÁŽ (2005) show that foreign work experiences can have a positive impact on personal development and career opportunities. But when considering returnees' chances for the successful re-integration into the local labour market, crucial factors that have to be considered are local power structures, traditions and the institutional openness towards newly acquired knowledge.

These aspects are explored in another research undertaken by WILLIAMS & BALÁŽ (2008) which focuses on the learning and knowledge transfer experiences of mobile doctors in the Slovak Republic. The theoretical basis of this research is BLACKLER's (2002) typology of knowledge (embrained, embodied, embedded, and encultured) and the main research question is whether internationally mobile doctors have the potential to learn and transfer distinctive knowledge, different to that available in the origin or the return setting. The majority of doctors interviewed were overwhelmingly positive (14 out of 19) about how international experiences had influenced their work after returning to the Slovak Republic. Regarding knowledge transfers to Slovakian colleagues after returning, the authors state that tacit-to-tacit transfers were most common, for example in seminars, or simply by talking to colleagues. Further, the authors highlight that there are differences in the degree to which organizations were open to external knowledge. Junior – and sometimes even senior colleagues – complained about the difficulties they had in introducing new ideas to systems characterised by strongly embedded knowledge and infused by centralized power structures. But generally, interviewees stated that knowledge transfers were possible, ranging from minor changes within existing systems to replacing whole systems.

The growing number of returnees in the Slovak Republic has gained the attention not only of public bodies but also of private initiatives, trying to facilitate the effective exploitation of returnees' human capital. One example is the project Slovensko Calling (www.slovenskocalling.sk) which had been run from 2009 to 2011. Its main goal was to explore the return potential among Slovak nationals living and working abroad. In a survey conducted by SlovenskoCalling in 2010, 401 respondents participated (female: 53 %; male: 47 %). Almost two thirds of them were between 25 and 35 years of age and 60 % had university education. 82 % of respondents lived and worked in Europe, particularly in Ireland, England, Czech Republic, Austria and Germany - and 12 % lived and worked in the USA. 54 % of Slovaks living and

working abroad wanted to return and the main reasons for returning were reasons related to family, friends and local relations.

2.4.3 Synthesis of National Results

The Country Reports provide a very heterogeneous picture on the regarded countries in terms of:

- the migration history (whether they are sending or receiving countries),
- the amount of migrants returning to their home countries, and
- the importance of return migration for the local labour market and the economic development.

Austria, Germany, Italy and the *Czech Republic* are declared immigration countries. Therefore, most research for these countries focuses on aspects of immigration and integration issues of immigrant groups. Although emigration of highly-skilled nationals takes place in Austria, Germany, Italy and the Czech Republic and research shows that these numbers tend to increase in the last years; outflows of nationals are not yet causing a dramatic decline in the number of tertiary educated workers in these countries. But, the exodus of nationals may result in short-term destabilization of certain economic sectors on regional level, where high-skilled nationals are hard to replace. For the year 2009, the share of returning nationals among the total number of immigrants entering these countries, ranges referring to data by Eurostat between 9 % (Italy), 13 % (Austria), 23 % (Germany) and 29 % (Czech Republic). According to national surveys, the return potential of highly-skilled nationals living abroad seems to be relatively high in the case of Germany and the Czech Republic. Most of their national emigrants intend to return within several years. The return potential among Austrian and Italian highly-skilled emigrants seems to be fairly low. Especially Italian scientists are unwilling to return, as they are attracted by better career opportunities and working conditions in the destination country.

Poland, Hungary and *Slovenia* became so-called emigration-immigration countries in the recent years. According to national research, Slovenia is not experiencing brain drain but brain circulation. Although many highly-skilled Slovenians leave the country for Germany and Austria, they can be replaced with the relatively large numbers of foreign students and highly skilled labour entering Slovenia. Because of Slovenia's comparatively strong economy in CEE and its progress towards a knowledge-based economy, living standards and the socio-economic development of the country are relatively high. These factors attract scientists and experts from poorer countries in the European Union (see HORVAT 2004). The number of returning nationals among all immigrants was relatively low in 2009 (10 %), but national research shows that more and more highly-skilled Slovenians living abroad are interested in returning to the research sphere of Slovenia's higher education system.

In contrast, *Poland* and *Hungary* experience significant outflows of skilled nationals. National research points out that especially since their accession to the European Union, these countries are suffering severely from brain drain. The number of returnees is fairly small for Hungary (8 % of all immigrants are nationals, 2009) and fairly large for Poland (75 % of all immigrants are nationals, 2009). Both countries need high-skilled return migration to reverse the negative outcomes of brain drain and to foster economic development and increase international competitiveness. According to national studies, the return potential among Polish nationals and

Hungarian nationals living abroad is considerably large. In the case of Poland, a lot of them want to return to contribute actively to the economic, social and political development of the country. Hungarian nationals living abroad are more attracted by new opportunities accorded by Hungary's transition to a market economy. This return potential has to be successfully used by these countries to ensure sustainable economic prosperity in the long run.

Further, national research is reviewed, which focuses on motives of returning migrants, their resource mobilisation and their preparedness to return. These factors are, according to CASSARINO (2004), important for a returnee to become an actor of change and to be able to impact on the development of the origin-country. Subsequently, main findings are summarised.

In line with economic approaches to return migration (reviewed in the chapter 2.2 'International Theories of Return Migration') income aspects, professional development and career opportunities are the main push-factors which motivate CEE nationals to emigrate (see SZEMÉLYI & CSANÁDY 2011 for Hungary; BEVC 1996 for Slovenia; MONTELEONE & TORRISI 2010 for Italy; BIONDO & MONTELEONE 2010 for Italy; HEIMER & PFEIFFER 2007 for Germany; LIEBAU & SCHUPP 2010 for Germany; VAVREČKOVÁ & BAŠTÝŘ 2009 for the Czech Republic and BREINBAUER 2008 for Austria). In addition, national research from Italy shows that after economic motives, difficulties in accessing research funds and a lack of adequate infrastructures are important push-factors for researchers (see MONTELEONE & TORRISI 2010). Further, research for Germany states that increased life-quality, looking for new experiences and challenges, looking for new perspectives and family-orientation (HEIMER & PFEIFFER 2007) as well as already gained experiences from an earlier stay abroad and social ties abroad (LIEBAU & SCHUPP 2010, p. 2, 5) can be potential push-factors of great importance. Thus, according to national research, highly-skilled nationals in CEE emigrate mainly but not always because of economic and science-based reasons; if economic reasons are not important, increased life-quality, better infrastructure and the experience of new challenges play a great role.

According to literature on return migration, highly-skilled returnees, which stayed several years abroad and have mobilized a lot of resources, have the greatest chances to succeed as actors of change in the origin country.

The national reports on return migration show that CEE returnees are positively selected with respect to age. Returnees tend to be younger compared to non-migrants and migrants staying abroad (see KLAGGE et al. 2007 for Poland; MARTIN & RADU 2011 for Poland and Hungary; and data provided by SORS for Slovenia). The fact that most returnees in CEE are in an economically active age is of great relevance for home country labour markets. Returnees are old enough to have mobilised various resources, but they are still young enough to pursue their goals and use their capital to foster knowledge-based development in the origin country.

Further, CEE returnees seem to be positively selected with respect to education. National survey data in CEE countries shows, that the share of highly-educated people is higher among returnees than among stayers (see KLAGGE et al. 2007 for Poland; MARTIN & RADU 2011 for Poland and Hungary; data provided by SORS for Slovenia; ETTE & SAUER 2010 for Germany). This means that returnees upgrade their skills by studying at the university or learning on the job in countries with higher technological development, and subsequently bring human capital to their source country. Thus, a lot of CEE returnees possess the potential to adding to knowledge diffusion and the catching-up of the economy of the origin country.

A review of the country reports also showed, that CEE migrants cultivate the connections with their home country when they are abroad, especially scientist, with the institutions where they obtained their degrees (see HORVAT 2004 for Slovenia; SZEMÉLYI & CSANÁDY 2011 for Hungary and BREINBAUER 2008 for Austria). This means that CEE returnees fulfill another pre-requisite, which is important for successfully impacting on the economy of the origin country: they are linked with members of their origin society. This is a very valuable asset, as it informs people about post-return conditions in the origin country and facilitates the re-integration process upon return.

So far, the synthesis has shown that in general, CEE returnees fare very well with respect to resource mobilisation. They are comparatively young, well-educated and have maintained links to their origin countries. Now the question is, whether their mobilisation of resources pays off in the origin country. Main findings from national research, presented in the country reports on return migration, show a differentiated picture.

First, MARTIN & RADU (2011) found that returnees from Hungary and Poland have a higher probability not to actively *participate on the local labour market*. Further, HÁRS (2010) differs according to educational qualifications and states for Hungarian returnees, that the most successful are those who had non-manual jobs abroad. They hardly experience a period without work following employment abroad. Returnees with lower education are more likely without a job (HÁRS 2010, pp. 6f.).

Possible explanations for these findings are:

- Returnees have a lack of important social ties and networks in the origin country which may result in difficulties entering the home country labour market,
- returnees can afford to search longer for a job due to savings from higher earnings abroad,
- returnees may search longer due to the fact that they are more self-confident and aim 'higher' in terms of income and career opportunities,
- foreign work experience is not valuable on the home country labour market,
- employers are unsure about how to evaluate foreign experiences, or
- employers in the home country may take foreign work experiences as a signal of being unsuccessful in the local labour market.

Based on the available data it is not possible to decide which explanation is empirically correct.

Second, research provides mixed evidence with respect to *higher income and earnings* of returnees than stayers. On the one hand, MARTIN & RADU (2011) show for Poland and Hungary, that returnees receive significant income premia both from self-employment and from dependent employment. On the other hand, Co et al. (2000) find that there is no wage premium for male returnees in Hungary. But female returnees earn a 67 % premium over female stayers. The authors explain this finding by arguing that the high income premia for women result from the skills acquired abroad which are valued in specific industries of the local labour market and the possible undergoing of wage cuts which experienced women who have not been abroad during the transition phase (see Co et al. 2000, p. 71).

Third, country-specific survey data provides again mixed evidence with respect to the enhancement of *career opportunities* upon return. VAVREČKOVÁ & BAŠTÝŘ (2009) conducted a study in the Czech Republic and found that after returning home most of the respondents (tertiary-educated) managed to make use of the experiences they gained abroad. They state that their time abroad positively affected their work career. On the contrary, research by GRABOWSKA-

LUSIŃSKA (2010) for Poland shows that only 8 % of the returnees could enhance their career after return, but the majority of the respondents state that either nothing has changed in terms of their career path or that the experience of migration has even enhanced the fragmentation of their career.

Last, national surveys report mixed findings concerning the tendency of returnees to start their own *businesses*. MARTIN & RADU (2011) found for Hungary and Poland that returnees are more likely to be self-employed than non-migrants. Different evidence is obtained by KLAGGE et al. (2007) for Poland who report that highly-skilled returnees are mainly employees, but less-skilled returnees are more likely to start their own business.

In conclusion, the synthesis of national results of the Country Reports has shown that CEE returnees are a positively selected group with respect to age and education. In addition, CEE returnees tend to maintain professional links with their home country during the migration phase, which may facilitate the re-integration process upon return. Further, national results show mixed findings concerning the labour market integration and the labour market outcomes of returnees. Whereas some studies point out that returnees receive significant income premia upon return, others cannot support this finding and even show that the experience of migration may enhance the fragmentation of the career path. Last, research points into the direction that returnees more often switch into self-employment than non-migrants, but this finding is not supported by all research done in the CEE region.

2.4.4 Who Comes Back? Data Analysis of Return Migration

The following analyses are based on Eurostat and Labour Force Survey (LFS)-Data. The results and conclusions are those of the authors and not those of Eurostat or the European Commission.

(1) Is return important for Central Europe?

In the figure below, the share of nationals among immigrants is visualized. Immigration by nationals includes both returning migrants and citizens born abroad, who are immigrating for the first time. For the year 2009, the share of nationals returning is highest in Poland (75 % - data refer to 2008), followed by the Czech Republic (29 %) and Germany (23 %). For all other countries, the share of nationals immigrating is fairly small.

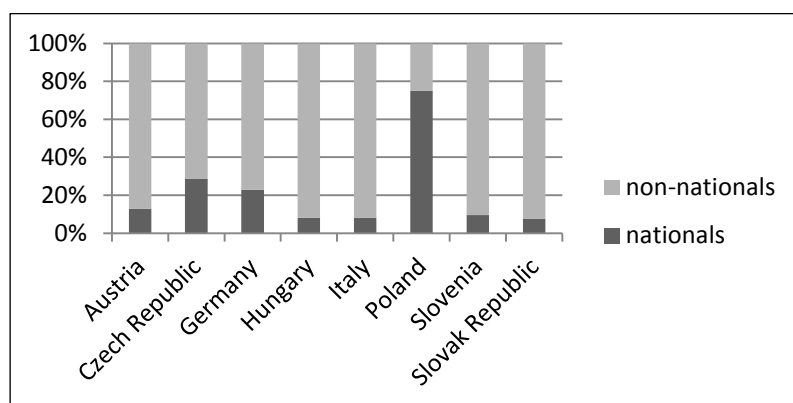


Fig. 3: Share of nationals among immigrants, 2009

Source: Eurostat 2009

Tab. 1: Immigration by citizenship, 2009, absolute numbers

Country	Nationals among immigrants
Austria	9,500
Czech Republic	21,700
Germany	79,200
Hungary	2,300
Italy	36,200
Poland	35,900
Slovenia	2,900

Source: Eurostat 2009

(2) Who are the returnees?

Using the Labour Force Survey (LFS, see chapter 2.3) it is possible to identify recent return migrants using the retrospective information on the country of residence one year before the survey and the country of birth. For the years 2005-2008, the sample contained the following numbers of returnees and stayers. In Slovenia only 16 returning migrants could be identified, therefore this country was excluded from the analysis.

Tab. 2: Sample of recent returnees in the LFS 2005-2008

Country	Identified returnees	stayers
Austria	558	792,597
Czech Republic	758	986,766
Germany	272	612,979
Hungary	206	1,211,180
Italy	549	2,704,464
Poland	674	810,029
Slovenia	16	258,233
Slovak Republic	162	446,791

Source: Own calculations, LFS 2005-2008

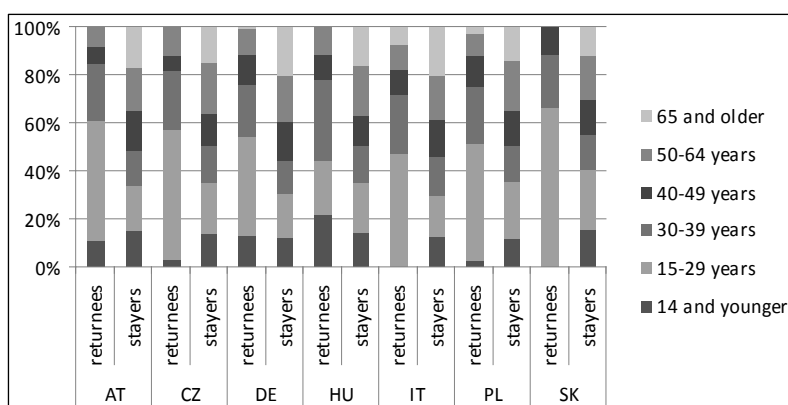


Fig. 4: Returnees and Stayers according to age groups

Source: own calculations, weighted data, LFS 2005-2008

Figure 4 shows that returnees are positively selected with respect to age. Returnees are consistently younger than stayers in all countries.

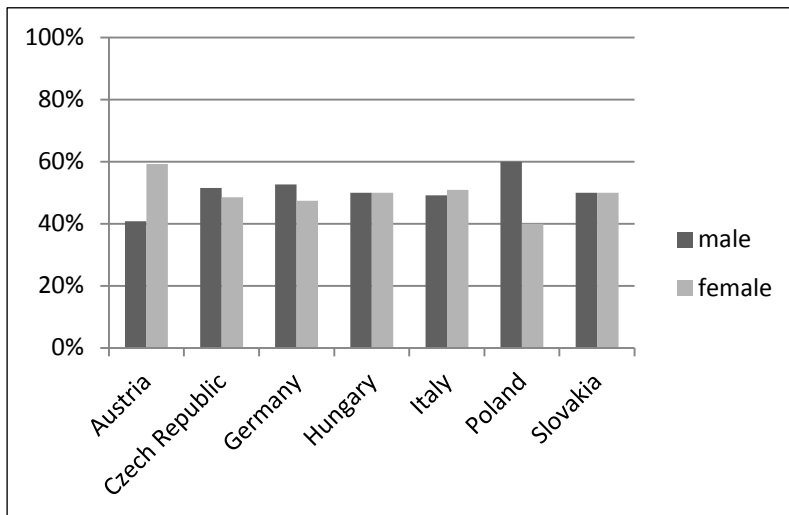


Fig. 5: Returnees according to gender (%)
 Source: own calculations, weighted data, LFS 2005-2008

Figure 5 illustrates that the number of male returnees roughly equals the number of female returnees. This is true for the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary and Italy. In Austria, almost 60 % of the returnees are female and in Poland almost 60 % of the returnees are male.

(3) Is Return Brain Gain?

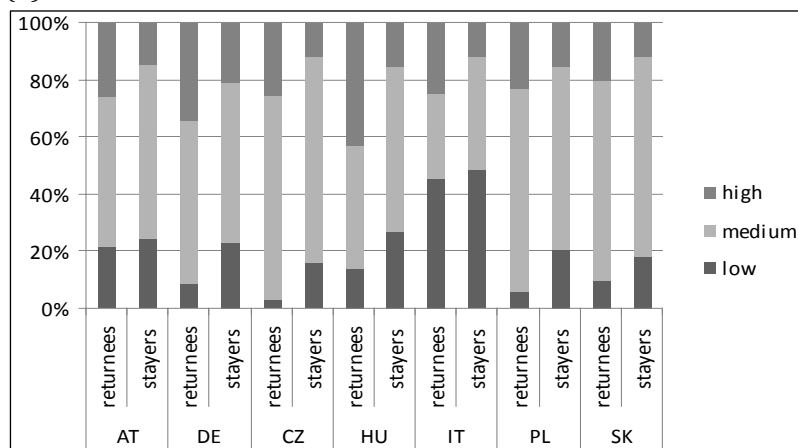


Fig. 6: Returnees (aged between 17-62) - educational attainment
 Source: own calculations, weighted data, LFS 2005-2008

Figure 6 provides evidence that recent returnees are relatively well educated in all regarded countries. Especially Hungary and Germany receive a large number of tertiary-educated returnees. The percentage-point-difference between highly-skilled returnees and highly-skilled stayers ranges from 8 % in Poland to 28 % in Hungary (other countries: 11 % difference in Austria, 13 % difference in Italy and the Czech Republic, 14 % difference in Germany). 43 % of recent Hungarian returnees and 34 % of recent German returnees hold a tertiary degree, while the percentage is 15 % for Hungarian stayers and 20 % for German stayers. Compared to the other countries, Italy receives the highest amount of low-skilled returnees (45 %), nevertheless this percentage is lower than the amount of low-skilled among Italian stayers (49 %).

(4) Has the labour market re-integration been successfully?

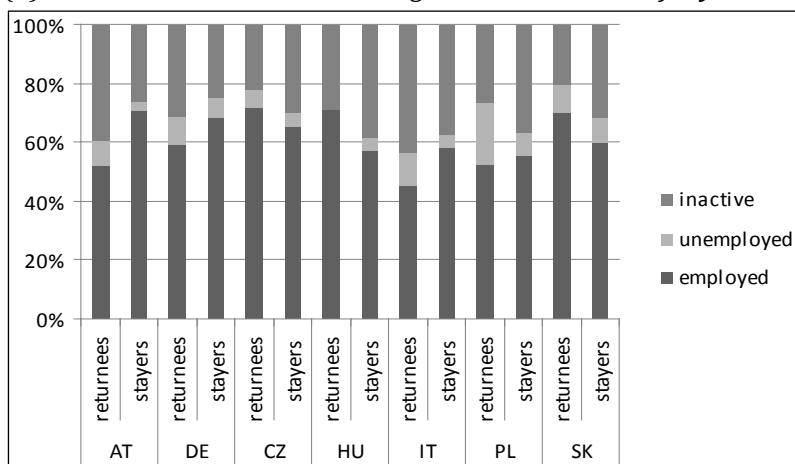


Fig. 7: Returnees (aged between 17-62) - labour market status
 Source: own calculations, weighted data, LFS 2005-2008

Returnees aged between 17 and 62 are more often unemployed than stayers. This is an established finding for all regarded countries except Hungary; in the Hungarian sample, no unemployed returnees could be identified. The share of unemployed returnees is largest in Poland with 21 %. Only 8 % of Polish stayers are unemployed respectively. With respect to the share of inactive people in economically active age the findings show that in Austria, Germany and Italy returnees show higher shares of inactive people than stayers. For the Czech Republic, Hungary, the Slovak Republic and Poland the opposite is true.

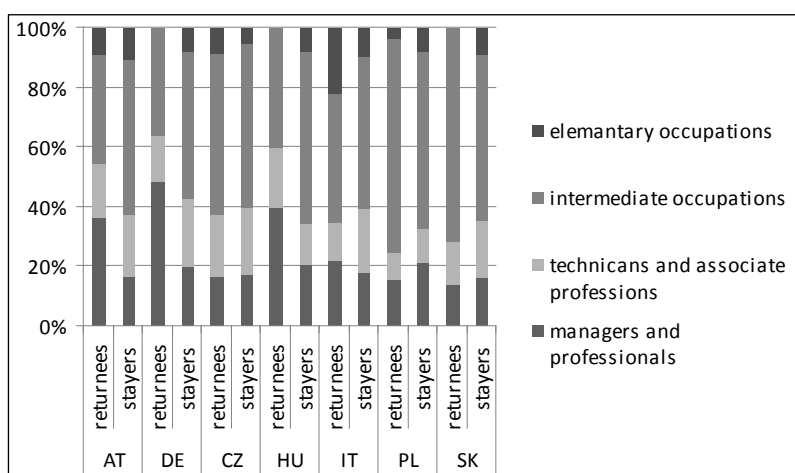


Fig. 8: Returnees (aged between 17-62) - occupations
 Source: own calculations, weighted data, LFS 2005-2008

In terms of labour market success, main findings show that the share of managers and professionals is higher among returnees than stayers. This is true for Austria, Germany, Hungary and Italy. For the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic and Poland the reverse is true. Interestingly, the share of people holding elementary occupations is larger among Czech returnees and Italian returnees compared to national stayers.

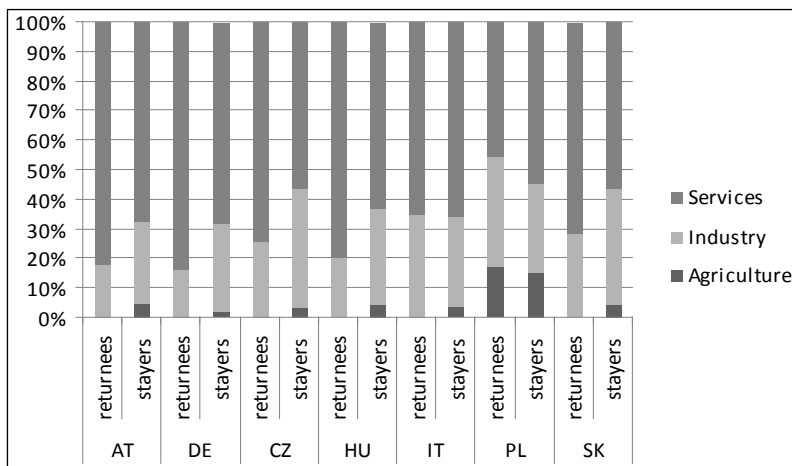


Fig. 9: Returnees (aged between 17-62) - sectors of employment
 Source: own calculations, weighted data, LFS 2005-2008

Figure 9 shows for all countries, that the majority of recent returnees are employed in the service sector. In all countries, except Italy and Poland, the share of returnees employed in the service sector is larger than the respective percentage of national stayers.

(5) Where do returnees live?

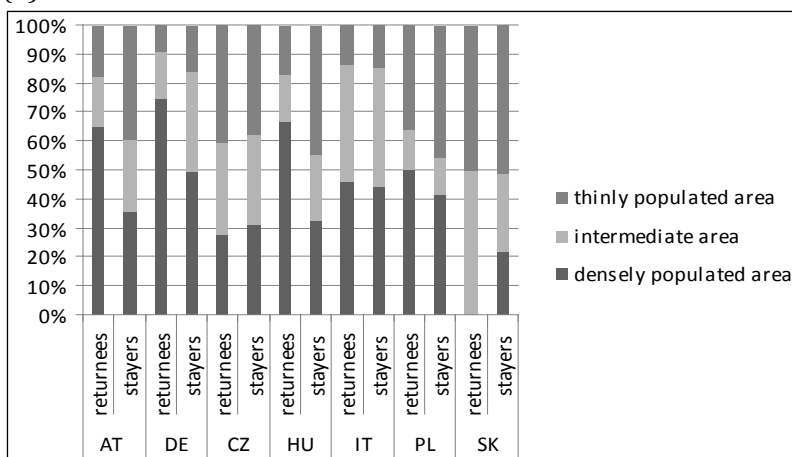


Fig. 10: Returnees (aged between 17-62) - area of residence
 Source: own calculations, weighted data, LFS 2005-2008

Figure 10 provides evidence that recent returnees mainly live in densely populated areas in Austria, Germany, Hungary, Italy and Poland. The share of returnees who live in thinly populated areas is significantly below the respective percentage of national stayers. This is not true for the Czech Republic. Most return migrants in the Czech Republic live in thinly populated areas.

2.5 Return Migration - The Regional Perspective

The possibilities returning migrants offer for regional development was analysed for eight case study regions from Central Europe in Czech Republic, Germany (2), Hungary, Italy, Poland (2), and Slovenia. This chapter analyses general and specific features of the case study regions based on reports carried out by the local Re-Turn project partners. The possibilities the case study regions offer for returning migrants and the strength they manage to get out from the additional labour force available will be assessed within the framework of New Endogenous Growth Theory.

Box 1: New Endogenous Growth Theory

In contrast to more traditional concepts the New Endogenous Growth Theory underlines the importance of internal factors for development. Factors are not externally given but a consequence of actions from within the region. This implies that investments in research, education and information transfer and especially coordinated measures across different political fields can change development possibilities. This has high implications for assessing the contribution of education and skills up-grading but also for the way collaboration and networking of institutions and individuals are taken into account in development strategies (see also box 3).

2.5.1 Returning Migrants and Regional Development: Theoretical Concept

Migration changes the pattern of labour market supply of a region. For a receiving region this means a plus in quantitative terms, and depending on the qualification of migrants, also in the skills profile available. Depending on the economic situation, this can lead to an increase in economic growth due to better availability of labour, or to downwards pressure on wages in unfavorable conditions for certain sectors of the economy.

For the regions, where migrants come from, the effects will likely be opposite, but they can also show adverse characteristics. A shortage of labour will typically slow down economic growth perspectives, especially if emigration leads to a brain drain and to an aging of the work force (both effects are typical). In some situations though, excessive labour supply can be reduced by emigration, i.e. when major structural changes in agriculture lead to high unemployment of people formerly employed in farming industry. The pressure on the labour market can thus be weakened by international mobility.

Considering the effects of returning migrants a basic assumption can therefore be that results will be positive:

- if there is demand for labour; and more specifically, demand for the specific skills, returning migrants add to the regional spectrum already available; and
- if they can link into the labour market easily.

Box 2: Labour market imperfections

Labour markets are characterised by a number of imperfect elements setting limits to its functioning as a 'market place'. Imperfect information is one, referring to both the entrepreneurial side not knowing about the available qualifications of individuals searching for work, and to job seekers who do not know which vacancies are and, perhaps even more important, will be available in the future. This leads us to the next characteristic: time. It is more important for the labour market than for any other to take into account the time span it takes to change qualifications and the limits this can cause for supply, with negative effects on production possibilities of companies. Professional mobility will often be limited, and more so than geographical mobility due to free movement of labour regulation between (most) EU countries.

Other limits usually stated with reference to the labour market are wage bargaining agreements restricting downwards flexibility of the price of labour, and discrimination of certain groups or attitudes because of real or assumed social criteria.

It is important to identify the state of the labour market to find out how to act. Structural unemployment refers to the difference between the features required to obtain a job and the individual's qualification (both in a narrow and wider sense), while frictional unemployment relates to the time span needed to find appropriate work. Important for our considerations is also the concept of demand deficient unemployment, describing situations when companies just do not offer a sufficient number of jobs to empty the market, which is usually due to weak overall economic situations. The contrary is supply deficient limitations to growth due to labour shortages.

In some of the case study regions the exodus of preliminary young, skilled workers has led to a shortage on the labour supply, thus hindering economic development (limiting also possibilities for a future oriented economic restructuring). The return of these qualifications, partly up-skilled due to international experience, should enhance development perspectives. For this to take place will require that returning migrants settle in places where they are needed, and that their skills are being recognized and made known to companies. The latter links to the importance of social capital, arguing that knowledge about job opportunities is being primarily spread through private networks and contacts. It is therefore crucial if returning migrants can link into their old networks quickly. In addition formal institutions like employment services and regional enterprise centres should screen their qualifications and skills and provide specific support to make best use of the potential they offer.

Box 3: Social Capital

The notion of social capital refers to the value of social relations individuals possess and the role of cooperation and confidence to get collective or economic results. The position and possibilities in society are not only defined by one's capital endowments, education and skills level, but also by contacts and the networks people are bound or linked to. Social networks are needed to find job opportunities and move up career paths, as well as for starting business and attracting customers. The most effective labour market search strategy still relates to social information channels. Economic activity is based on collaboration which is in itself dependent on confidence and trust. For development to be successful depends on the 'extent to which ways and means can be found to forge mutually beneficial and accountable ties between different agents and agencies of expertise' (WOOLCOCK 2001). In poor communities, social capital is often the decisive factor to reach certain results, thus compensating for other, missing elements.

To describe an optimal situation this would mean that returning migrants settle in a place where they can build on their social capital and where their skills are recognised and meet the demand expressed by companies. Effects will be reduced when this fails to take place, and can even turn negative when the returning migrants increase the unemployment rate as their qualifications and skills are not asked for.

As a starting point it is therefore necessary to obtain a clear picture of the economic situation of the case study regions and especially of labour market shortcomings. Generally speaking, the eight case study regions are rather different in this respect. Several regions face labour shortages and would need additional skills, others are already facing high unemployment and the open question is what kinds of jobs returning migrants should take.

2.5.2 Regional Economic and Labour Market Profile

The economic and labour market profile of the region is the underlying factor defining the perspectives of returning migrants to enter the job market and the influence this might have for future development.

Participation rates: There is no unanimous picture of participation rates for participating regions, though most are characterised by comparatively low participation and corresponding high unemployment rates, which makes the general conditions on the labour market less favourable. Data show participation rates between 50 and 55 % for the main working age group in the two Polish case study regions (25-44 years) and in Harz region (25-49 years) respectively. The overall volume of employment does not indicate a need for migration backflows. Also migration from other areas (as a possible indicator for labour market demand) is small. In Swietokrzyskie region there has been a major outflow of human capital with more than 106,000 people leaving the region from 2006-2011, not matched by inflow at all (close to 400). This is a clear indication that returning migrants will not find employment automatically, even though their skills level might help them to compete successfully for some jobs.

Low wages: One of the most important factors hindering the case study regions in attracting especially skilled workers are low wages, compared with not only international but also national competing regions. For returning migrants this could mean that jobs offered will be paid far beyond what they would get in other countries, with the open question to what extent cheaper

living costs will offset the difference. Podravska region in Slovenia can be taken as an example for this situation, where the average income is 15 % lower than national average, and a little bit more than half of the neighbouring Austrian province of Styria.

Qualification levels: Some of the regions show rather good qualification levels as compared to the economic structure. For both German case study regions, data shows only 5 % (Görlitz) and 8.5 % (Harz), respectively, with low education and the same is documented for Central Transdanubia (HU) with 8,1 %. Also Podravska (SI) is performing well in educational terms with only 13 % at ISCED (International Standard Classification of Education) 1 or 2. On the other end there are Ossola (IT) with 60 %, both Ústecký kraj (CZ) and Swietokrzyskie (PL) with 54 % and Lodz (PL) with 47 %. As low qualification levels are usually considered as a hindering factor for attracting business from abroad in central EU, returning migrants could prove to upgrade the economic profile of these regions. Interesting is the case of Usti (CZ): The traditional industrial structure, mainly related to coal mining, led to a development where many companies are not searching for qualified, but rather for skilled workers with practical experience. This is reflected in the low average qualification level, but also in companies' search strategies. Again this could be positive for returning migrants, given that they will have better experience and different skills as compared to local people.

Aging: All regions are faced with an aging population and a decreasing young population; Podravska (SI) for example had to face a reduction in job entrants of 9 % in only 5 years (aged 15-24; 2006-2011) and a substantial increase in both aged 45-65 (+5 %) and aged 65+ (+11 %). Other regions are confronted with a substantial reduction in the main working age 25-44 (Ossola (IT), Harz (DE), Görlitz (DE)). This should offer job opportunities for skilled people with experience filling emerging shortages in the coming years.

Economic and entrepreneurial structure: Employment by sector shows an oversized production sector for most regions (Central Transdanubia (HU) 59 %, Ústecký (CZ) 49 %, Harz (DE) and Ossola (IT) 32 %, Lodz (PL) 30 %), and in some even an exorbitantly high primary sector: With a share of employment in the primary sector of 48 % in Swietokrzyskie (PL), 40 % in Görlitz (DE), and 20 % in Lodz (PL) it is clear that major restructuring is still to come, even if mining and quarrying are taken into consideration as major employers. For returning migrants this means that they will have to find jobs in the 'old' industries unless they start their own business. In combination with regional development strategies, though, their different skills level could be a driving force for supporting new companies in their development.

Location and regional infrastructure: The closeness to bigger cities and the linkage to international road networks are stated in all but one case (Ossola, IT) as positive factor supporting development perspectives. Landscape and cultural heritage are highlighted as positive factors in most reports, though some of the regions are characterised by old industrial structures (e.g. Görlitz (DE), Swietokrzyskie (PL) and Ústecký (CZ)). This goes in line with emphasizing housing possibilities at reasonable prices in proximity of more attractive work places (with the exception again of Ossola), and could be a positive factor for company settlement. On the contrary, the industrial past and present is highlighted as a key pull factor for attracting investment and people for the Central Transdanubian case study region (HU).

2.5.3 Perspectives for Returning Migrants

Following from the regional characteristics summarised above, the following recommendations can be given as an intervention strategy both supporting returning migrants and making best use of the additional strength they add to the labour market profile of the respective regions.

The regions are characterised by a very traditional pattern of economic activity, comparatively low employment and corresponding high unemployment rates, and low wage levels. All this does not create a favourable climate for additional people looking for work. Given the international experience and the different skills profile of returning workers, this might be a perfect input for these regions to change their economic profile. Companies, who want to restructure, and enterprises newly attracted to the region because of proximity to cities and international transport infrastructure could be interested in better skilled personnel, and returning migrants' profiles could therefore form part of an investment attracting strategy.

This would require active comprehension of returning migrants in such a strategy, by screening their profiles and marketing it. This would help them not only to obtain a job, but also to obtain one in a more future oriented company.

Self-employment is definitely another option in the case study regions. As they all lack entrepreneurs (and entrepreneurial spirit), the absence of jobs matching the qualifications of returning migrants could lead them to try to start their own business, thus making best use of the knowledge they gathered. This could definitely be a major impulse to the local economy. To be successful, this would nonetheless require support in business start-up and financing, and perhaps also in specific entrepreneurial qualifications.

There are many regions in the EU facing problems similar to the ones outlined in the case study reports. Most of them rely on regional export oriented economic activities (including tourism), which means that they try to produce something which they sell to the wider economy. For some of these regions, their specific geographic location in close proximity to other, much more dynamic regions might open some chances if economic activities focus on serving these areas. Returning migrants could constitute an important asset for such a strategy with their experience in international settings.

For other regions, the possibility to participate on international level on equal terms will be out of reach in spite of all the investment coming from EU and national resources, at least for the coming years. It would be more appropriate to pay some attention to perspectives for endogenous development, in the sense of identifying (typically small) local niches for small companies and single entrepreneurs to serve mainly local needs. There are many examples on EU level that such local initiatives can create many thousand jobs, one by one, based on creativity, understanding and networking of local communities.

Considering the flexibility, experience and skills of returning migrants, they could support such a strategy by bringing in foreign know-how and combining it with local features. They could do this both being employed or self-employed.

2.6 Conclusions

The main focus of this comparative report was to present the current stage of knowledge concerning the situation of return migration in Central and Eastern Europe. Based on the reviewed literature, we can conclude, that the understanding of the phenomenon is still fragmentary, due to a lack of comparative international studies, difficulties in defining and measuring return migration and scarce data sources.

It is against this background that this report presents synthesized and comparative insights of return migration in Central and Eastern Europe. In this report, data on the share of nationals returning to their countries are provided and show that return migration is not a marginal phenomenon. According to international data provided by Eurostat for 2009, the share of nationals among immigrants was 75 % for Poland (data refer to 2008), 29 % for the Czech Republic, 23 % for Germany, 13 % for Austria, 10 % for Slovenia and 8 % for Hungary and Italy.

The economic crisis in 2008, which hit many of the main destination countries (like UK, Ireland, Spain etc.) of CEE migrants and the expanding transformation economies in Eastern Europe are factors which make return migration attractive for many CEE workers. Return migrants in Central and Eastern Europe are a fast-growing group and given these circumstances, many scholars believe that their number will increase in the upcoming years. This report provides a review of the current state of the literature on return migration for Central European countries. We present synthesized findings, mainly focusing on the following questions:

- Why do highly educated migrants return?
- Who are the returnees in the Central Europe in terms of socio-demographic and labour market characteristics?
- Can CEE returnees become actors of change?

In this report, international economic and social theories of return migration were reviewed. Main findings show that in the light of structural theories, return migration is part of the whole migration project and often planned from the beginning. According to economic theories, main motives which cause people to return are of financial nature. Structural theories add that motives may vary over the lifecycle and are influenced by family objectives. In addition, network approaches highlight opportunities in the home country which may cause migrants to return. As migrants stay in touch with people from the origin country, they are able to inform themselves about current changes with respect to the home country's economy or political situation and may then decide to return or not. According to network approaches, these links are very valuable resources which facilitate the re-integration process upon return.

According to international migration theories, skilled return migrants can become actors of change and can stimulate knowledge-based development in the origin-country but this is dependent on institutional and regional factors as well as context conditions. Returnees have to prepare for their return by mobilizing resources (human capital, financial capital and social capital). Therefore they require conditions which are favourable enough to allow resources to be mobilised. Further, they need time. Migrants have to stay in the destination country sufficiently long to allow accumulating knowledge and absorbing certain experiences and values. Here, especially the membership in various networks is important to link return migrants' capital with local resources. Also existing traditional power relations and local values shape return outcomes and may impact on the behavior of returnees.

The synthesis of cross-country and national results has shown that Central European returnees are a positively selected group with respect to age and education. In addition, in terms of resource mobilisation, research shows that CEE returnees tend to maintain professional links with their home country during the migration phase, which facilitates the re-integration process upon return. Further, national results show mixed findings concerning the labour market integration and the labour market outcomes of returnees. Whereas some studies point out that returnees receive significant income premia upon return, others cannot support this finding and even show that the experience of migration may enhance the fragmentation of the career path. Last, research points into the direction that returnees more often switch into self-employment than non-migrants, but this finding is not supported by all research done in the CEE region.

The descriptive analysis of return migration based on LFS-Data 2005-2008 supports empirical findings from cross-country and national research. In our analysis, we find that recent returnees are consistently younger and better educated than stayers. Especially Hungary and Germany receive a large number of tertiary-educated returnees. We also find that returnees in an economically active age are less often employed and more often unemployed than stayers. This is an established finding for all regarded countries except Hungary. These findings suggest that although returnees possess valuable human capital resources, they show a comparatively high tendency not to enter the local labor market. Whether this is because returnees lack important social ties and networks in the origin country, or because returnees can just afford to search longer for a job due to savings from higher earnings, or because foreign work experience is a signal of being unsuccessful on local labour markets for employers remains unclear.

Whether and to what extent returning migrants can help boosting regional development is to large extent dependent on the situation of the economy and labour market they re-enter. Data from the eight case study regions indicates that the regions are predominantly characterised by a traditional economy and an oversupply on the labour market with little chances of increased demand in the near future. This offers only limited employment perspectives for returning migrants even though their skills and their experience and probably also their formal education and vocational training will be higher than average giving them a competitive advantage. A factor in their favour though is the aging of most of the regions, which should generally shorten the current excess labour supply. Based on key findings from the report, the following main policy implications for the Central European region can be formulated:

(1) Attract high-skilled return migration

High-skilled return migration has the potential to positively impact on development in Central European Countries through the exchange of professional knowledge on methods, techniques and standards. Central European Countries should encourage the return of their skilled nationals by applying different return policies (see OECD 2008, pp. 201f.), e.g.:

- offering reintegration assistance
- offering access to special social services
- giving permission to earn premium interest rates or hold convertible foreign-currency accounts
- encouraging migrants to seek representation in institutional structures, or
- establishing systems of information and cultural outreach to expatriate communities

(2) Remove obstacles to return (see OECD 2008, pp. 192f.)

According to the theoretical literature and empirical evidence, the intention of migrants to return to their home countries is largely influenced by institutional and context factors in the origin as well as in the destination country. The portability of social benefits and the right to come and go between the home and host country are important topics to be dealt with. According to international research, two factors play a considerable role in international mobility: access to the nationality of the host country and the acquisition of permanent residence status of the host country. According to the SOMPEMI-report (2008) naturalisation is a big topic, because 'naturalised immigrants know that they can always come back to the host country to seek health care, for example, or if conditions in their home country deteriorate (e.g. political or economic instability)' (OECD 2008, p. 193). Second, only being allowed to reside in the host country for a specific amount of time risks that migrants 'feel frozen' in the destination country and react by avoiding mobility (ibid.).

(3) Create framework conditions that help returnees to realize their potential (OECD 2008, pp. 203f.)

Initiating change and stimulating economic development is a highly difficult and complex task. How high-skilled return migrants can contribute to succeed in this task still needs to be explored. So far, main findings suggest, that origin countries should:

- deal with the topic of the recognition of qualifications and experience acquired abroad
- install effective migration programmes, which promote brain circulation, and
- engage high-skilled nationals in diasporas, through virtual or temporary return

These options promote the transfer of skills and technologies and facilitate the re-integration process of a returnee upon return.

(4) Formulate a regional development strategy based on a wider and better skills basis

The best chances and also the most effective use to be made of returning migrants lies in a proactive regional development strategy supporting company settlement, self-employment and regional restructuring based on higher and international skill levels. Such a strategy could not only help the returnees themselves, but rather use their better and different qualification to support the regional economy, and thus increase overall economic prosperity and employment in the longer term.

2.7 References

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3 Returning People to the Homeland: Tools and Methods Supporting Remigrants in a European Context

Zoltán Kovács, Lajos Boros, Gábor Hegedűs, Gábor Lados

3.1 Introduction

Studying and utilising the potentials of return migration in regional development has become increasingly relevant. This report highlights the results of recent best practices and formulates proposals for policy makers.

Migration flows within Europe involve hundreds of thousands of people which results in increasing number of foreigners in the receiving regions and serious demographic consequences in the sending regions. Considering the demographic effects and the impacts on local labour market we can distinguish core and crises regions. The core regions are mainly characterised by positive internal and international migration balances; they are situated in advanced countries, concentrating around capital cities and major economic regions. On the other hand, crises regions have less GDP per capita, and they are mostly peripheral, less developed regions (for more information in respect of current migration trends in Europe see chapter 1). Especially these countries and regions with significant outbound migration, high level of unemployment and serious structural problems have the necessity to prevent this so-called brain drain process. Formulation and implementation of strategies to attract returning migrants is indispensable to compensate losses caused by previous waves of out-migration.

Return migration is triggered by many economic and non-economic (e.g. family, cultural, social) factors. On the other hand, remigrants seem to have significant economic, social and political impacts on their native regions. We discuss both factors and impacts in chapter 3.2. In chapter 3.3 we present 13 national policies which focus on stimulating and generating return migration. Altogether 22 regional and local best practices are integrated and analysed in chapter 3.4. 13 of them are from the regions involved in the Re-Turn project, while other eight are from other regions of the EU and one of them is from outside the Union (Turkey). These best practices represent a wide range of actions dealing with outbound migration and aiming at brain gain. In chapter 3.5 we analyse and compare these selected initiatives according to different aspects. In this regard we take a look on the feasibility and adaptability of these best practices. At the end we formulate concrete recommendations for policy makers, who intend to elaborate local or regional policies/strategies to re-attract people (chapter 3.6).

3.2 Factors and Impacts of Return Migration

In the literature we can find various types of arguments for understanding the decisions of return migrants (OECD 2008). In fact, most migrants do not have definite plans they just go on a trial basis, letting their decision of whether or not to return, and when to return, be guided by the opportunities of the new society (GMELCH 1980). According to him economic factors (unfavourable economic conditions in the host society, such as recession or layoffs and unemployment within a single industry) may be one cause of return migration.

Non-economic factors may also play an important role. Among the non-economic factors most frequently mentioned are strong family ties and the wish to be in the company of one's

own kin and long-time friends. Ailing or elderly parents or other relatives may also compel some migrants to return. They come back to look after a sick relative and to run the family business or farm. The importance of family ties in return migration is particularly strong in rural communities. The feeling of loyalty to the home society is also often cited as an important motivation among many migrants. For many of them the social and cultural advantages of life in their native society compensate the economic costs – the expense of moving and the decline in earning power – of returning (GMELCH 1980; JEFFERY & MURISON 2011).

For the better understanding of the complex reality of the opportunities and obstacles to sustainable return, a holistic approach is needed. Some authors emphasises the importance of defining sustainability of return through the use of the concept of mixed embeddedness, and the different economic, psycho-social and social factors influencing this embeddedness (VAN HOUTE & DAVIDS 2008). According to CASSARINO (2004, p. 17) “the propensity of migrants to become actors of change and development at home depends on the extent to which they have provided for the preparation of their return.” Return preparation necessitates time, resources and willingness on the part of the migrant. This means that there exist various degrees of return preparation that differ regarding the resource mobilisation and preparedness (CASSARINO 2004).

Preparedness refers not only to the willingness of migrants to return home, but also to their readiness to return. The returnee’s preparedness is a voluntary act that must be supported by the “gathering of sufficient resources and information about post-return conditions at home” (CASSARINO 2004, p. 17). To fortify the link between return migration and development at home, return should not simply be considered as a voluntary act on the part of the migrant, but principally as a proof of readiness. Figure 1 demonstrates the ways in which these concepts interact with each other, while being at the same time reflective of conditions in host and home countries (CASSARINO 2004). It is evident that the length and type of migration experiences lived abroad have a definite impact on the level of preparedness of returnees and on their potential capacity to contribute to development. Again, the notions of resource mobilisation and to the returnee’s preparedness must be taken into account in order to explain why some returnees become actors of development whereas others do not. Return refers to a preparation process that can be optimally invested in development if it takes place autonomously and if the migration experience is long enough to encourage resource mobilisation.

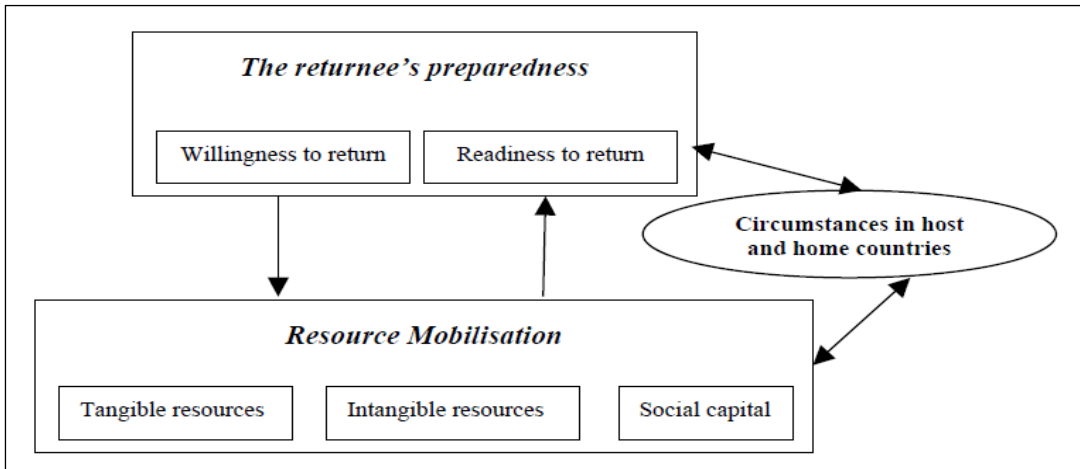


Fig. 1: Return preparation
 Source: CASSARINO 2004, p. 17

In the last fifteen years empirical and theoretical research on return migration and its impact on development has emphasised that entrepreneurial activities and advances in personal and family situations as indices of development are more likely to take place when migrant financial capital (that is remittances or savings) is balanced by transfers of human and social capital. These three kinds of migrant capital combine “when migrants return to their origin area and directly engage in the endeavours at home” (FERRI & RAINERO 2010, p. 5).

Some factors may be influential on the innovative potential of return migration. One of them is the absolute number of returning migrants. Large numbers of returnees in a community or region may offer the critical mass needed to organise and bring about needed reforms. Smaller numbers of returnees are expected to have little influence on the mainstream society and be easily reabsorbed. The concentration of returnees in time may also have an effect. Many returning migrants about the same time will have a more significant impact than if the same number were to go home over a long period of time (GMELCH 1980).

Returnees have been shown to have important economic, social and political effects on the native country. The role of monetary remittances and return savings made by migrants to family or friends in the homeland has been emphasized by many studies focusing on returnees. The theory is that as long as migrants imagine that they may return, they will continue to participate in the daily lives of those left in the homeland. Remittances can be quite considerable to the economic health of the sending country (SILLS 2008; OECD 2008). Further economic advantages are provided by returnees to their homeland through special skills (e.g. knowledge of foreign languages) and connections to the global economy.

Among the social and political impacts the greater tolerance towards foreign cultures, and other political opinions, as well as the role of positive personal example can be mentioned. Many countries have realised by now the positive role that return migrants play in the development of their home countries and made great efforts to attract back their nationals living abroad (OECD 2008). These countries have adopted policies to promote returning migrants to remit funds, to bring their skills back, and even allow them dual citizenship and rights. The inverse brain drain of highly skilled engineers and scientists has improved China, Taiwan, India, and other rapidly developing countries (SILLS 2008).

The idea of return migration (and emigration) from developed countries causing a loss of human capital is gaining impetus. Countries such as Australia, the United States and Canada are now themselves emphasising ‘brain drain’ from their countries. Nevertheless, there has also been some increasing realisation that “return migration or the long term or permanent departure of Australia, United States or Canadian-born may actually bring benefits to these countries as well as they contribute to social and economic transformation in the countries of destination” (IREDALE & GUO 2001, p. 3).

The impact of return migrants on their home country is not always considered as positive or beneficial for further development. The most frequent arguments are: failed return migrants do not inevitably bring new skills; and remittances may not lead to essential economic changes because most foreign earnings are spent on consumable goods rather than invested in land or other businesses. Returnees may waste a lot of money on consumerism in order to raise the conditions of their lives and their social status (VAN HOUTE & DAVIDS 2008). On the negative side it is also often mentioned that returnees, either by direct encouragement or by their example, stimulate further emigration and therefore chain migration. According to some commentators,

the newly acquired wealth of remigrants served to heighten inequality and social tensions, resulting in growing antipathy towards returnees. Return migration demonstrates to young adults in the community that it is possible to go abroad, see a part of the world, find a better paying job, save, and return to the homeland, reunited with family and friends and with enough capital to realise a comfortable standard of living (GMELCH 1980; OECD 2008).

3.3 National Policies Aimed at Stimulating Return Migration

The main aim of this chapter is to provide an overview about macro-scale (national) policies designed to stimulate return migration and to slow down out-migration of skilled labour. A first look at the range of literature reveals that there are very few existing national policies in Europe that would directly or indirectly focus on return migration.

In our literature survey we considered only those policies that are accessible in English and are or have been implemented at the national level. Special attention was paid to the member states of the Central Europe programme and more specifically the participating countries of the Re-Turn project. The results of different national and international research projects focusing on international migration were also analysed, though we refer to them in the text only if they had practical implications (NICHOLSON 2004; VOINESCU et al. 2008; TRIANDAFYLLIDOU 2011). The analysis of literature dealing with return migration in a wider context (e.g. return migration of refugees) was also disregarded (KOSER 2001; IOM 2004). However, for the sake of comparison we introduce here a couple of examples for policies enhancing return migration from countries outside Europe (UNDP 2007).

Remigration policies at the international scale

The role of policies targeting return migration has been growing in the world. The process, which is called “brain gain” in the literature, has been on the agenda in many countries around the world (UNDP 2007). The reverse brain drain of high-skilled engineers and scientists has benefited China, Taiwan and India a lot, which is well documented in the literature (SILLS 2008). Following their example more and more countries make efforts to attract back their nationals residing abroad (e.g. Jamaica, Philippines, Tunisia, Argentina). The migration policies adopted in these countries aimed at stimulating the migrants to remit funds, to bring their skills back, and even allow them dual citizenship and rights. They may establish systems of information and cultural outreach to expatriate communities, and they may also support migrants to seek representation in institutional structures, and particularly in the parliament. They may even offer incentives to stimulate return (special access to definite social services, permission to hold convertible foreign-currency accounts or to earn premium interest rates, etc.), as well as reintegration assistance. A complete summary of these provisions would exceed the scope of this report, but some examples can illustrate the variety of approaches (OECD 2008). National return policies are sometimes based on utilising the ethnic return phenomena (TSUDA 2010).

Successful brain gain strategies may have different scopes (table 1). The level of their institutionalisation, the scale of economic and legal efforts, as well as their efficiency can be very different. Political will at the highest level and investment in tertiary education that is reactive to in-country as well as international labour market demand, coupled with a conducive policy/administrative environment and an integrated incentive package are among the key

factors that make an effective brain gain initiative possible (UNDP 2007). China, India, Taiwan, South-Africa and Ghana are the front-runners regarding brain gain policies' efficiency, the scale of instruments, and the level of institutionalisation. Partly due to return migration, these countries have achieved great success in the modernisation of their national economies.

Tab. 1: Possible strategies for brain gain in the world

<i>The Common Patterns in brain gain strategies</i>	<i>The Uncommon Patterns in brain gain strategies</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a reasonable levels of economic and political stability preceded successful brain gain strategies; - earlier investments in quality education and its linkage with the labour market needs often the case behind the success stories on brain gain; - governments' recognition of and commitment to the role of diasporas in the national development processes; - the creation of a conducive enabling environment and designing specific policy and financial incentive packages as part of the strategies; - Expatriate Knowledge Networks share similar organisational and administrative structures – website and databases of expertise; - The knowledge networks have links with governmental structures and process. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - concentration of critical mass of expatriates in a particular sector and location (Indian and Chinese communities in Silicon Valley); - strong transnational community living simultaneously in two countries (Taiwan) - promotion of university-industry collaboration in R&D (China) - Dual citizenship rights for Diaspora (Ghana) including the right to vote and the right to return and indefinite stay for Africans (including non-Ghanaians) in the Diaspora - Open membership in knowledge networks for nationals other than country of origin (South Africa and Colombia) - Building on relative advantage (software sector in India, hardware and semiconductors in China and the shift to value added software products in Taiwan)

Source: UNDP 2007, p. 3

Despite the relative success in the field of return migration there are several factors that hamper brain gain, e.g. in China corruption and political control, in India bureaucracy, in Taiwan the unbalanced structure of the economy. We can also find re-migration policies in the world with very limited success, e.g. Mexico, Columbia, and Palestine.

On the basis of successful brain gain initiatives a scheme of five major steps can be put forward (table 2). This model even though it is rather general, can be the starting point of planning and designing national remigration programmes. The process starts with identifying and engaging partners and ends with the evaluation and monitoring of the outcomes of such strategies. The role of individual elements can be very different depending on local (national) circumstances (UNDP 2007). We can conclude already at this stage that strategies and policies of return migration elaborated in European countries apply only a limited number of measures recommended by the model.

Tab. 2: Checklist for action agenda: “brain gain” initiative

Elements	Operational Checklist for Brain Gain Initiative
1. Engage Partners and Build Consensus	Identify existing formal or informal Diasporan networks/association (Hometown Associations, knowledge networks, etc.)
	Gauge the relative concentration of specialization, interest, type of diaspora (e.g., IT specialists of Indian & Chinese origin in US)
	Explore existing outreach mechanisms (e.g., the relationship between the Diaspora associations and the diplomatic mission in the host countries)
	Involve academia, think tanks, other members of the knowledge industry
2. Assess Capacity Assets and Needs	Understand the structure, skill compositions and linkage with home country institutions (both state & non-state)
	Assess the existing/planned cooperation frameworks, incentive structures and information sharing mechanisms
3. Define Capacity Development Strategies	Define Capacity Development responses as they relate to (illustrative list):
	Quality education and linkage with labour market
	Research and Development (R&D)
	Political climate and governance system (corruption)
	Salary structure and incentive mechanism
Immigration & duty/tax related policies and regulations	
4. Implement Capacity Development Strategies	Ensure appropriate legal and institutional arrangements in place to facilitate ‘Brain Gain’
	Define the composition and mandate of coordinating bodies and other implementing bodies
	Work programme and budget for implementation body defined and approved
	Support the establishment of advisory team/committee to oversee ‘Brain Gain’ programmes
5. Monitor & Evaluate Capacity Development Strategies	Establish national monitoring mechanism to review ‘Brain Gain’ initiatives
	Conduct regular monitoring and reporting activities
	Ensure ‘Brain Gain’ initiative results fed into appropriate national bodies

Source: adopted from UNDP 2007, p. 4

General features of national policies in Europe

National policies focusing explicitly on return migration are scarce in Europe, even though the continent is massively affected by brain drain, and the loss caused by international (mainly overseas) migration has a negative impact on its global competitiveness.

From the literature we could figure out and collect information about only thirteen such nation-wide policies. Astonishingly, national development policies of EU member states disregard either completely or mention just partially the possible role of “brain gain”. This implies that compared to other parts of the world European countries have not yet explored and discovered the economic potentials provided by return migration. This is especially disappointing because the implementation of such policies could be co-financed from the community budget, which would enable national governments to launch and finance such policies. From our desktop research it turned out that coordination and synergy between existing national brain gain strategies is also missing.

The relationship between national policies and best practices

On the basis of our survey we can say that the objectives and spatial focus of national policies and concrete best practices often overlap. Latter are implemented most often at the regional or local level, adjusting to local conditions, but we could find a small number of best practices carried out at the national level as well. In order to make clear difference between these two categories, best practices implemented at the national level were identified as national policies.

Vice versa, national policies having only regional relevance were considered and analysed as best practices. For example the project of the Turkish National Nanotechnology Research Centre seems to be a national initiative; however, its spatial effects are limited only to the Ankara metropolitan region.

Analysis of European brain gain policies

The main objectives and results of national policies are summarised in table 3. Table 4 gives an overview on available information concerning these programmes. Considering the geographical coverage of these programmes we can distinguish two types of national policies:

- those elaborated and implemented at international level (involving more than one country),
- policies carried out within the framework of nation-states.

Only four out of thirteen brain gain policies were truly international, and only one (Marie Curie) had a full European (and beyond) coverage. A large-scale initiative covering six European countries is the “Guidance and Counselling for Migrants and Returnees”. The project involved partners from six European countries (Yeminee Ltd. – Slovakia, Regents College – UK, Masaryk Institute of Advanced Studies – Czech Republic, Stichting Vice Versa – The Netherlands, Public Employment Service – Cyprus, and Orientum – Greece) and it was carried out between 2009-2011. The main objective of the project was to disseminate experiences and to collect best practices about migrants and returnees.

In the literature we could find information about two bilateral programmes enhancing return migration and involving only the sending and receiving countries (between Austria and Ukraine, and between Czech Republic and Georgia). Both examples show that bilateral programmes are not necessarily initiated by neighbouring countries.

The remaining national brain gain policies have no geographical limitations some of them even targets overseas brain gain migration, like the Training in Portugal (focusing mostly on the former colonies, especially Brazil), and the Service for Overseas and Repatriated Cypriots (aimed at generating return migration from the United States), or the Slovakian Migration SK. National policies implemented in Central European countries have a more Western European focus.

According to the applied methods (e.g. re-attraction, re-employment, retention, re-integration) national policies show great variations. Most documents apply more than one method. Generally, re-attraction plays an important role in most policies, but it is more emphasised in re-migration policies that have clear economic objectives and in policies formulated in East Central European countries (e.g. Poland, Hungary, Albania). Latter try to heal the negative outcomes of previous migrations resulting mainly from income disparities between East and West. The role of re-employment is important in labour market interventions (Brain Gain in Albania, Lendület in Hungary, or Slovensko Calling).

Tab. 3: Main features of national brain gain policies targeting return migration in various European countries (compiled by the authors)

Name of National Policy	Country / Countries	Main Type(s)	Main Objectives	Duration	Output
Brain Gain: Engaging the Diaspora in Albania's development	Albania	re-attraction, re-employ, re-integration	Establishing the needed incentives and mechanisms for halting and reversing Albania's "brain drain."	2006 – 2011	20 professionals have been chosen to share their knowledge in teaching modules in local universities. More than 129,000 USD was paid out in early 2009.
Guidance and Counselling for Migrants and Returnees	trans-national (institutes from six EU-countries)	re-employ, re-integration	Distribute know-how and experience and build in best practices into services of guidance and counselling for migrants and returnees.	2009 – 2011	7 meetings in the partner countries between 2009-2011, a portfolio of tools and resources for working with migrants, expatriates and returnees, an online library and survey
HOMING PLUS Programme	Poland	re-attraction, re-employ, re-integration	The programme is to support young Polish scholars abroad to return to Poland and it is open to young Polish PhDs as well.	2010 –	Research grant is an amount of up to PLN 80,000/year; research stipend of PLN 5,000/month
Lendület (Momentum) Programme	Hungary	re-attraction, re-employ, retention	a program of excellence for gifted young researchers (e.g. living abroad) and to stop their emigration.	2009 – 2017	Funding several talented researchers and Lendület research teams from 2009
Markusovszky Scholarship Programme	Hungary	retention	Aiming to stop the brain drain that strikes the health sector.	2011 –	Places of the scholarship programme for trainee doctors taken by 524 candidates (date: 2011)
Migrácia SK (Civic Association Migration SK)	Slovakia	re-attraction, retention	Analysing and offering solutions to decrease the brain drain, focusing on re-emigration/repatriation issues.	2009 –	Web site, organising conference and Day of Foreign Slovaks in Slovakia, affiliate program (voting from abroad)
Opening Up Opportunities for Returned Georgian Migrants	trans-national (Czech Republic, Georgia)	reintegration, re-employ	Encouraging the returnees and potential migrants in Georgia to take part in the development of their native country.	2003 –	Establishing Job Counselling and Referral Center in Tbilisi (served 243 clients until 2007). Return and reintegration help for 160 Georgian migrants, information campaign in the Czech Republic
"People" Specific Programme (Marie Curie Actions)	trans-national (EU, Europe)	retention, re-attraction	Supporting European researchers to stay in Europe, and attracting to Europe researchers from other continents.	2007 – 2013	Website (other data: not available)
"powroty.gov.pl" Program	Poland	re-integration, re-employ	The portal informs Polish citizens who are willing to come back to their country of origin after living and working abroad.	2008 –	Online portal; suggestions and tools to reintegrate into employment and go through all difficulties;
Service for Overseas and Repatriated Cypriots	Cyprus	re-attraction, re-integration, re-employ	A registry of Overseas Cypriots, supporting Cypriots who wants to return to Cyprus.	1976 –	Website, magazine and handbook for overseas and repatriated Cypriots, several conferences
Slovensko Calling (Slovakia Calling)	Slovakia	re-attraction, re-employ, reintegration,	Connecting Slovaks living in foreign countries with the Slovakian labour market .	2009 –	Career portal, media campaign and public debate, logging companies, activation abroad, producing a book to return to Slovakia, reintegration of returnees
Solidarity Net Ukraine	trans-national (Austria, Ukraine)	re-integration	Improving reintegration assistance in Ukraine through the Focal Point Ukraine located at Caritas Austria.	2008 – 2009	In 70 % of the returnees the material support forced the remigrants to actively get initiated with Ukrainian society economically and socially. The number of returned to Ukraine through the ERSO network was 163.
Training in Portugal (Estagiar em Portugal)	Portugal	re-attraction, re-employ	Promoting and facilitating the professional integration of young Portuguese and Portuguese descent living abroad.	2000 – 2003, 2005 – 2006	Altogether 1794 selected applicants, 366 from them was effectively placed

Tab. 4: Sources of analysed National Programmes (compiled by the authors, date: 03.05.13)

<i>National Policy</i>	<i>Sources of Analysed National Programmes</i>
Brain Gain: Engaging the Diaspora in Albania's development	http://www.undp.org.al/index.php?page=projects/project&id=101 http://www.undp.org.al/content/FastFacts/Brain_Gain_Fast_Facts_low.pdf
Guidance and Counselling for Migrants and Returnees	https://sites.google.com/site/onlinelibraryformigrants/ http://www.karierabezhranic.sk/firmy/English/GDV-questionnaire/
HOMING PLUS Programme	http://www.fnp.org.pl/en/oferta/homing-plus-2/
Lendület (Momentum) Programme	http://mta.hu/news_and_views/momentum-program-2011-huf-600-million-for-new-academy-and-university-research-groups-126819/ http://mta.hu/data/cikk/12/90/56/cikk_129056/LENDULET_2012_CALL_EN_28dec.pdf http://mta.hu/news_and_views/gifted-hungarian-researchers-competing-96451/
Markusovszky Scholarship Programme	http://humanos.org.uk/Images/Newsletters/Budapest%20Times%2047%2018%20Nov%202011.pdf
Migrácia SK - Civic Association Migration SK	http://slovenskamigracia.sk/sk (Slovakian)
Opening Up Opportunities for Returned Georgian Migrants	http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/what-we-do/assisted-voluntary-return-and-re/opening-up-opportunities-for-returned-ge.html
“People” Specific Programme (Marie Curie Actions)	http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/people/ http://ec.europa.eu/research/mariecurieactions/
“powroty.gov.pl” Programme	http://www.x-expats.com/interviews/114-returning-to-poland-powroty-a-governmental-initiative-aims-at-facilitating-the-return-of-its-citizens.html
Service for Overseas and Repatriated Cypriots	http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/overseas01_en/overseas01_en?OpenDocument
Slovensko Calling	http://www.karierabezhranic.sk/firmy/English/projects-on-migration/466/
Solidarity Net Ukraine	http://www.reintegrationcaritas.be/fileadmin/user_upload/Fichiers/CS/Ukraine/Survey%20Ukraine.pdf
Training in Portugal	http://www.sedi.oas.org/ddse/documentos/mide/Memoria_PrimerSeminarioTecnico.pdf

Re-integration is applied mainly in those policies that try to bridge countries with significant social, political and cultural differences (Solidarity Net, Opening Up Opportunities, Brain Gain). Retention appears very rarely in national policies (e.g. Hungary), despite its growing importance.

The main objectives and the expected results of national policies can be very different. According to the objectives we can distinguish policies aiming at:

- economic development,
- social re-integration
- both of these.

Most policy documents (e.g. Brain Gain, Lendület, Slovensko calling) put the emphasis on the possible economic advantages of return migration i.e. growing competitiveness. Social re-integration is more emphasised in policies targeting – at least partially – refugees (e.g. Solidarity Net) and policies implemented in Mediterranean countries (e.g. Portugal, Cyprus).

According to the target groups, most policies are intended to re-attract highly skilled people (intellectuals, researchers, university lecturers). Re-attraction of leading academics is the main scope of ‘People’ (EU), Lendület (Hungary) and Brain Gain (Albania). The policies of Slovensko Calling, Migration SK and Guidance and Counselling are targeted to other intellectuals and vocational professionals. Economic and social aspects are mixed in Training in Portugal programme, which tries to facilitate the re-integration of young unemployed Portuguese living abroad. Programmes putting the emphasis on social and cultural objectives (e.g. Solidarity Net, Opening Up Opportunities, or Service for Overseas) do not specify the educational level of the target group. In terms of the communication with the target groups, policies can apply either direct methods (e.g. green line, website) like Slovensko Calling or indirect and multi-level marketing (e.g. Lendület).

Regarding the duration most national policies are very young (implemented only after 2000) which shows that return migration became a hot issue in Europe only recently. Only the re-attraction policy of Cyprus goes back to the 1970s, due to the special political circumstances on the island. Most national policies have several stages (e.g. Training in Portugal), but they are rarely coinciding with the EU programming periods (e.g. “People”).

With regards to their outputs, most national programmes are so new that there is hardly any reliable information about their efficiency, or the financial returns they may have generated. As a possible tool for assessment we can measure the number of institutions, the amount of financial resources spent or the number of re-migrants involved in the programmes, but these indicators can often be misleading. Funding of re-attraction programmes can derive exclusively from national budgets (Training in Portugal, Lendület, Markusovszky) or from international grants (e.g. UNDP in Albania).

There is a clear linkage between the amount of money spent for a programme and the number of returnees (e.g. mobilised re-migrants). In this respect the most outstanding programme in Europe has been so far the transnational and EU funded “People” Marie Curie Programme. The number of people involved is relatively high in the programmes of Training in Portugal, Markusovszky and Opening Up Opportunities.

National policies aimed at retention

A possible alternative for national brain gain policies is to prevent the emigration of highly skilled labour (retention) since in this cost- and time-sparing way there is no need to re-attract the emigrated workforce. National retention policies, however, require significant financial and institutional resources. In addition, their implementation depends very much on national or supra-national conditions (e.g. political or economic factors such as stability or wage-level) which are hard to be altered quickly. Furthermore, retention policies slightly contradict the newest interpretation of remigration claiming that return migrants contribute to the performance of national economy through skills and knowledge that are not available in their country of origin and that they collected abroad. Returning migrants benefit their home countries with the mentioned skills and knowledge, this way compensating the effects triggered by their previous absence. Therefore, retention plays altogether only a complementary role in the analysed national policies. The only exception are national policies addressing to remedy very intensive emigration and/or related danger affecting negatively the whole society within a short period of time. This may result in that the group selected to be retained gets benefits which may heighten tensions between the targeted people and other members of their home country (UNDP 2007).

The Hungarian Lendület (Momentum) and especially Markusovszky programmes demonstrate well the scopes and mechanisms of national retention policies. Markusovszky programme has been started to stem the brain drain that afflicts the Hungarian health sector (trainee doctors) by financial subsidy (increased amount of scholarships). Applicants are e.g. required to practise in Hungary for at least ten years after entering the programme. According to its opponents, the subsidised wages for a minority of medical doctors with scholarship are not enough to compensate the effects of low wages across the sector. Summing up, national retention policies address only a smaller part of the society interested in emigration. The implementation of these kinds of national policies often produces conflicts within the society due to their exclusionary objectives.

3.4 Local and Regional Best Practices to Generate Return Migration

The main aim of this chapter is to introduce a set of best practices applied in Central European countries and elsewhere in Europe to foster return migration, and to provide an analysis about their scope, actors and mechanisms.

The search for best practices supporting return migration across Europe was based on two methods. Firstly, a best practice worksheet was developed and sent to all Re-Turn project partners in September 2011, asking information about existing projects and initiatives which are available only in national language. The worksheet asked information about the main characteristics of projects i.e. name, geographical location, leader of the project, time span, general objectives, major outputs and other available information. Secondly, a desk research was performed, where details of programmes documented in English were recorded in the worksheet. In the following, first best practices elaborated in regions participating in Re-Turn project will be introduced, and then we briefly discuss best practices in other parts of Europe.

(1) Best practices from regions involved in Re-Turn project

Youth entrepreneurship project

Country/Region/City	Italy/Piedmont/province of Verbano-Cusio-Ossola
Responsibility	Verbania Province
Time span	2009 –
General objectives	<p>Mountain region of Italy are also suffering from out-migration. Mainly young labour force decides to move away because of the lack of possibilities. For this reason, some projects have been implemented by local Labour Associations and Local Authorities to stop this harmful process and provide new perspectives for youth.</p> <p>The union of mountain municipalities of Ossola area has targeted youth in their age of 18 to 26 to promote the acquisition of knowledge and expertise to develop young people's activity in research and manufacturing jobs, stimulating the desire to get involved in the first person to become 'entrepreneurs' of themselves. The main aim of the project is the retention of young new-graduated people within the region and to support them by provide:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • access facilitations in the labour market; • grants; • scholarships. <p>One of these initiatives is 'Youth entrepreneurship project' ('Imprenditoria Giovanile'), which aims to connect young people with companies in order to do an internship and develop their entrepreneurial ideas to face employment crisis problem.</p> <p>Main objectives of the project:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cooperation with local municipalities – there were 19 involved municipalities in 2011 – and companies. • There are organized meetings to establish strong ties and personal contacts between enterprises and applicants. • Companies welcome selected trainees in specific profiles. • In average, four-month internship is available within a company. • Trainees are paid a contribution of EUR 400 net per month.
Aim(s)	retention
Major outputs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growing in number of applicants. 36 participants in the project in 2009. • The total amount of the project is about 100,000 € annually.
Available information	<p>http://www.verbaniamilleventi.org/tag/imprenditoria-giovanile/?lang=en</p> <p>http://www.confindustria.piemonte.it/giovani-imprenditori (Italian)</p>

Young Businessman Group

Country/Region/City	Italy/Piedmont/Verbania
Responsibility	Businessman Union of Verbania
Time span	1974 –
General objectives	<p>Businessman Union of Verbania has a group called 'Young Businessman' ('Gruppo Giovani Imprenditori') – funded in 1974 – that intends to support new businessmen generations addressing common issues, promoting the initiative and dynamism that characterise young entrepreneurs, developing both the knowledge and depth of topics of interest for the Group, and finally, stimulating the aggregation of future generations of entrepreneurs.</p>

	<p>Young Businessman Group is working in a network with 8 other groups within the region and involves people until 40 years old and it is directly linked to the school system in order to develop a corporate culture and let the students know what it means managing or opening a new company. Furthermore this association creates a project in which the students try to administrate an enterprise from a hypothetical point of view.</p> <p>Main objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • organizing conference, meetings, debates and other initiatives; • providing information about vocational trainings and cultural associations; • developing knowledge as part of activities of the Group and benchmarking them in regional laws; • promoting activities and entrepreneurship in schools and universities; • fostering close links to regional, national and international units.
Aim(s)	retention
Major outputs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scholarships for youth; • Cooperation among schools, companies and youth; • Networking with companies; • Personal contacts with enterprises.
Available information	<p>http://www.uivco.vb.it/Uivco/Pubblico/Home.aspx?PG=HOME (Italian)</p> <p>http://www.confindustria.piemonte.it/giovani-imprenditori (Italian)</p>

PFIFF - Portal for interested and flexible professionals Saxony-Anhalt

Country/Region	Germany/Saxony-Anhalt
Responsibility	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs Saxony-Anhalt, Principal BWSA (Educational Institute of Industry and Commerce Saxony-Anhalt) in cooperation with the isw-GmbH (Association of Scientific Consultation and Service)
Time span	April 2008 – March 2012
General objectives	<p>PFIFF is an information platform and market place for companies and skilled workers. It is funded from the European Funds (75 %) and other federal financial sources.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PFIFF regional consultants act as personal contact persons for companies and professionals. • The internet portal offers company profiles, job offers, application advices, news, events and others. • Network partners or employer and inter trade organisations, the federal employment agency, cities and communal business development and universities. • The main function is to secure and recruit professionals in the federal state of Saxony-Anhalt. <p>PFIFF aims to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • long-term binding professionals in the business and residential location Saxony-Anhalt to assure the current and prospective demand of professionals in Saxony-Anhalt; • avoidance of brain drain of professionals; • forward immigration of professionals. <p>Target groups:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • companies, looking for professionals and management

	<p>executives on the short, medium and long-term;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • employees with vocational training or graduation; • all (labour market) actors from business communities, science, politics and society who wants to support this topic. <p>Available services for job seekers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PFIFF Regional consultants as personal contact persons for companies and professionals (consulting and pilot function); • PFIFF Hotline for quick contacting; • networking in terms of the pilot function (these pieces of service are free of charge); • information about companies; • newsletter. <p>Available services for enterprises:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assisting the potential employee searching process; • database of job seekers; • proper job vacancies; • labour cooperation.
Aim(s)	re-employ
Major outputs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The number of job profiles –placed into the portal since 2008– is 4,525; • 1,346 positions (jobs) were announced as occupied by the companies; • Since the beginning there are 2,748 professional profiles (applicants), including 450 commuters, on the platform. • Number of registered companies in the portal: 1,011; • 680 job vacancies and 6 trainings; • 2,543 profiles of job seekers and 24 profiles for trainings (data from 30th December 2011).
Available information	<p>http://www.pfiff-sachsen-anhalt.de/photos/Presse/PFIFF_2010_english.pdf www.pfiff-sachsen-anhalt.de (German) REIM, D. & A. DÜBEN (2010): Optimierung der Rückkehrförderung in Ostdeutschland: Aktuelle Bestandsaufnahme und Analyse von Weiterentwicklungspotenzialen der ostdeutschen Rückkehrinitiativen. nexus Institut für Kooperationsmanagement und interdisziplinäre Forschung GmbH. (German)</p>

Agreement to assure the current and prospective stock of professionals Saxony-Anhalt

Country/Region	Germany/Saxony-Anhalt
Responsibility	Saxony-Anhalt State chancellery Saxony-Anhalt
Time span	June 2010 –
General objectives	<p>The “Fachkräftesicherungspakt”, the agreement to assure the current and prospective stock of skilled workers, is a cooperation of the government of Saxony-Anhalt and different stakeholders, organisations and institutions of the federal state of Saxony-Anhalt. The agreement has the aim to support and strengthen the business location Saxony-Anhalt. The members of the agreement cooperate in different fields and networks to assure the current and prospective stock of skilled worker. The agreement covers different goals in the field of education, the labour market and the demographic change with its consequences. There are a number of skilled workers (unemployed people, commuters and migrants) who are actually not</p>

	integrated in the regional labour markets. One of the spheres of action is the improved integration of those persons into the regional labour market. The members of the agreement declare to cooperate in different fields to reach these goals.
Aim(s)	re-employ
Major outputs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Network of different relevant stakeholders in Saxony-Anhalt • Regional initiatives and projects • Changes in the framework conditions (e.g. improvements in the child care, raise of employment rate)
Available information	http://www.sachsen-anhalt.de/fileadmin/Elementbibliothek/Bibliothek_Politik_und_Verwaltung/Bibliothek_Wirtschaftsministerium/Dokumente_MW/arbeiten_und_ausbilden/Publikationen/Fachkraeftsicherungspakt_Juni_2010.pdf (German)

Pößneck returns

Country/Region/City	Germany/Thüringen/Pößneck
Responsibility	Mayor of Pößneck
Time span	August 2010 –
General objectives	<p>Local government acts in order to retain their residents, re-attract emigrated ones back to Pößneck, and make the city a destination of German internal migration. Main objectives of the local government are the followings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • prevention of emigration; • source of information about Pößneck (city branding); • assessment of brown fields of the town and change their land use (i.e. building rows of houses); • rehabilitation of the city centre; • establishment of building adjustments and consultation with individuals; • categorisation of buildings for sale in city centre and elaboration of their utilisation; • 'Studying in Jena – Living in Pößneck' campaign (providing a source of information about apartments for students of the University of Jena); • Posters.
Aim(s)	re-attraction
Major outputs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • students, who are studying in Jena, have settled down successfully at free apartments in Pößneck; • expansion of interest on free apartments in Pößneck.
Available information	<p>www.poessneck-kommt-zurueck.de (German)</p> <p>www.demographiekonkret.de/Poessneck.858.0.html (German)</p> <p>http://stiftung-etttersburg.de/aktivitaeten/projekte/poessneck/ (German)</p> <p>http://www.thueringer-allgemeine.de/startseite/detail/-/specific/Poessneck-kommt-zurueck-Thueringen-bis-2020-auf-Westniveau-1680902215 (German)</p>

revenio

Country/Region	Germany/Saxony-Anhalt - economic region of Harz
Leader of the Project	City Quedlinburg
Time span	2006 –
General objectives	It is a private – partly honorary – financed project.

	<p>Main objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • demand for labour; • between the economic region of Harz and high skilled potential remigrants. <p>Target groups:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emigrants from the region. <p>Available services for job seekers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • access to job vacancies up to top-management ones; • labour office with professional headhunter agencies; • up-to-date information about job vacancies; • help to secure position within a company; • assure access to economic and entrepreneur networks. <p>Available services for enterprises:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • access for high skilled workers; • hire headhunter agencies in the process of labour recruitment and selection; • promoting enterprises among target groups; • assure the inter-generational management succession process within the company; • assure access to economic and entrepreneur networks.
Aim(s)	re-attraction
Major outputs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • up-to-date job offers; • cooperation with companies; • different services for job seekers and enterprises.
Available information	<p>www.revenio.de (German)</p> <p>REIM, D. & A. DÜBEN (2010): Optimierung der Rückkehrförderung in Ostdeutschland: Aktuelle Bestandsaufnahme und Analyse von Weiterentwicklungspotenzialen der ostdeutschen Rückkehrinitiativen. nexus Institut für Kooperationsmanagement und interdisziplinäre Forschung GmbH. (German)</p>

ThaFF - Thuringian Agency for Specialist Recruitment

Country/Region	Germany/Thuringia
Responsibility	Regional development company of Thuringia
Time span	2008 – 2013
General objectives	<p>It was previously named Agency for Entrepreneurs and Labour Force (UFaS) from 2008 to March 2011.</p> <p>Main objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • labour force for Thuringia; • retention of students and applicants of trainings; • foundation of entrepreneurships for youth; • establishing networks between youth and enterprises in time; • promoting economy of Thuringia across its regional borders. <p>Main target groups:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • enterprises looking for skilled labour force; • commuters who live in the region, though work somewhere else; • potential returning migrants and immigrants willing to live and work in Thuringia; • soldiers who leave the army and start their civil life; • students and school graduates looking for jobs; • labour force who return to their profession from nursing their children and relatives.

	<p>Available services for job seekers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • providing information about job vacancies and the regional development of Thuringia; • establishing personal profiles and informing targeted companies; • invitation to job fairs, employment and career counselling; • supporting job seekers in housing, preparation of official documents, searching for crèche and kindergarten. <p>Available services for enterprises:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • analysing demand for labour, establishment of job profiles, labour recruitment; • counselling in personal marketing and management; • information about possible financial allowances and trainings; • access to the succession process within companies. <p>Further services:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • commuter and return days in regional offices; • information desks at railway stations in West-German regions (mainly providing information about labour market of Thuringia and services of UfAS).
Aim(s)	re-attraction; reintegration
Major outputs	1,306 job profiles (latest data on 30 th December 2011)
Available information	http://www.thaff-thueringen.de/ (German) REIM, D. & A. DÜBEN (2010): Optimierung der Rückkehrförderung in Ostdeutschland: Aktuelle Bestandsaufnahme und Analyse von Weiterentwicklungspotenzialen der ostdeutschen Rückkehrinitiativen. nexus Institut für Kooperationsmanagement und interdisziplinäre Forschung GmbH. (German)

Scholarship in Usti region

Country/Region	Czech Republic/Usti Region
Responsibility	Regional Authority of the Usti Region
Time span	2004/2005 –
General objectives	<p>It is an initiative of the Usti Region, funded by the Regional Authority of the Usti Region. Main goal is to achieve economic growth, growth of human resources, better social care, health care, to achieve more positive situation on labour market, further to develop agriculture on countryside and develop infrastructure in the region. The real changes can only be realised by people with sufficient experience and education, which is the cause why the growth of human resources is so important issue in priorities of Usti Region. To dismantle the weaknesses in human resources, education and qualification structure of inhabitants, also the low percentage of college educated people, the Usti Region emits scholarship for college students.</p> <p>The scholarship is provided for academic year to chosen full-time students on the colleges in the Czech Republic. The attendants have to have their domicile within the Usti Region. The scholarship can be provided one year longer than the duration of the standard length of the chosen study programme is. Further requirements for students are very good results in study rating (the average of their study rating have to be lower than 1.8). The amount of scholarship is 20,000 CZK for one academic year. The number of scholarship receivers will be approved by a board of Usti Region. The graduates have to work in Usti Region as long as their full-time study duration lasted.</p> <p>It is a continuous programme which started for academic year</p>

	<p>2004/2005. The number of possible scholarships number for the academic year is given by Council of the Usti Region for each year. The new applicants are chosen in public draw. The student which gets the scholarship can apply each year if he/she meets all requirements of the scholarship and he/she gets the scholarship without the draw automatically.</p> <p>Student obligates he/she will start after the study end immediately with work as employee or to start own business in Usti Region so many years as the scholarship of 20,000 CZK was provided.</p> <p>In period 2004/2005 to 2009/2010 (6 years of the programme) was ratified 917 applications and paid 18,340,000 CZK.</p>
Aim(s)	retention
Major outputs	The outcome of the initiative is that the students which do not have sufficient funds for further study can help themselves by the scholarship. So there is the wider range of potential students that will be able to study even if they are in the difficult financial situation. The problem is that even if the students finish the study it is often difficult for them to find a job because of low labour demand.
Available information	http://www.kr-ustecky.cz/vismo/dokumenty2.asp?id_org=450018&id=1661253&p1=101901 (Czech)

Perspectives for youth

Country/Region	Germany/east regions
Responsibility	Foundation for Democratic Youth (Berlin)
Time span	2004 - 2011
General objectives	<p>'Perspectives for youth' is a project of the Foundation for Democratic Youth and composites several sub-projects. It lasted until the end of 2011.</p> <p>Its main objectives are the followings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • make the option for young people to stay or return a worthwhile prospect, by initiating and assisting support programs and competitions; • prospects for Young People coordination centre deliberately encourages youngsters and young adults to become involved in actual projects as a way of doing something to help their local region and the people living there; • therefore a key part of the coordination centre's work is supporting and publicly acknowledging this involvement, as well as gathering and passing on information on topics such as migration, demographic change and the situation in eastern Germany; • the experience of self-actualisation and a sense of community helps make young people more interested in actively shaping their own present and future lives, heightens a sense of shared social responsibility and motivates them to strengthen their social commitment; • the other main task of the Prospects for young people coordination centre is to raise public perception of these issues as the responsibility of Germany as a whole. • Available services: newsletter.
Aim(s)	retention

Major outputs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Several sub-projects, which provided several outputs in 30 sites, such as establishing new networks and communities, or organization conferences.
Available information	http://www.jugendstiftung-perspektiven.org/koordinierungsstelle/english_version/index.html http://www.jugendstiftung-perspektiven.org/ (German) http://www2.jugendstiftung-perspektiven.org/uploads/bilanz.pdf (German) http://www.perspektive-ost.de/mitglieder/stiftung_demokr._jugend/index.html (German)

Return and Immigration Federation

Country/Region	Germany/east regions (in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Saxony-Anhalt, Brandenburg and Thuringia)
Responsibility	Thuringian Agency for Specialist Recruitment (ThAFF)
Time span	2006 –
General objectives	<p>Return and Immigration Federation ('Verbund Rück- und Zuwanderung') composites return initiatives in East Germany into a joint venture. It was established and coordinated by the Foundation for Demographic Youth and the mv4you Agency in 2006.</p> <p>The network provides information for migrants on cultural, political and social developments in their home region and strengthens ties with the homeland. Agencies will therefore return to an increasingly important focal point within the region.</p> <p>The network aims to exchange views about soft and hard factors of retention, and interacts among members of economic, youth work and education in order to provide a livable, secure East Germany with positive visions to stay.</p> <p>Main objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • promote returning to and immigration into eastern regions of Germany; • assisting high skilled workers by intercession between regional employers; • keep in contact with migrants and potential migrants; • improve local conditions of site selection; • support the demand for labour; • offer jobs and internships, training and entrepreneurship opportunities; • cooperation with concerned municipalities, regions and federal states in PR activity, operation of programs and conferences. <p>Services:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • operate the website.
Aim(s)	retention; re-attraction; re-employ
Major outputs	<p>7 members and 2 partners (in December 2011):</p> <p>Members:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foundation for Democratic Youth, Berlin • Home in Brandenburg (ZiBeV), Brandenburg • mV4you Agency, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania • Thuringian Agency for Specialist Recruitment (ThAFF) • nexus Institute for Cooperation Management and Interdisciplinary Research, Berlin

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PFIFF – Portal for interested and flexible professionals Saxony-Anhalt • Job Center Lausitz – Private Recruitment Agency Partners: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State Agency for Structure and Labour (LSA) • Thuringian Ministry of Economy, Labour and Technology Initiators: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the Foundation for Demographic Youth • mv4you Agency Outputs: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Several programs. • Press conference (Berlin 2011).
Available information	http://www.perspektive-ost.de/ (German)

Labour force for Saxony. Migrants from Saxony, come back

Country/Region	Germany/Saxony
Responsibility	Chamber of Industry and Commerce, Dresden
Time span	2007 –
General objectives	<p>The initiative, further, involves Landkreis Bautzen, Landkreis Meisen, Landkreis Görlitz and the Training Company in Oberland.</p> <p>Main objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • operating online job fair; • establish and operate website of labour exchange; • accessibility for companies to promote themselves in online job fair; • provide up-to-date information for migrants willing to return and potential immigrants about Saxony; • support enterprises by searching for the proper labour force in order to make the region more prosperous; • provide essential information about the quality of life, economic, housing, social life or even opportunities to do sports in Saxony.
Aim(s)	re-attraction; re-employ
Major outputs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Website of labour exchange. • Online questionnaire for returned migrants. • 232 job vacancies (latest data on 30th December 2011).
Available information	http://www.sachsekommzurueck.de/servlet/portal?knoten_id=9320&sprache=deu (German)

JuKaM - The Central German Carrier Network

Country/Region	Germany/Central Eastern Germany (Saxony-Anhalt, Saxony and Thuringia)
Responsibility	Training Centre Energy (BZE)
Time span	2004 – 2008
General objectives	<p>JuKaM is a project, funded by the Training Centre Energy (BZE) with a total of 1.4 million € amount from the federal state of Saxony-Anhalt and the European Social Funds, which aims at the medium- and long-term retention of young professionals in “Central Germany”. In this way, the economy and innovation of the region is strengthened. Its target groups are mainly young professionals, 18 to 28 years, who have completed their training under the dual system or are school graduates and stayed or previously lived in Central Germany.</p>

	<p>Major objectives of JuKaM:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • promote the region with attractive jobs and opportunities targeting migrants; • support skilled workers who enter to labour market; retain high skilled workers in the region; • captivate potential returners; • operate database which contains profiles of job seekers and available for companies; • attractive job promotion; • support trainees; • outlook for job vacancies; • provide available network co-operations within Central Germany; • counselling in career possibilities; • social ability survey; <p>Available services:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • database of several scholarships in the region; • hotline for job seekers.
Aim(s)	retention; re-attraction
Major outputs	During the project, more than 1,000 young job seeker sent their personal details and uploaded CVs to the project website.
Available information	www.jukam.de (German) http://www.bze-halle.de/ebene_e/360.html (German) http://www.csrgermany.de/www/csr/cms_relaunch.nsf/id/8EBJRE-envia-mitteldeutsche-energie-ag-de (German) http://www.focus.de/finanzen/karriere/management/ostdeutschland_aid_68291.html (German)

Youth in Lodz

Country/Region/City	Poland/Lodz Region/Lodz
Responsibility	Enterprise Development Office; Employment Office of the City of Lodz
Time span	2008 –
General objectives	<p>It is a programme of human resources development in Lodz which was created by the Enterprise Development Office and the Employment Office of the City of Lodz in 2008. “Youth in Lodz” aims to decrease professional mobility of young inhabitants of Lodz by supporting students of higher education institutions, as well as vocationnal schools in acquiring additional skills and professional experience.</p> <p>Some universities and leading employers are involved and implement together initiatives such as internships portal, scholarship program, free professional trainings and competition for young entrepreneurs. In the particular activities of the project there are nearly 60 companies involved along with three largest public universities: University of Lodz, Technical University of Lodz and Medical University of Lodz.</p> <p>One of the major initiatives of the project is extensive and unique at the national level scholarship program. The City of Lodz has funded scholarships for the best students of the three universities, financed dormitories and additional language courses.</p> <p>Another enormous initiative of the program is Internship Portal (www.praktyki.lodz.pl) on which young people can obtain work experience during internships and on-the-job training in the best companies in Lodz.</p>

	<p>Students are also allowed to participate in free professional trainings for the sake of broadening their knowledge. The partners of the project have organised the “Your career in your hand” trainings. Training topics include: communication, motivating and achievement of objectives, project management and introduction to software testing.</p> <p>A competition was also organised for young entrepreneurs, "Youth in Lodz - I have an idea for a business". Its aim is to grant and support launching the best business plans. Competition is oriented to future and currently operating young entrepreneurs in Lodz. The best ideas got financial awards. In 2011, the award was 100,000 PLN.</p> <p>For those, who want to broaden their language competencies “Jezykowziewci” competition has been also organised by the partners. Students and graduates working or planning career in the booming BPO sector in Lodz can apply for funding language courses including the most sought by employers: Croatian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, Dutch, Norwegian, Portuguese.</p> <p>Beside this programme, several other initiatives are also launched in Lodz, such as City Scholarship Programme, “Youth in Lodz – Meet Local Employers!” and “Freedom for Students”.</p>
Aim(s)	retention; re-attraction
Major outputs	<p>60 involved companies;</p> <p>67 university students for scholarships;</p> <p>600 university students for internships;</p> <p>1,600 university students participating in free professional trainings;</p> <p>156 entrepreneurs applied for the competition;</p> <p>120 people applied for language courses;</p> <p>4,000 newsletter subscribers and more than 4,000 website visitors per week.</p>
Available information	<p>http://mlodziwlodzi.pl/o-programie/opis-programu/ (Polish)</p> <p>https://www.facebook.com/Mlodzi.w.Lodz (Polish)</p>

(2) Best practices from regions outside the Re-Turn project

New Nanotechnology Centre

Country/Region	Turkey/Ankara
Responsibility	Turkish National Nanotechnology Research Centre (UNAM)
Time span	July 2007 -
General objectives	<p>The new six-storey building has been built in association with the Bilkent University in the city of Ankara. The project was co-financed by the Turkish State Planning Organisation (6,100,000 €) and the university (2,300,000 €).</p> <p>The Centre's initial staff involves 25 scientists and 40 student assistants, the most of whom have come from abroad. For instance, Assistant Professor Mehmet Bayindir has been performing research on laser fibres at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), but has returned and joined to UNAM. Since then, returners' experience and knowledge has been benefitting in Turkey.</p> <p>They suggested the idea of a hub research centre rather than a separate one at each university, and each city and set their investment goal at over \$100 million per year.</p> <p>Periodical calls for proposals has been put out, and international participation in the resulting projects will be urged on. Moreover, the Centre's role will also extend beyond research and development to</p>

	the education of students in nanoscience and nanotechnology. It is hoped that the spillover of technologies and know-how will facilitate local entrepreneurship and start-up companies.
Aim(s)	re-attraction
Major outputs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Re-attracted Turkish scientists from abroad. • Retained scientist and young PhDs.
Available information	http://cordis.europa.eu/fetch?CALLER=EN_NEWS&ACTION=D&SESSION=&RCN=27144 http://www.todayszaman.com/newsDetail_getNewsById.action?load=detay&link=102916&bolum=101 http://www.nano.org.tr/UNAM%20History.html

Municipal Retention Policy – Alsómocsolád

Country/Region/City	Hungary/South-Pannonian Region/Alsómocsolád
Responsibility	local municipal government (László Dicső)
Time span	1990 –
General objectives	<p>The local government of Alsómocsolád managed to retain inhabitants that wanted to out-migrate through successful local policy, project applications, and lobby for new jobs.</p> <p>Alsómocsolád is a small village in the South-Pannonian Region in Hungary. The village suffered from out-migration and ageing of population during communism. One of the main factors of out-migration was the lack of jobs. Since 1990, a new local policy was launched and the economy of the settlement started to consolidate. The main objective of the mayor was to retain population in Alsómocsolád.</p> <p>Inhabitants received low interest loans and grants in order to stay in the settlement. A new profile of the settlement was gradually evolved; this small village with 360 inhabitants became more liveable. According to several researches, citizens of Alsómocsolád are much happier and satisfied than citizens living in the surrounding settlements.</p> <p>In order to encourage citizens to stay or even settle down in the village, financial allowances were provided by the municipality. A municipal decree has supported inhabitants in several ways in 2009:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inhabitants – Hungarian citizens and also foreigners – who live in the settlement for at least ten years, are allowed to apply for loan in amount up to 4,000,000 HUF (about 13,000 €) and grant in amount up to 300,000 HUF (about 1,000 €). • Inhabitants –Hungarian citizens and also foreigners – who live in the settlement less than ten years, or return to Alsómocsolád, are allowed to apply for loan in amount up to 2,000,000 HUF (about 6,500 €) and grant in amount up to 300,000 HUF (about 1,000 €). • Moreover, inhabitants might receive further financial allowances from the municipality to buy a house, enlarge, renovate or modernise the old one. <p>Due to the ‘lobby for jobs’ activity of local government a meat plant settled down in the village. It was a key factor in retention of people. New jobs were created that absorbed local labour.</p>
Aim(s)	retention

Major outputs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growing population; • Immigration; • Retention; • Liveable settlement; • Successful municipality.
Available information	http://www.alsomocsolad.hu

Business Angel

Country/Region	Lithuania/Alytus county
Responsibility	Business Angel public organisation
Time span	2002
General objectives	<p>This public organization which aims firstly to improve the business environment in Alytus city and district and secondly to induct a new generation of active business people. It focuses on youth who have left the region or the country and those who still live there. Business Angel's mission is to re-attract Lithuanian youth living abroad and retain youth within the region offering them liveable future. Moreover, it aims to create business and job places and to facilitate to regional development.</p> <p>Business Angel consultants offer confidential advice to youth who have ideas and want to start their own companies, and also try to stimulate youth initiatives and entrepreneurship.</p> <p>They give assistance by education about business, leadership, teamwork, planning and project administration skills, and launch trainings about business basics. Participants acquire also knowledge about the region's opportunities and constraints, and searches for creative problem solutions.</p> <p>The organisation cooperates among youth, local businessmen, politicians and institutions from different levels for the implementation of innovative ideas.</p>
Aim(s)	re-attraction; retention
Major outputs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New perspectives for youth to stay; • Cooperation; • "Business Map" webpage • Network of organizations in Dzukija and Baltic Sea Region; • Database of students from Dzukija Region; • 'We Know the Way' Project.
Available information	http://www.derreg.eu/content/best-practices/business-angel http://www.versloangelas.lt/en/about.php

Development Strategy for Opole Voivodship

Country/Region	Poland/Opolskie Region
Responsibility	The Opole Voivodeship Marshal's Office
Time span	2005 – 2015
General objectives	<p>Opolskie Region has set essential principles in 'The Development Strategy for the Opole Voivodeship (2005)' in order to re-attract migrants from the region. Mainly, 'Objective VII. Development of multicultural identity and the international and national regional co-operation' part and its sub-objective 'VII.3. The reversal of migration tendencies and creation of conditions for re-emigration' plays role in this conception.</p> <p>Opolskie Region is developing initiatives to encourage return migration to the region (in this case as part of the regional sub-</p>

	<p>programme of the Human Capital OP, co-financed under Cohesion Policy). This includes targeting members of the region's German minority. One option being considered is to offer dual citizenship and limit the need for a transition period for attaining citizenship. For communities which are currently in the migration process, it is especially important to promote enterprise and work at ones place of residence.</p> <p>The specific nature of these communities results in the fact that support must be given to enterprise incubation system, which emphasises, in particular, consulting, legal representation, organisational assistance and support services. As regards this promotion, the self-governments in the region should co-operate with migration communities, social associations, churches and business environment institutions.</p> <p>Re-emigration will be assisted by the creation of the image of the Opolskie Region as one which is interested in ensuring the return of its former residents at any stage of their life.</p> <p>This requires the enactment of legal regulations facilitating such returns, but also the establishment in the region of high and competitive living standards (infrastructure, natural environment, transport, houses and apartments, etc.), health and security promotion. Support given in the region to investments related to the establishment of care and medical institutions, with services provided in the German language, will facilitate re-emigration of elderly persons.</p> <p>In parallel with the strategy, in 2010 the "Opolskie. I'm staying here" project was also carried out to encourage return migration to the region and to promote tourist, cultural and economic attractions of the region. Therefore, enterprises, entrepreneurs, labour offices, universities and schools within the region were activated by giving financial support for young entrepreneurs, organizing competitions for companies, supporting and promoting of entrepreneurship, promotion of regional economic potential or providing information on investment possibility and enterprise development via leaflets and billboards. Returners were supported mainly by labour offices. In 2009 Local Labour Offices and Voivodship Labour Office took targeted actions to activate unemployed returners in the region.</p>
Aim(s)	re-integration; retention
Major outputs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • dual citizenship; • promotion of enterprises and work; • providing more livable picture of settlements in Opolskie Region; • supporting local services; • assisting investments.
Available information	http://www.eprc.strath.ac.uk/eprc/documents/PDF_files/EPRP_72_DealingwithDemographicChange-RegionalPolicyResponses.pdf http://umwo.opole.pl/docs/others/strategiawjezykuangielskim.pdf http://www.paiz.gov.pl/files/?id_plik=10394 http://coie.gov.pl/en/pobierz/f,122,plik.html

mv4you Agency

Country/Region	Germany/Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania Region (federal state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern)
Responsibility	UdW - limited company
Time span	2001 – 2010
General objectives	<p>It is funded by the region, and partly privately by joined enterprises. Main objectives of mv4you agency are the followings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • communication with migrants and immigrants; • encouraging linkages between migrants and their region of origin; • supporting their return to the region; • contribution to labour satiation of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern; • increasing number of applicants; • establishing labour intercession service. <p>Its main target groups:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • migrants from Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Region, potential returning migrants and immigrants; • commuters; • students, school leavers, graduates; • young women; • young families. <p>Available services for job seekers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • information about job vacancies, training possibilities; • personal contact with entrepreneurs; • providing enterprise contacts and relevant jobs due to their profile; • several personal services (i.e. child care, culture possibilities); <p>Available services for enterprises:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • searching for proper employees in the website of mv4you Agency; • continuous marketing services; • communication between employer and employee and organizing meetings; • providing complementary services for potential employees of enterprises, such as advising kindergartens and schools for their children; • further services such as professional dinners, commuter days or recruitment tours.
Aim(s)	re-attraction
Major outputs	79 available jobs (including trainee jobs) – (latest data on 30 th December 2011)
Available information	<p>http://www.mv4you.de/index.php/en http://www.mv4you.de/index.php/de/ (German) REIM, D. & A. DÜBEN (2010): Optimierung der Rückkehrförderung in Ostdeutschland: Aktuelle Bestandsaufnahme und Analyse von Weiterentwicklungspotenzialen der ostdeutschen Rückkehrinitiativen. nexus Institut für Kooperationsmanagement und interdisziplinäre Forschung GmbH. (German)</p>

Boomerang-Lausitz

Country/Region	Germany/Brandenburg - Spreewald-Lausitz Region
Responsibility	Agency for private job service – limited company
Time span	2008 –
General objectives	<p>Boomerang-Lausitz is a regional recruitment portal which aims to provide career opportunities – mainly – for returned expatriate workers in Spreewald-Lausitz Region. It is a private – partly honorary – financed project.</p> <p>Main objectives of the portal:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • entice people to Spreewald-Lausitz Region; • reduce the unemployment rate by accumulating potential labour force for vacant jobs in the region; • operate and popularise this initiative in the region; • join with existing networks. <p>Target groups:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • skilled workers, college graduates and school leavers; • enterprises, who are focusing into skilled labour. <p>Services:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hotline for job seekers; • provide a source of information about job vacancies and counselling; • placement. <p>Further planned services for employees:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • help to secure position and in the succession process within a company; • aid in housing and child care; • provide up-to-date information about Lausitz-Spreewald Region and Cottbus; • assure access for networks of entrepreneurs. <p>Future planned services for enterprises:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • labour intercession; • referral of skilled workers, graduates and trainees.
Aim(s)	re-attraction; retention
Major outputs	25 employer and 16 job seekers (latest data on 30 th December 2011)
Available information	<p>www.boomerang-lausitz.de (German)</p> <p>REIM, D. & A. DÜBEN (2010): Optimierung der Rückkehrförderung in Ostdeutschland: Aktuelle Bestandsaufnahme und Analyse von Weiterentwicklungspotenzialen der ostdeutschen Rückkehrinitiativen. nexus Institut für Kooperationsmanagement und interdisziplinäre Forschung GmbH. (German)</p>

Lucani Abroad

Name of the Project	Lucani Abroad
Country/Region	Italy/Basilicata Region
Responsibility	Regional Committee of Lucani Abroad
Time span	1990 –
General objectives	<p>Lucani Abroad ('Commissione dei Lucani nel Mondo') is a collective noun of some initiatives in Basilicata Region and has several smaller sub-projects. Here, we describe only Lucani Abroad Project as a whole.</p> <p>Its main objectives are the followings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • getting in contact with migrants abroad; • helping their returns by regional development and labour

	<p>policy (social life, productivity);</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • payment of contributions, anticipated by the municipalities, the costs incurred for the return of remains of deceased migrants and their families abroad; • offering programs for social reintegration of returning workers to be achieved through incentives and support measures and activities in a single or associated in crafts, commerce, agriculture, tourism and any other regional area of responsibility. <p>The region:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • conduct studies, investigations and surveys on migratory movements affecting the region, as well as any useful initiative to promote the study of problems related to migration and the return; • take part in the areas of housing, employment, training and retraining, education and cultural activities to remove barriers related to the condition of emigrants to encourage the return; • promote the social reintegration of repatriated workers, especially young people, through incentives and support measures for the implementation of activities, individually, or associated cooperative, in agriculture, handicrafts, trade, tourism and each production sector. <p>Regional interventions in support of migrants and their families are to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • encourage, including through the provision of contributions for the payment of interest on loans, or contributions of capital, the reintegration of repatriated workers in the agricultural, artisan, commercial, tourist and fishing and any other productive sector, with priority cooperative initiatives; • promote the reintegration of returnees facilitating the acquisition or development of suitable accommodation in the region, including through the grant, with the emphasis on cooperative initiatives, contributions of capital, or encouraging the type of housing, economic and popular; • encourage the training, retraining and hiring of workers returnees and their families and descendants of young people who wish to return, making it easier to attend courses or with specific training initiatives and employment, through no less than 3 % a minimum of at least one for each module.
Aim(s)	re-attraction; re-integration
Major outputs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • direct contact with migrants from Basilicata Region; • assisting return to the region; • offering programs for returning migrants; • promote reintegration; • encourage growing application for trainings.
Available information	http://www.consiglio.basilicata.it/consiglioweb/site/consiglio/section.jsp?sec=101865 (Italian)

ZiBeV - 'At home in Brandenburg'

Country/Region	Germany/Brandenburg Region and Uckermark in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania Region
Responsibility	'Zuhause in Brandenburg e.V.' – At home in Brandenburg (public utility)
Time span	2008 - 2012
General objectives	<p>Main objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reduce migration and support returning; • local treatment of demographic change; • provide positive vision about the home region for youth; • marketing and PR activity for the region. <p>Main services:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • operate the 'Migration and returning to Uckermark' anti-migration project (which is a research among returned migrants); • online information service for migrants from Brandenburg and Uckermark; • newsletter; • operate Facebook profile in order to exchange of views and networking; • organise programmes according to land of origin, i.e. targeting migrants; • establish alumni programs working with local schools; • network and intercession work supporting return migration; • PR activity according to return migration and demographic change; • establishing a calendar in order to promote the region of origin; • contribution in the implementation of a movie of ZDF TV channel.
Aim(s)	retention; re-attraction
Major outputs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alliance for Democracy and Tolerance – Against Extremism and Violence (BfDT) Award in 2011; • 'At home in Uckermark' Facebook profile has 1200 attenders and approximately 90 000 interaction per month.
Available information	<p>http://www.zuhause-in-brandenburg.de/blog/kontakt (German)</p> <p>http://www.perspektive-ost.de/mitglieder/zuhause_in_brandenburg_e.v./index.html (German)</p>

Return Information Desk (RID)

Country/Region	Italy/Veneto region
Leader of the Project	Veneto region
Time span	2008 –
General objectives	<p>The Return Information Desk (RID) was realised by Veneto region in co-operation with the Labour Agency Veneto Lavoro in 2008, but became fully operative in 2009. It has been established in the framework of the multi-annual "Immigration Policy Plan – 2007-2009" of the Veneto Region.</p> <p>It is a counselling and informative service for regular migrants residing in Veneto Region and also having nationality outside the EU territory.</p> <p>Its main objective is to offer beneficiaries support by way identifying and planning a productive return path towards their country of origin.</p>

	<p>The Return Information Desk, together with the Veneto Immigration network (www.venetoimmigrazione.it), has united and operated a number of public and private organisations operating in the field of migration, in order to update all the potential stakeholders and to be updated with reference to the more recent trends in migratory flows. One of the basic ideas of the service was the existence of a strong bilateral relation with countries of origin with which efficient support to potential returnees might be implemented. Networks of stakeholders could not necessary be recognised only in host countries, but also where migrants propose to return.</p> <p>RID has aims in two levels:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information on entering “legal circular migration channels” for potential returnees; • Support for Returnees on three levels: professional competences recognition, socio / occupational reinsertion and access to credit. <p>RID has developed different ways to assemble and present opportunities supporting the returned migrant and the potential returnee. These are the followings: assessing competences; social relations in host and with origin country; private-individual or collective-financial resources at disposal for the return project.</p> <p>RID:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provides information concerning the opportunities for return and circular migration; • organises counselling meetings with beneficiaries for the sake of guiding and supporting eventual return paths; • establishes and operates the stakeholders network and its “information flows” and monitor them. <p>In addition to information services, the Return Information Desk is designed to organise “counselling individual meetings” with the beneficiaries with the aim of supporting and guiding their choices towards the return path creation.</p>
Aim(s)	re-integration
Major outputs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • providing information about opportunities; • counselling; • cooperate between stakeholders and returning migrants.
Available information	<p>http://supaproject.files.wordpress.com/2010/02/the-case-of-the-return-information-desk-in-veneto_wp3-1.pdf</p> <p>http://www.sportellorientro.veneto.it/joomla/attachments/article/66/SME_IFAD_3.1%20survey.pdf</p>

3.5 Types of Best Practices, their Feasibility and Adaptability

Altogether 22 regional and local best practices were presented in the previous chapter. The spatial focuses of these initiatives are mainly crisis-ridden regions with significant outbound migration, high levels of unemployment and serious structural problems in local economy. The objectives of the selected best practices are the following:

- re-attraction of out-migrants;
- re-integrate returning migrants;
- retention of local human capital;
- re-employment of unemployed workers.

Next we analysed and compared the selected initiatives according to the following aspects:

- targeted age groups;
- types of measures applied in the project;
- level of education of targeted groups;
- type of approach (concentrated or integrated).

Unfortunately, due to missing or sometimes incomplete data it was not possible to analyse these projects according to their budgets or the costs per capita values.

Targeted age groups

In most cases the initiatives do not differentiate their target groups by age. But when they do the main focus is on young people (table 5). For example in Piedmont region one part of Youth Entrepreneurship Project intends to involve people between 18 and 26 years, while the other part supports businessmen under 40. The project called “Perspectives for youth” in the eastern regions of Germany focuses exclusively on youngsters and young adults. In other cases entrants on labour market are specified without age restrictions.

Tab. 5: Initiatives with any kind of age group specification (based on the best practice worksheets and publicly available information)

Initiative	Age group
Youth entrepreneurship project	18-26 years
Young businessman	under 40
ThAFF	young entrepreneurs, students
Scholarship in Usti region	students
Youth in Lodz	youth
ZiBeV	youth
Perspectives for youth	youngsters and young adults
JUKAM	entrants on labour market

Source: own editing

Measures applied

Based on their specific problems regions use different types of measures to intervene in migration processes. The main types of interventions are: job creation, place marketing, scholarships and grants, financial aid for returnees, scientific research, recruitment, and development of public relations (table 6).

Job creation seems to be one of the most important among the interventions since one of the main reasons for out-migration in a region is the lack of job opportunities. However, in most cases there are no direct measures to create new jobs – presumably it is mainly due to the lack of financial resources.

Training and education actions usually target the local labour force as they aim to help them to adapt to the new challenges of labour market. In some cases (e.g. Youth entrepreneurship project) this is realised through the active involvement of the private sector. Activities most often used here are: retraining, consultation, internships etc.

Place marketing interventions normally intend to enhance the image of the region or their localities. Most often they emphasise existing local opportunities; at the same time they also try to strengthen local and regional identity. Targets of such interventions are firms inside and outside the region or the city, as well as local and out-migrated population. The tools most often used here are: events, festivals, conferences, community-building, newsfeeds, brochures, marketing campaigns, improvement of infrastructure and business climate etc.

The scholarship and grant programmes are usually applied both to retain and to re-attract highly skilled labour (e.g. R&D personnel, other academics, students, workers of the creative economy etc.) for enhancing the economic competitiveness of the region or locality.

Financial aid for returnees means contribution for the expenses related to re-migration (e.g. travel, subsidised loan for purchasing apartment etc.).

Scientific research in this case means the research of migration and labour market for the assessment of trends and problems. Direct scientific research is a rarely used tool in the analysed projects and interventions. However, some parts of other interventions also aim at data collection and analysis (e.g. survey of brownfields in Pößneck).

As part of *recruitment* strategies job centres were set up to inform job seekers about their possibilities and job openings. In the ‘revenio’ project it is realised with the co-operation with head-hunter companies. In several cases telephone hotlines and webpages were created fostering the information flow.

Development of *public relations* refers to spreading information and raising public awareness in relation to migration, labour market and local identity. Alumni programmes and network-creation of expatriates are also a common tool used here. These measures are often strongly related to the place marketing actions.

Supporting and promoting entrepreneurship means organisation of business trainings, encouraging people for starting their own enterprise, facilitating start up businesses etc.

The projects introduced and analysed in this report generally use multiple measures. The challenges and responses to them are strongly interconnected and sometimes there are overlaps among them, too (e.g. job creation).

Tab. 6: Types of measures in the analysed initiatives (based on the best practice worksheets and publicly available information)

	job creation	training and education	place marketing	scholarships and grants	financial aid for returnees	scientific research	recruitment	public relations	supporting and promoting entrepreneurship
Youth entrepreneurship project									
Youth Businessmen Group									
PFIFF									
Agreement to assure the current and prospective stock of professionals Saxony-Anhalt									
Pößneck returns									
revenio									
ThAFF									
Scholarship in Usti region									
Perspectives for youth									
Returning and Immigration Federation									
Labour force for Saxony-Anhalt									
JuKaM									
Youth in Lodz									
New Nanotechnology Centre									
Municipal Retention Policy									
Business Angel									
Development Strategy for Opole Voivodship									
mv4you Agency									
Boomerang-Lausitz									
Lucani Abroad									
ZiBeV									
Return Information Desk									

Level of education of targeted groups

According to the level of education of targeted groups there are two main approaches: the “catch all” approach does not set educational standards in the project, while “differentiated” approaches focus mainly on highly educated, highly skilled labour (but not exclusively: e.g. Boomerang-Lausitz targets medium skilled workers, too).

- Catch all approach (no clear or explicit indication of educational level): Return Information Desk, Youth entrepreneurship project, Agreement to assure the current and prospective stock of professionals Saxony-Anhalt, Municipal Retention Policy, Business Angel, Development Strategy for Opole Voivodship, Pößneck returns, Lucani Abroad, Perspectives for youth, Returning and Immigration Federation, ZiBeV.
- Differentiated approach (emphasises educational level in some form): Youth Businessmen Group, PFIFF, New Nanotechnology Centre, mv4you, Boomerang-Lausitz, revenio, ThAFF, Scholarship in Usti region, RID, JuKaM, Youth in Lodz.

Type of approach

Analysing the types of approaches we can distinguish two major groups of best practices. The first group (concentrated approach) focuses only on migration-related and labour market issues (e.g. re-attracting people, preventing brain drain etc.). The second group (integrated approach) connects migration issues with wider range of social and economic processes, urban and regional development, education, information society etc.

- Concentrated approach: RID, Youth entrepreneurship project, Youth Businessmen Group, PFIFF, Agreement to assure the current and prospective stock of professionals Saxony-Anhalt, New Nanotechnology Centre, Business Angel. mv4you, Boomerang-Lausitz, revenio, ThAFF, Lucani Abroad, Scholarship in Usti region, ZiBeV, Returning and Immigration Federation, Labour force for Saxony-Anhalt, JUKAM, Youth in Lodz.
- Integrated approach: Municipal Retention Policy – Alcsomocsolád, Development Strategy for Opole Voivodship, Pößneck returns, Perspectives for youth.

Feasibility of regional best practices

The feasibility and adaptability of these projects depends mainly on two factors: the level of decentralization of political systems in the different countries; and financial conditions (e.g. financial resources available in the region/community, available state and/or EU funding, available private resources etc.).

The level of decentralisation refers to the legal and financial frameworks for the interventions. For example, since Hungary is a strongly unitary state, its regions have very little independence and political power. Hence, there are no initiatives at this level. Therefore, instead of the regional level, national and local policies provide possible platforms for interventions. It is also very likely that recent re-centralisation policies would further enhance this system. On the other hand, in Germany and Italy, where regions have solid historical roots, their inhabitants preserve strong regional identity. Consequently, regions are also stronger actors in social and spatial policy, they have initiated a lot of projects to retain or re-attract people. An interesting case is provided by Poland, once a communist unitary state similar to Hungary. In Poland the successful creation of new voivodships after EU accession led to a decentralization process. Therefore, Polish regions have become in the meantime active and initiative actors in regional economic development programmes as well.

With regards to the financial background, it is important to emphasise, that there are substantial differences among the European countries, regions and localities considering their possibilities to re-attract, re-integrate, re-employ and retain people. In this respect better off regions within Central Europe (e.g. Northern Italy, Eastern Germany) are in a more favourable position. We can also presume that the recent crisis affects both the success of re-migration projects and the available financial resources. Because of shrinking economic performance, the potential partners from the private sector have less financial and human resources to participate in such initiatives.

The analysed projects were started in the last few years; therefore it is a little bit early to evaluate the results. But the multi-focal, integrated initiatives which deal with out-migrated and local labour force simultaneously seem to be more promising than the concentrated approach. It is important to emphasise that in some cases the expected outputs and their indicators are not well defined which makes it hard (or even impossible) to assess those initiatives.

3.6 Conclusions and Recommendations

The previous chapters worked through a very wide agenda about the issue of return migration. The report has drawn on a wide range of sources from scientific literature to publicly available information about policies and strategies focusing on re-attraction and retention of people.

There are very few existing national policies in Europe and in the member states of Central Europe programme that would directly or indirectly focus on return migration. Strategies and policies of remigration elaborated in European countries apply only a limited number of measures recommended by the UNDP model due to the lack of transnational cooperation and considerable European Union funding. We have registered only 13 nation-wide policies. Regarding their geographical coverage there are only three completely international policies. One of them has a full European and beyond coverage and two of them are bilateral ones involving only the sending and receiving countries. Most policy documents put the emphasis on the possible economic advantages of return migration, and social reintegration is emphasised only in three of them. According to the applied methods, six out of 13 national policies aim to re-attract people while re-employment, re-integration and retention seem to have less importance. Regarding target groups most policies are intended to re-attract highly skilled people (e.g. intellectuals, researchers, university lecturers). Programmes putting the emphasis on social and cultural objectives do not specify the education level of target group. In terms of the communication with the target groups policies can apply either direct methods (e.g. Green Line in Poland) or indirect and multi-level marketing. According to the duration all but one national policies are very young (implemented after 2000) which shows that return migration became a hot issue in Europe only recently. There is a clear linkage between the amount of money spent for a programme and the number of returnees (e.g. mobilised re-migrants). According to our research we also referred to international experiences outside Europe. Some non-European countries (e.g. China, India, Taiwan, South-Africa) have been the most successful in implementing of complex policies.

On the regional and local level we analysed altogether 22 best practices. These best practices represent a wide range of actions dealing with outbound migration and aiming at brain gain. The spatial focus of these projects lies mainly on crisis-ridden regions with significant outbound migration, high level of unemployment and serious structural problems. Based on our results, four types of aims can be identified in the presented initiatives: re-attraction of out-migrants; re-integration of returning migrants; retention of local human capital; re-employment of unemployed workers. We analysed the projects based on their objectives, the targeted age groups, the types of interventions, the level of education of the target groups and the type of approach. According to the analysis, the feasibility and adaptability of these projects depends mainly on two factors: the level of decentralisation of political system in the different countries; and the financial conditions (e.g. financial resources available in the region/community, available at national level, and/or EU funding, available private resources etc.). In addition, it is important to emphasise, that the global crisis affects the success of brain gain and retention initiatives. At the same time the recent economic processes make those initiatives more important in the crisis hit regions.

The great variety of policies and best practices analysed in this report confirmed that re-attracting migrants is not an activity that can be carried out by applying recipes developed elsewhere. The individual character of each region and city matters and presents a challenge to

such policies. As in many other cases the 'one size fits all' concept is misleading here. Therefore, we believe that, during the elaboration of re-attraction and/or retention policies, local conditions should increasingly be taken into account. There is path dependency and successful interventions can generally be linked to local contexts, traditions and networks. This also implies that there are strict limitations to holistic and integrated approaches in the field.

The experiences outlined in this report point to the need for policy makers to pay attention to the following aspects when formulating local strategies to re-attract or retain people:

- First of all, policy makers should know the assets of their region or city they can draw upon. This may seem trivial, but what we mean is that strategies and policies must be connected with local legacies, strengths and resources. Before formulating policy goals the group of potential re-migrants and their motivations should be investigated. Policy makers should know what the relevant factors are for potential returnees if they think of returning to their home country or region. This can be done by surveys, in-depth interviews and other qualitative research methods.
- At the same time the needs of local companies should also be analysed. This can be done by a labour market survey, detecting all those sectors of local economy, where shortage of labour is already present, or can be foreseen in the near future.
- Local policies related to re-migration should be harmonised with regional and national policies that influence migration in one way or another (e.g. taxation, immigration). This is important because local policies could be easily undermined by other spheres and at other levels of governance.
- Policy makers should consider the possibilities to rely upon 'classic' economic factors as part of their remigration strategies, such as tax incentives, development of local infrastructure, job creation, provision of housing and business space for start-ups, etc.
- Policy makers should increasingly use the potentials provided by personal networks when formulating and implementing local remigration and retention policies. The primary goal here is to facilitate and enable these (professional, cultural, business etc.) networks, and to use them as catalysts for return migration.
- Policy makers should rely upon multi-level communication strategy using the opportunities provided by internet portals, media, information brochures, leaflets, hotlines, online communities (e.g. Facebook), or local contact points. Delivery agencies, institutions involved in an initiative should be made visible locally.

3.7 References

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