

**UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI
FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE**

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Culturally motivated economic migration of Croatian youth

Kulturno motivirana ekonomska migracija hrvatske mladine

Magistrsko delo

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Culturally motivated economic migration of Croatian youth

Summary: Economic migration of youth has become a focal point in Croatian public discourse. Since the beginning of the financial crisis in 2008, there has been a steady increase in the numbers of young emigrants leaving the country. This phenomenon is often presented as strictly economic in nature. However, there are several different cultural and social aspects to youth migration today. Globalisation has culturally unified the world to the point where cultural obstacles to migration, especially migration of young people, are minimal. The EU, of which Croatia is the youngest member, also enables migration both through legislation and the dominant ideology. The hypothesis of this research is that the motives behind youth migration have moved from strictly economic reasons towards social and cultural motives. The theoretical part of the thesis presents the analysis of youth migration, reflection of available statistical data and discusses the cultural aspects of youth migration. It touches on subjects like EU's legislation on migration and the patterns of migration within the EU, the phenomenon of "brain drain" and the role of culture in migration and the changes of this role in the globalised world. The research part of the thesis consist of ten in depth interviews of young Croats who are considering emigrating and the analysis of their answers in light of the proposed thesis and presented literature.

Key words: Migration, Youth, Globalisation, Culture

Kulturno motivirana ekonomska migracija hrvaške mladine

Povzetek: Ekonomska migracija mladih je zavzela osrednjo vlogo v hrvaškem javnem diskurzu. Od pričetka finančne krize leta 2008, število mladih emigrantov, ki zapuščajo državo, vztrajno narašča. Ta fenomen se ponavadi predstavlja kot problem izključno ekonomske narave. Kljub temu pa današnja migracija mladih ima tudi številne kulturne in družbene vidike. Globalizacija je kulturno poenotila svet do točke, ko postajajo kulturne ovire migracij minimalne, predvsem migracije mladih. Evropska unija, katere najmlajša članica je Hrvaška, omogoča migracije tako z zakonodajo kot z prevladujočo ideologijo. Hipoteza te raziskave je, da so se motivi za migracijo na strani mladih premaknili, iz izključno ekonomskih razlogov k družbenim in kulturnim motivom. Teoretični del te naloge predstavlja analiza fenomena migracij mladih, refleksija obstoječih statističnih podatkov in razprava o kulturnih vidikih migracij mladih. Dotika se tudi tem, kot so evropska zakonodaja na področju migracij in vzorci migracij znotraj EU ter fenomena bega možganov. Prav tako pa vključuje analizo vloge kulture pri migracijah ter spremembe te vloge v globaliziranem svetu. Raziskovalni del naloge sestoji iz desetih poglobljenih intervjujev mladih Hrvatov, ki razmišljajo o emigraciji, katerim sledi analiza njihovih odgovorov v luči predlagane teze in predstavljene literature.

Ključne besede: Migracije, Mladi, Globalizacija, Kultura

TABLE OF CONTENT

Introduction	7
1 Migration	8
2 A new wave of youth migration	11
3 The development of EU legislation on migration	14
4 The patterns of migration in the EU	17
5 Brain drain	19
6 Culture and migration	22
7 Research	26
7.1 Hypothesis	26
7.2 Methodology	27
8 Context	28
8.1 Youth in Croatia	28
8.2 Migration in Croatia	29
9 The results of the ten interviews	30
9.1 Interviewee nr.1	30
9.2 Interviewee nr.2	32
9.3 Interviewee nr.3	34
9.4 Interviewee nr.4	36
9.5 Interviewee nr.5	37
9.6 Interviewee nr.6	39
9.7 Interviewee nr.7	40
9.8 Interviewee nr.8	41

9.9 Interviewee nr.9	43
9.10 Interviewee nr.10	44
10 Analysis and discussion	46
11 Conclusion	49
12 Povzetek magistrskega dela v slovenskem jeziku	51
13 Bibliography	55
Appendices	57
Appendix A: Framework for interview	57
Appendix B: Transcripts	59

INTRODUCTION

The theme of this thesis are the cultural changes that affected the phenomenon of youth migration. The recent years of financial crisis have set the European labour markets in turmoil. With unemployment rates rising everywhere, the crisis has been worst felt in the south of the continent, especially among young people with little or no work experience. Croatia, with 45.5% of young people unemployed (Državni zavod za statistiku 2014) is no exception. The situation has set the stage for a new great wave of youth migration, and the numbers have been rising every year since the beginning of the crisis in 2008. Like as in many countries in the similar predicament, youth migration, especially migration of the educated youth, became a focal point in public discourse.

But the growing numbers of youth migration cannot be simply explained by financial or economic reasoning. In the 1960's, also a period of increased migration in Croatia (then a part of former Yugoslavia), my grandfather, in his mid-twenties at the time, left his wife and three young children and went to Germany to work in construction. He was uneducated, did not know the language and it was not his wish to emigrate. He left because it was the best way to provide for his family. When he came to Munich, it was a completely different world from the small Bosnian village he left behind. The people he saw there were also different. They spoke in a different language, dressed differently, had different habits, relationships, ideas and lifestyles. In about 30 or so years he spent in Munich, he learned the language, developed a taste for German beer and cars, but in many ways his identity was still highly marked by his national origin. He never completely assimilated nor did he want to. He simply worked there and spent his free time with fellow migrants from Yugoslavia. Fifty years later, his granddaughter is a part of the current flow of youth migrating from Croatia. But, her story is very different from the story of her grandfather. She has left Croatia after achieving a degree in law to be a yoga instructor in Stuttgart. At the time she has emigrated, she had no children to provide for, it was her own choice and not economic necessity. When she got to Stuttgart, she was wearing Converse All Stars like many young people in Stuttgart and in the world. She spoke the language and had friends there.

This new wave of youth migration is happening in a culturally entirely different world from the previous periods marked with great numbers of migrants. Globalisation is a phenomenon that has radically changed the world in the past decades. It has changed not only the way the

world looks, but also the point we look at it from. All of this has affected the phenomenon of youth migration. The changes in the cultural landscape made it easier than ever to emigrate. When talking about a new great wave of youth migration, it is necessary to take these changes into account.

In this thesis I will provide analysis of the cultural changes brought upon by globalisation and describe the ways they have affected the process of migration. The focus of this research will be on the views of the young people in Croatia on migration and their motives for migrating.

The theoretical part of the thesis presents the analysis of youth migration, available statistical data and discusses the cultural aspects of youth migration. It touches on subjects like EU's legislation on migration and the patterns of migration within the EU, the phenomenon of 'brain drain' and the role of culture in migration and the changes of this role in the globalised world.

The research part of the thesis consist of ten in depth interviews of young Croats who are considering emigrating and the analysis of their answers in light of the proposed thesis and presented literature.

1 MIGRATION

Migration is one of the basic demographic phenomena. Since the very beginnings of organized society people have been re-locating in order to create better living conditions for themselves. There have been different paradigms on the phenomenon of migration within the science of sociology. The main questions researches have been trying to answer are how migration comes about, what are the preceding processes, and based on the given theoretical answers to those questions if waves of migration could be predicted, if they are cyclical or are they caused by unpredictable outside factors and manifest as demographical 'explosions'.

The simplest definition of migration is movement from one place to another, which in reality means relocation of people within certain space. (Nicholson 1980). The basic approach to

understanding the reasoning behind the migratory decision is the push-pull approach. According to this approach, migration occurs as the result of a comparison of two places. Basically within the push pull model, migration occurs when the benefits of the chosen destination and the negative factors of the starting location outweigh the difficulties of the move. It is supposed that migrants, whether individually or collectively, are trying to maximize their benefits through maximizing ‘‘place utility’’ (Nicholson 1980, 136). The push-pull model observes migration through the same psychological relations of stimulus and response as the neoclassical economic theory approaches economic behaviour. The biggest problem of this approach is that in order it to be accurate the stimulus has to be carefully controlled, almost to the extent of laboratory conditions. (Nicholson 1980) Migration is a social phenomenon and it doesn’t occur in a vacuum. The stimuli that affect the migratory decision are diverse and differ from person to person. The push-pull model is unable to describe the patterns of migration or predict future waves.

There are two opposed analytical and theoretical views on predicting migration patterns. The first approach treats migration as an explosive ‘‘phenomenon of the new wave’’ (Tandonnet 2003, 95); the other treats migration as a long lasting, cyclical movement of people through space. The first approach sees international migration as unpredictable due to the unpredictable nature of ‘‘political, social and economic circumstances’’. The other sees international migration as somewhat predictable within ‘‘carefully selected social demographic regularity in long time period of cycles of monitoring migration’’ (Le Bras 2003, 73–74).

Both of these approaches separate two dominant types of migration: forced and unforced. Forced migration happens when a person is put in the role of a migrant by an unpredicted event or a situation. War, economic depression, environmental catastrophe or some other crisis push large numbers of people towards migration. The unforced migration happens when a person is free to make the migratory decision without imminent threat or force.

In recent years the economic crisis has caused a significant rise in the numbers of international migrants. It would be easy to explain this rise as a clear example of forced migration. The financial crisis has left a lot of workers across Europe, especially in the less developed South, without jobs and forced them to move in order to provide. The rather short timetable for the growth in numbers and the suddenness of the crisis that has caused it puts this new wave of migration within the paradigm of explosive and unpredictable nature of migration. At first sight, it seems that the ‘‘explosive’’ paradigm is intuitively related to the

nature of forced migration. The dimension of “force” speaks mostly about the suddenness and unpredictability in a way that is opposed to independent, unforced migration. The moment of forced migration is related to the lack of time for the decision making process of “weather the action of migration will be put in place and when”. Within independent migration the shift toward the action of migration is “built slowly and through a certain time period”. (Freeman 1995, 883 in Mežnarić 2003, 329)

The same scenario, when seen through the paradigm of the cyclical nature of migration gains a completely different meaning. Here, the slow building process of the migratory decision does not come from the migrant but from other political and social actors. At the moment of force, the individual is suddenly put in the position of a migrant before he or she went through the slow building decision making process. For him or her the decision is truly made almost overnight. The social and political actors have all the necessary information for the decision of de-placement of individual actors, the forced migrants. The slow building process can last for years before the decision is induced by a certain event that would push the individual toward migrating to a certain area. Forced migration is seen here as asynergic process: the individual is forced to migrate and social and at the same time social and political actors are finalizing their decision of displacing a part of the population. (Mežnarić 2003, 330). In this specific case, this would mean that, yes, the sudden economic crisis did “force” a great number of people towards migration, but the process that enabled such a great demographic shift, especially in Europe, started before with the crisis being simply the event that induced the decision to migrate.

The latest wave of migration is in many variables different from the previous ones. From the social and cultural structure of the migrant stock to the increased numbers of young and educated migrants, the cycle of migration caused by the latest financial crisis is the product of the social, political and cultural phenomenon that has drastically reshaped the world in the last couple of decades- globalisation. It is close to the claims of Castels and Miller (1993) that by the year 2010 international migration would be dominated by these tendencies: globalisation , which would increase the number of emigrating countries and spread the social and cultural spectral of migrants; acceleration of migrant flows which would increase the number of migrants in all parts of the world, not just the traditional migrant destinations; feminisation of migrating contingents as a result of the wider cultural and social spectral of migration. (Mežnarić 2003, 324).

The newest wave of migration was an explosion caused by the financial crisis, but the changes in structure of the modern migrant stock tells us that it was shaped, and largely motivated by the cultural and social changes brought on by globalisation. The easy access to information, the global acceptance of the English language, the cultural similarities throughout the western world, the European Union, these are all factors in the ‘‘slow building decision making process’’ or play a part in the pull in the push –pull model which made the final migratory decision easier for migrants.

2 A NEW WAVE OF YOUTH MIGRATION

Economic migration of young people is certainly not a new phenomenon, but the recent financial crisis and its effects on labour markets, especially in countries most stricken by it, has made it a focal centre of interest of both media and policy makers alike. It is fair to say that the recent years have made us all witnesses of a new wave of youth migration.

Any crisis, whether social, environmental or in this case economic brings with it increase in migration rate. The employment crisis brought on by the collapse of global financial markets in 2008 seems to have had a special effect on the migration trends of the young. As the UN world youth report states " The youth employment crisis pushes millions of young women and men towards the decision to migrate with the purpose of seeking alternatives to improve their job prospects. Many of them migrate to urban areas and big cities within their country, or seek new opportunities in foreign countries. " (UN world youth report 2013, 1). The trends in migration of young, often educated people have certainly been on the rise since the beginning of the crisis, making them one of the largest migrating groups. Newly available estimates of the migrant stock by age, made by the Population Division of DESA, indicated that, by mid-2010, the global number of international migrants aged 15 to 24 is estimated at 27 million, constituting about one-eighth of the global migrant stock of 214 million. According to the UN report, young people represent a major proportion of those migrating annually given that in many cases, the age range 18 to 29 accounts for between 36 % and 57 % of international migrants. (UN Department of Economic and Social affairs 2010).

Europe, more specifically the European Union, provides a special context within the subject of youth migration. Migration in Europe has had a specific pattern of people from economically less developed countries in the South and East of the Union migrating to the northern and western member states for decades, and the economic crisis seem to have made these patterns even stronger. The impact of the crisis and the ability of the European economies to absorb it hasn't been the same in the North and the South of Europe because the South was struggling to keep track with the northern countries. The financial crisis in the South of the EU translated into the labour markets, leaving many young people without the possibility of employment. "Five and a half million people, roughly the population size of Denmark - that is the number of Europe's unemployed youth, desperately struggling to find work. "Generation Baby Losers" is only one of the many names given to the generation of people aged 16-25 who are among those hit worst by Europe's debt crisis and the resulting austerity measures. With over 50% of young people unemployed in both Spain and Greece, 41 percent in Italy, and 36 percent in Portugal, many young Southern Europeans, especially well-educated ones, are left with a tough choice: facing a jobless future at home, or leaving everything behind to find work abroad."(The European magazine 2014)

Although there are several different reasons for the recent wave of youth migration, it is obvious that the employment crisis shaking many European economies is the biggest underlying cause. There is a narrative about the youth migration created in the European countries, where desperate youth of the crisis stricken south and east Europe flock to the economic strongholds in the North. The numbers certainly back it up. " The youth unemployment rate in Denmark and the Netherlands stood at 8 % and 7 % respectively for the age class 15-24 and at 4 % and 3 % respectively for the age class 25-29. As presented above, Denmark and the Netherlands also reported a high share of young people in education or training and who were economically active. Ireland and Austria reported youth unemployment rates below 10 % for the age class 15-24. At the other end of the spectrum, more than 20 % of active young people aged 15-24 were unemployed in Greece, Italy, Poland, Slovakia, Romania as well as Croatia. " (Eurostat 111, 2009). These kind of numbers create a story that has become emblematic for the story of youth migration in Europe. "A survey showed that 58% of Greece's engineering students are deeply worried about their future, while forecasts reveal that, by 2020, 120,000 engineering jobs may remain vacant in Germany due to retirement. The same goes for other sectors. So it makes ample sense to

young Southern Europeans to seek jobs in thriving economies abroad."(European magazine 2014).

It is clear that the crisis hit different countries in different ways, and that different economies had different reactions to it. The numbers make it evident that the youth migration is a huge problem for the countries in the South of Europe and the economies in the North reap benefits in the form of young and largely educated work force coming in from abroad. The mobility policies of the European Union, and the fluid movement of people, goods and services they promote make it hard to find out exact number of young migrants. This trend is very visible in the demographics of European countries. For instance, 15 per cent of young people living in Spain are foreigners, 13% in Germany 12% in Austria, Switzerland leads the way with 24% of their young population being foreign. (Eurostat 2009). The number of foreign citizens resident in a country - either citizens of other EU Member States or of non-EU countries - can serve as an indicator of the scale and patterns of migration.

As the data above show, the talk of a new wave of youth migration is not without reason. Youth migration rates have gone up and the financial crisis is the obvious underlying reason. While all of this is true, the patterns of migration that have been present for decades haven't changed and while the crisis was certainly worse felt in the South of the Union, it also hit the North. Although the situation in many Northern member states was far better than in the South of Europe, Northern economies were also faced with periods of stagnation and recession. Even if they provided more opportunities than the Southern economies, there was no promise of an 'El Dorado' for the Southern migrant. Yet the numbers of migrants, especially younger ones kept rising year after year.

The economic crisis and the desperation it brought to many of unemployed young people in the South of Europe is certainly the great motivator for this new wave of youth migration, but it is not the only one. The explanation is not only in the economic context. Today's migrants are significantly younger and often well educated. The readiness of young people to migrate has certain social and cultural reasons. Today's migrants are often bi-lingual, educated and are familiar with the destination they are emigrating to and that is something that the previous generations of migrants did not have. As the world has changed since the previous waves of migration, the nature of migration processes has also changed. Economic migration as a process gained new elements, and is now not exclusively an economic phenomenon, but also a cultural and a social one. To fully understand the nature of the migration process in the European union and the rise in youth migration in recent years we should examine not just the

economic reasons behind it but also the development of European legislation on migration, patterns of migration in the EU, cultural changes brought on by the process of globalization which affect migration and phenomena that go along with them such as the brain drain.

3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF EU LEGISLATION ON MIGRATION

No analysis of migration trends on the European continent is complete without the examination of the role of the European Union in this phenomenon. This is especially important in the specific case of Croatia, because of its status as the youngest member of the EU family. The European Union has a dual impact on the process of migration within its borders, a legislative one, as there have been numerous efforts to implement a common migration legislations for all the member states, and a more subtle, ideological impact that follows these efforts.

"Since 1999 and the entry into force of the Amsterdam Treaty, the European Union (EU) has been given extensive competences to adopt rules in the field of migration. Since then, it has adopted an impressive number of regulations and directives. However, legislative and operational actions at EU level have primarily and principally focused on security-related issues. Border management, visa policy, irregular migration and readmission agreements have taken precedence in the joint actions of member states." (Pascauau 2013, 1) The real attempts at integrating a common migration policy that would regulate intra- EU mobility came about with the Lisbon treaty in December of 2009. The Treaty announces that "the Union shall develop a common immigration policy". This means that the EU is not only responsible for tackling security-related issues, but also for ensuring "the efficient management of migration flows [and] fair treatment of third-country nationals residing legally in member states". While the objective of drawing up a "common immigration policy" had already been announced in October 1999 by the Tampere European Council, the Lisbon Treaty takes a further step as it "constitutionalises" that objective. Hence, actions at EU level should pursue the establishment of such a common policy."(Pascauau 2013,2-3) Implementing a common European migration policy, not only in the sense of security related issues, boarder management and visa policy, but also in the sense of creating a common European intra-mobility policy has become a

cornerstone of EU politics. This tendency in EU policy has a lot to do with the desire of the EU lawmakers to create a single European labour market. The reason a single labour market is so important to the EU has a lot to do with migration patterns as well as the EU's ability to control the effects of the current and possible future financial crises. Europe is truly the "old continent" that has throughout history relied on migration to solve its demographic problems. Today Europe is facing a new set of demographic challenges. "Firstly, these challenges are related to demographic shrinking. Some member states are already experiencing this, and a greater number of countries will be facing demographic problems in the next couple of years. Secondly, the European population is growing older, which means that the EU is an ageing society. Finally, national labour markets are experiencing skill and labour shortages which in certain cases are quite severe. All of these challenges are intertwined. Demographic shrinkage, goes hand in hand with an ageing society, and both have an impact on labour/skill shortages. Indeed, people who retire need to be replaced. At the same time, as ageing persons, they create new needs to be satisfied, particularly in areas related to personal care and assistance. The combination of these factors has an impact on existing and forthcoming labour and skill shortages in EU member states. Furthermore, despite the strong economic crisis, which had a major impact on employment and labour migration demand, these elements constitute robust pillars that should frame any attempt to address labour migration issues." (Pascauau 2013) These demographic problems are naturally solved by a period of increased migration. The economic crisis did serve as a trigger for a new wave of migration, but, as it severely hit the economies of almost all of the EU member states, it also created a need for the European Union to protect its job markets. The current financial crisis has created a dual problem for the EU, a need for mobility that would solve some of the demographic problems of the western member states, and the need to protect the EU borders from the waves of immigrants from outside of Europe which could create a serious imbalance in the job markets that already took a big hit on account of the crisis. The position of migrants in the new economies has seriously deteriorated due to the crisis: "The economic crisis certainly constitutes the major one and its impact on migrants has been twofold. From an economic perspective, migrant workers were the first ones to suffer as a result of the economic turmoil. As underlined by the OECD, the economic downturn hit immigrants hard, and almost immediately, in most OECD countries. The evidence suggests that overall, the impact of the economic crisis on unemployment has been more pronounced for migrants than for native-born". (Pascauau 2013, 4) The crisis has brought not only economic, but also political difficulties for migrant workers: "From a political perspective, migrants have also had to face

a strongly negative political climate. Proposals to restrict immigration flows have been supported in several countries, fuelled in some by the growing influence of populist parties. Denmark, the Netherlands, France and Finland have, among others, 25 experienced this mounting impact of extremist parties which consider immigration as a major threat to European societies and therefore call for massive restrictions. These parties have without any doubt influenced national - and to a certain extent European - debates on migration." (Pascauau 2013, 5)

Under the circumstances, where there is a natural, demographic need for migration, a new wave of migrants, and a political and economic resistance to migration have caused the European Union to focus its policy on creating a single, unified European job market. This implies the need for enlargement of the EU to the east, and making intra- Europe mobility a focal point of policy makers. " Improving intra-EU mobility would be politically and practically acceptable. The crisis has divided the EU between countries that have been heavily affected by it and which are therefore experiencing a strong decrease in demand for migrant workers, and countries where Demand for labour migration is still growing. In such a context, the reallocation of already-residing labour migrants could help absorb the effects of the crisis and have a positive impact on migrant workers, EU countries facing difficulties and the European Union as a whole. Improving intra-EU mobility rights would constitute a major step towards the realization of the single European labour market. It would also contribute to making the EU more attractive for migrant workers. This is crucial in the short run with respect to qualified migrants and in the long run as soon as the EU has recovered from the crisis."(Pascauau 2013,6)

From the point of view in Brussels, the idea of a unified European labour market is presented as a natural solution to the demographic and economic challenges Europe faces. On the one hand, it eases the bureaucratic transition of workers from one EU member to the next, limiting the possible obstacles that member states might put out in order to protect their labour markets. On the other hand, a unified European labour market would provide an injection of new labour from the east of the Union to the aging labour populations of the Western Europe. This emphasis on unification and intra Europe mobility has become one of the corner stones of European policy, and thus it has also become one of the focal points of the European ideology.

The very idea of unified Europe in the past few decades has gone beyond the simple set of trade agreements that would keep European economy one of the global forces, to a

widespread political movement. It has brought with it a shift in the way Europe and the member states are perceived both from the outside and within the Union. Economy is inherently embedded in society, there is no one without the other. The need to create a unified European economy, or a set of common policies and agreements if followed by the need to create a sort of unified “European society” with political institutions, dominant culture and official ideology. Although it is not yet completely clear what the final political form of this European society is, the ideological and cultural impacts of European policies are evident in the development of European legislature on migration. By treating the European labour market as a singular one, protecting it from influx of the outside migrants and thereby inducing intra-EU mobility, European policy makers are treating Europe a single economic and cultural space. Treating migrant workers from Croatia and Slovenia in Germany differently than the ones from Turkey is to say “we are one and they are the other”. This European “One” transcends economy and has a cultural impact. Germany becomes less of an “abroad” for the migrants from Slovenia and Croatia and Slovenes and Croats become less of foreigners in Germany. Thus the nature of the process of migration moves from a strictly economic phenomenon to a cultural one as well. The cultural aspect of migration within the European Union is often understated but is not less important than the economic one, as it is changing the face of Europe and the meaning of the Union as a political project. And though what we are talking about is a European phenomenon, there is no doubt that it is also a consequence of a wider process of globalization. The need for Europe to unite economically did not come from within Europe itself but from the need of European economies to remain competitive in a progressively globalized world.

The maxim of mobility and free flow of people, goods and services fits perfectly within the neoliberal capitalist nature of the European economic system. In order for the mobility and unification to really be a full functioning part of the European system, they have to be reproduced by the dominant ideology within it. The ideas of mobility, the possibility of moving to different countries to work or study are an important part of the narrative about the European Union. It is the most often advertised notion about the European Union in the countries trying to enter it. Mobility and the free flow are presented as a great benefit of entertaining the Union. It is no wonder that the numbers and the nature of the of migration within the European Union have been changed by the economic, social and cultural development of the project of unified Europe, and thus have gained new aspects to be examined.

4 THE PATTERNS OF MIGRATION IN THE EU

Before the cultural and social elements of the newest wave of youth migration can be examined, it is important to present the structure and the patterns of migration flows in the European Union.

As it is evident by the data provided in the previous sections, there have been distinct and specific patterns of youth migration in the European Union. There is a clear distinction between the "old" and the "new" Europe. "The gradual extension of the right of free movement to new EU citizens brought about by the 2004 and 2007 enlargements enabled them to seek employment in the fifteen "old" EU member states (EU15). The higher standard of living in the old member states lured many EU12 citizens to pursue their careers in the EU15. According to Holland et al. (2011), there were about one million citizens from the EU8 and almost another million from the EU2 in EU15 in 2004.⁷ Only five years after the first enlargement, in 2009, the combined number of citizens from the new member states in the EU15 reached almost five million, about equally split between the 2004 and 2007 entrants. This corresponds to 1.22 percent of the total EU15 population and 4.75 percent of the combined population of new member states." (Kahanec, Fabo 2013, 8). Germany and the UK, the traditional host countries for immigrants, host about two thirds of the new member states migrants, so it is clear that the crisis has only inflated the numbers of already established migration patterns.

This inflation meant that the numbers of the largest age group among the migrant stock, the young, had also risen to new levels. " Many of these migrants were young workers and students, who generally only had limited labour market experience, were singles and had no children. Among migrants from the EU12 in the EU15 young people, aged 15 to 34, were overrepresented in most countries. As can be expected, the share of young people among migrants is significantly higher after 2004 when EU10 countries joined the EU in all the EU15 countries represented in .The largest increase in youth mobility was observed in the Netherlands, Austria, but also Greece, Denmark, and France." (Kahanec, Fabo 2013, 9)

The employment crisis isn't the only factor that moves European youth to migrate. The young share many socio-demographic characteristics which make them more likely to simply get up

and go. Family situation is one of them. "Family situation strongly correlates with migration intentions. Only about 22 percent of married respondents with children reported intentions to move, while more than a half of the singles with no children foresaw themselves working in another EU member state. Married couples, regardless of whether with children or not, are less migration-prone than cohabiting couples, which were in turn less interested in migration than singles. Across these three categories, respondents with children were more likely to stay at home than childless members of their respective group. As far as the expected duration of migration experience is concerned, respondents with children are clustered in both "up to 1 year" and more than "5 years", while childless respondents seemed to be more open to medium-term migration" (Kahanec, Fabo 2013,10).

Although the employment crisis saw the unemployment rates plummet within all social groups, the young seem to be most willing to relocate in order to find work. This is directly linked with their social and cultural environment. Youth today seem to be less rooted within their native communities and quick to leave them for a hope of a better life elsewhere. Even though the European continent, especially the southern and eastern countries, had a turbulent 20th century, filled with political and economic crisis, and two World Wars, never have the numbers in youth migration been so high. Although the different types of crisis that Europe had faced in the 20th century were all great migration motivators, the important thing that has changed was the youth itself, the way they see the world, the information and the tools they have access to and how they interpret their position in the world because of it. These changes are all visible in, what is probably the biggest migration related problem for many European countries, the migration of young educated professionals, the "Brain Drain".

5 BRAIN DRAIN

As the numbers presented in the previous chapters show, there is a case to be made that the increase of youth migration in the last couple of years has become a serious problem for a number of European economies. Although great waves of migration aren't exactly a new phenomenon, especially in times of crisis, as people have always been migrating to "greener pastures" elsewhere, there is an indicator that the most recent one is different. One of the biggest differences in the newest wave of migration, along with the age structure of the migrant stock, is its educational structure. In comparison with the previous waves of migration, today we have a disproportional number of educated young people, the

phenomenon of "brain drain". The term "brain drain" refers to the emigration of the educated: scientists, experts, managers etc.

" Throughout the history, migration motives, flows and research has changed. As trends show, the migration pressure has increased over the last years and it will probably continue to increase given the rising gap in wages and differing demographic features in developed and developing countries. The educational structure of international migration has changed and is more and more skilled. Until the end of the World War II, migrants, mostly came from the poorest and less educated classes of their home country. The highly qualified migrants were very rare. Soon after, the situation changed. New phenomenon, also referred to as the "brain drain" became a topic of interest in the 1960s and the 1970s. The main conclusions about the brain drain were that such migration results in a damaging loss of highly skilled individuals in the developing countries. By depriving the sending country of one of its scarcest resources, that is human capital, skilled migration is seen as impoverishing sending countries, whereas receiving countries are being enriched."(Andrijevic, Bilas, Franc 2010, 360).

"Brain drain" presents a serious problem within the topic of youth migration for several of different reasons. Firstly, the absence or the lack of educated people within a country's work force has serious consequences on its development and its ability to recover from the crisis it may be in. The loss of highly skilled and educated, especially the youth adept in new technologies, leaves the economy without a basic tool of progress. The state which has invested in their ideas, abilities and knowledge through public education, is left without them. As Andrijevic, Bilas and Franc cite the research of Deutsche Bank: "At the beginning of the 21st century, the gap in living standards between rich and poor nations is large and rising. It is generally accepted that deficiency in human capital is an important factor, i.e. obstacle to the country's growth. If a country lacks human capital of good quality, then it has fewer opportunities for growth and development. The rapid structural change caused by globalization and technological change has increased the importance of human capital over the past years. In the rich economies, this structural change increased the pressure on the suppliers of the less qualified labour force. Physical work is substituted by machines at home and by cheaper labour input from abroad. As a reaction, richer, more developed countries can either shield themselves from globalization, which would be negative for prosperity, cut the wages of less qualified workers, accept higher unemployment, or they can raise the skills of their workers ".(Deutsche bank research 2005 in Andrijevic, Bilas and Franz, 2010 363). In public and political discourse of sending countries, the phenomenon of brain drain is viewed

as one of the most devastating problems brought on by the financial crisis. It has become a common place for politicians to press on the issue of creating more jobs so “we can keep our youth home”. Even though the increased migration could be seen as positive in the context of economic downturn, causing tightening of labour markets and providing influx of cash through remittances, youth migration and especially brain drain still hold high place on the list of the biggest problems in the public discourse of the sending countries.

There is a question to be asked, why exactly young, educated, people are leaving, why the proportion of the educated within the migrant stock is rising, even if there is a political will to keep them home. What are they leaving for, in spite of the policy efforts to make it easier for them to find employment at home? After all, doctors and engineers are not the only ones leaving. There is a great number of young migrants who leave years and years of education on the shelf and migrate knowing that they will not find work in their field of study because their knowledge and skills are not applicable to the labour market they are entering. It is important to add that many of them never truly integrate as educated professionals in the host countries. That is why the migration of this specific segment of the population, the educated, should be described as a complex field of individual decision making, in the interaction with systematic factors". (Adamovic, Meznaric, 2003 143). The motivation behind the decision to migrate is, as cited, complex. As Andrijevic and others write " Labour migration is most often considered to be driven by differences in returns to labour, or expected returns, across markets. The simplest economic models of migration explain that the motivation for migration comes from actual wage differentials across countries that emerge from heterogeneous degrees of labour market rigidity. There are also models that explain migration motivation more precisely, showing that migration is driven by expected rather than actual wage differentials. However, there are authors that say those simple economic models do not comprise all motivation factors of migration and therefore, have limited success in explaining it. There are a number of studies that show wage and employment differentials were statistically significant predictors of migration in the expected directions only about half the time".(Andrijevic , Bilas, Franz 2010, 370).

The financial motives behind the decisions of young educated adults to migrate are not to be ignored. After all, the wave of migration described above is caused by the financial and employment crisis, especially in the EU. But, as we are witnessing, they are not the exclusive and often not even the most important motives in the decision to migrate. It is not to be ignored that the places that attract most of the young migrants in the EU, such as London or

Berlin, are not only economic hot spots but also cultural meccas. The previous waves of migration came in very different times than the ones we live in. The structure of the migrant stock is a testament to this fact. Today's migrants are educated and have had access to information and technology that was unimaginable to the average migrant from his previous eras. It is only natural that the nature of migration has changed with the times. Today's European young migrant is not migrating because of hunger and poverty but because of the pursuit of a better life, which of course includes the material, financial factor, but also much, much more than that.

6 CULTURE AND MIGRATION

The concept of culture is not new to the study of migration. "It has lurked beneath the surface for some time, occasionally protruding openly into the discussion, usually under some pseudonym. Different authors bring culture into the open. They are concerned with how culture manifests itself in the migration process for three groups of actors: the migrants, those remaining in the sending areas, and people already living in the recipient locations. What unites the authors is an understanding that though actors behave differently, within a group there are economically important shared beliefs (customs, values, attitudes, etc.), which we commonly refer to as culture." (Epstein, Gang, 2010 2). As the cultures of all three named groups are a significant factor within the process of migration, migration itself could be observed as a cultural as well as an economic phenomenon. The view of migration as a cultural phenomenon introduces a series of new aspects of migration itself, the ability of economic migrants to integrate to a new social area, apply their skills and knowledge to a new job market, the reaction they receive from the local population and so forth. The different cultural and social aspects of the process of migration are a huge factor in a person's decision to migrate. These factors, such as the language barrier and other cultural differences used to present a huge obstacle to migrants, seem to be changing, and that could partly explain the recent wave of migration. As described earlier, the average migrant has changed. In distinction to the migrants of the previous eras, today's migrants are often young and educated

adults. Due to their level of education and the new information era, it is possible to imagine these cultural barriers presenting a much smaller problem for the modern migrants. One of the biggest barriers, the language, is particularly less problematic today than it was during the previous waves of migration. Younger and educated migrants are presumably more likely to be bilingual, or to learn the language of the host country before migrating. If not, the global acceptance of the English language as the international common tongue is a serious facilitator for the new migrants. The technological advances in the past two decades have also made it a lot easier to find information about the host country that could make the transition to the new cultural surroundings much easier. The communication technology makes it also easier to stay in touch with the ones left behind. Everything seems to be easier in the process of migration, the cultural and other barriers seem a lot less threatening, than they were just a couple of decades ago. All of these new factors that come that "shrunk the world" as it is popularly said are part of the process of globalization.

Migration today, especially the migration of youth within the EU is affected by two global phenomena, an economic one and a cultural one. The financial crisis is an obvious trigger for youth migration. The flow of young workers to better markets in search for jobs is a plain and simple economic equation. But what is often overlooked when we discuss migration is the cultural impact of globalization on it. Globalization has brought about a revolution in technology, enabling global marketing and has made information accessible worldwide. Since the same information and products are available across the planet, the differences among cultures have begun to shrink, facilitating the cultural obstacles to migration. It could easily be argued that globalization creates a culture of "common denominators" (Beyer 2001, 65), a series of transcultural common points, that make the move from one culture to another a lot easier than it used to be. Although globalization isn't a new process, and in a way the world has been "shrinking" for a couple of centuries now, the rapid development of new technologies, especially the internet, has made the cultural impact of the process even greater. From its beginnings, the process of globalization provided a space for communication between cultures, a way of introducing different cultural spaces to one another. Today, this space of communication between cultures that globalization provides seems to be larger and more important than any specific cultural space. Different cultural spaces have become interconnected to the point that the borders between them have become simply symbolic. For instance, if a Japanese cinematographer makes a film, the film is "Japanese" only in relation to

its maker, merely a classification note. The film never even has to be shown in Japan to have a cultural impact.

This is the world today's new generation of migrant has grown up in. There is no clear cultural difference between the youth in Germany and Croatia, as they all listen to the same music, watch the same movies, root for the same football clubs and wear the same hats from H&M. The move from Croatia to Germany doesn't include a great cultural barrier to be crossed in order to be successful. You won't miss home that much and have the need to socialize with other migrants from your county because almost every cultural or lifestyle habit you have acquired at home can easily be continued here. The places that attract the most of young migrants, such as London and Berlin, are also the meccas of this common, globalized culture, and the reason they attract so many migrants has something to do with that. They represent the 'spikes' in the cultural and economic landscapes. The decision of an individual to migrate to those places certainly holds the cultural aspect of life there as a part of the decision equation.

Thomas Friedman's theory of the flat world seems to rely more to the cultural aspect of globalization than perhaps the economic one. Friedman's presents the notion of a "flat", globalized world, a world where space has become irrelevant due to technology. Friedman argues that today it is not important where you are but rather what you do. The notion Friedman presents has a direct link to migration. "Thanks to advances in technology, the global playing field has been levelled, the prizes are there for the taking, and everyone's a player-no matter where on the surface of the earth he or she may reside. "In a flat world," Friedman writes, "you can innovate without having to emigrate."(Florida 2005). In this level playing field, the ability to change the world, to act globally, to create, is not affected by your location, as new technology and media allows you to prosper anywhere on the planet. This is a somewhat utopistic view of the process of globalization. Although the technologies Friedman celebrates do facilitate the flow of information and potentially make spaces less relevant in the world of business, Friedman's ideas have been subject to a fair share of constructive criticism. One of Friedman's critics is Richard Florida, who proposes a different "map of the globalized world." For Florida the world is not flat, but rather "spiky". The notion of the "spiky" world presumes that the real and major development and progress, both from the aspect of economy and technology are happening in a small number of places in the world, the "spikes" of the word as Florida describes them. The first argument of Florida's

theory is the process of urbanization." The most obvious challenge to the flat-world hypothesis is the explosive growth of cities worldwide. More and more people are clustered in urban areas-the world's demographic mountain ranges, so to speak. The share of the world's population living in urban areas, just three percent in 1800, was nearly 30 percent by 1950. Today it stands at about 50 percent; in advanced countries three out of four people live in urban areas. " (Florida 2005, 1). So, the numbers tell us that location does matter. This does not show only in the aspect of population, but also in the aspect of economic activity. "New York's economy alone is about the size of Russia's or Brazil's, and Chicago's is on a par with Sweden's. Together New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Boston have a bigger economy than all of China. If U.S. metropolitan areas were countries, they'd make up forty-seven of the biggest 100 economies in the world." (Florida 2005, 2). The growth of population in certain areas translates not only to economic growth, but also, what is even more important, to innovation. As Florida writes "Population and economic activity are both spiky, but it's innovation-the engine of economic growth-that is most concentrated. The World Intellectual Property Organization recorded about 300,000 patents from resident inventors in more than a hundred nations in 2002 (the most recent year for which statistics are available). Nearly two thirds of the TN went to American and Japanese inventors. Eighty-five percent went to the residents of just five countries (Japan, the United States, South Korea, Germany, and Russia)", and later explains "This is not to say that Indians and Chinese are not innovative. On the contrary, Anna-Lee Saxenian, of the University of California at Berkeley, has shown that Indian and Chinese entrepreneurs founded or co-founded roughly 30 percent of all Silicon Valley start-ups in the late 1990s. But these fundamentally creative people had to travel to Silicon Valley and be absorbed into its innovative ecosystem before their ideas became economically viable. Such ecosystems matter, and there aren't many of them." (Florida 2005, 3). Both of these seemingly opposite maps of the globalised world hold certain truths. Even though Friedman was quick to declare the world is flat, there are a couple of interesting observations in his book. He describes traveling to India and being surrounded by familiar advertisements of American companies such as Pizza Hut, HP, Epson and Texas instruments and meeting Indian business men working for American companies, speaking in American accents and even adopting American names in their own country. Although Friedman writes mostly from the economic perspective, it is not hard to see a great cultural component to his observation. American companies, by going abroad, bring not only their products and services, but also, through advertisement, create consumers and consumer habits in the countries they go to. They bring with them a certain culture which is adopted in the lifestyles

of the natives, impacting the native culture and therefore changing it. The world may not yet be flat in economic terms, as Florida clearly shows, but it is flattened in the cultural sense. The tendency to migrate is motivated by the spikiness of the world economic map, but emigrating abroad has become much easier because of the flattening of the cultural differences.

In today's world, where cultural goods from the capitals of culture industry are distributed worldwide, we often see the same movies, like the same characters, listen to the same music and read the same books as people from all over the world. Globalisation not only helped different cultures understand each other better, but also made them more aware of one another. This transcultural awareness could be a part of the motivation for migration. If a person knows the language of a county, is familiar with its culture, art, cuisine and lifestyle in general, it could make the county a lot easier to move to, if not make it appealing to live in. In many cases migration is simply a lifestyle choice, with the economic benefits of the move being smaller and the economic crisis being just a trigger to an already present tendency to emigrate.

7 RESEARCH

7.1 HYPOTHESIS

The thesis of this research, in the light of the presented data, is that the motives behind youth migration have moved from strictly economic reasons towards social and cultural motives, and the reasons for this shift lie in the cultural effects of globalisation.

The recent increase in numbers of youth migration has put the phenomenon at the centre of interest of the European public discourse, since the economic was b recognized as the main reason behind it. This way be true, but it leaves a great aspect of the phenomenon out of discussion. The case of youth migration in Europe, and in a lesser extent the world, has a greatly underrated cultural background that is as important as the economic one in terms of motivation to migrate. Migration has always been a cultural as well as an economic phenomenon. The economic motives for migration have remained the same in the newest

wave of youth migration, because workers from underdeveloped states hit by the financial crisis migrate to more developed countries to find work, but there have been significant changes in the perceptions of cultural spaces in which migration takes place. These changes have affected the process of migration and may be the greatest co-culprit behind the increase of young migrants. There are two dominant forces that have affected the cultural landscape in Europe and also affected the nature of youth migration. The First is the economic and political unification of European countries. This unification, through policy and ideological influences, is creating a common European cultural space, and thus facilitating migration. European countries are becoming less foreign to one another, and cultural obstacles to migration and assimilation are becoming less of a problem for migrants. The other process affecting migration is globalisation. Global distribution of cultural goods is creating a culture of common denominators, with people around the world identifying with them. Globalisation also changes the perception of the cultural landscape, making specific places globally recognisable.

In many cases migration is simply a lifestyle choice, because the economic benefits of the move are minimal and the economic crisis is just a trigger to an already present tendency to emigrate. The questions my thesis raises are: What are the dominant motives behind the decision of a young person to emigrate? What is the person looking to gain from the move? What is the role of the change in culture in the decision process? How does globalization affect the ability to integrate to a new culture? How has globalization affected the cultural differences and perceptions of young people from different countries?

7.2 METHODOLOGY

The questions mentioned above require a phenomenological and qualitative approach in research. In order to fully understand the role of culture within the process of migration, and test the thesis, it is necessary to find out about the perceptions, views and opinions towards culture by those who migrate. The goal of the research is to describe the phenomenon in question, not to measure it.

The research method used in this paper is in-depth interviewing. "In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation. For example, we might ask participants, staff, and others associated with a program

about their experiences and expectations related to the program, the thoughts they have concerning program operations, processes, and outcomes, and about any changes they perceive in themselves as a result of their involvement in the program.”(Boyce, Neal 2, 2006).

The choice of this method allows the author to get detailed information about the perceptions and expectations of the participants and find out how they affect their behaviour. It also allows the researcher to approach every participant individually, channelling the interview to the subjects and areas most relevant to the study in hand. ‘’ In-depth interviews are useful when you want detailed information about person’s thoughts and behaviours or want to explore new issues in depth. Interviews are often used to provide context to other data (such as outcome data), offering a more complete picture of what happened in the program and why.’’ (Boyce, Neal 3, 2006)

This research contains ten in depth interviews with young people from Croatia in the age range of 23-28, that have either graduated from college or are in their finals years of study and are considering or planning to emigrate from Croatia. As the research is focused on the role of cultural changes within the decision process before migration, the participants are young educated people that are considering migrating but have not yet emigrated. All of the participants are volunteers and acquaintances of the author.

The interviews will include a set of questions concerning their motivation to emigrate, how they have chosen the place to emigrate to, what they know about their possible destination, weather their choice has a cultural, emotional or lifestyle component, and if so what it is and how it came about . The questions will also touch on the participant’s view of their own place in a globalised world, if they perceive themselves as European citizens, what their expectations in adjustment to their future destinations are and other. The results of these interviews will be presented and then analysed as a whole to test the thesis and answer research questions.

8 CONTEXT

8.1 YOUTH IN CROATIA

Young people in Croatia are facing similar problems as young people across the European continent. The impact of the financial crisis in 2008 on the youngest members of the

European Union was severe and the country's economy is still trying to find a way out of the long period of stagnation. As almost everywhere in Europe, the crisis was felt at the labour market. The unemployment rates reached the height of 22.7% in the beginning of 2014 and now remaining just below 20 %. As if this isn't bad enough, the situation with youth unemployment is even worse, with little less of half of the work active young people in Croatia unemployed and struggling to find work. The number of unemployed young people is one of the worst within the European Union. In order to stop the negative trends with the rising numbers of unemployed youth, in 2012 the government introduced a measure that would allow the employer to hire young people without previous work experience for a year-long internship paid by the state. This measure, although often criticised because of its symbolically low payment of 300 euros a month allowed 37000 young people to gain their first, relevant work experience in 2014.

The large unemployment rates of young people have certainly affected their lifestyles. The struggle to find work makes it very hard for young people to emancipate themselves from their parents. According to the numbers of the DZS (Državni zavod za statistiku 2011), every other young person between ages 25-29, and every fourth between the ages of 30-34 still lives with his or her parents.

On the other hand, the latest generations of Croats are the most educated ones. The number of students enrolling in college is growing year after year, with the student population reaching 200 000, a number that just six years ago stood at around 150, 000. This number gets even stronger meaning when you count in the fact that the current generation of students was born during the wartime in Croatia, when there was a decrease of new-borns so the rise in the percentage of young people enrolled in an institute of higher learning is even greater. Youth in Croatia are not just getting more and more educated, but are in large part bilingual, since the English language is obligatory in the primary school, and German or French are available as elective subjects in most high schools.

8.2 MIGRATION IN CROATIA

Croatia, the country this research is based on, has a hundred year long history of economic emigration. There have been three big waves of migration in Croatia. It is estimated that

during the period of modernization and industrialization, the period between 1951-1971, prior to gaining independence, half a million people left its rural areas. During the period in when Croatia was an integral part of Yugoslavia, this socialist republic at the time had a positive immigration saldo in comparison with the other republics, but remained an "emigration country" because of an extremely negative immigration saldo when we compare the countries of Western Europe and the traditional cross-ocean immigration countries. (Lajić 2004, 174)

The next serious wave of migration happened shortly after gaining independence as a result of Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia. However, it was largely surpassed by the great number of refugees and immigrants. (Lajić 2004, 174) The gruesome Homeland war and the insecurity of the transition period that followed caused nearly 7% of the population to leave the country. Since 2001 the migration saldo was positive for a while, but never rising higher than 2, 7 per thousand people. The numbers have skyrocketed again in the last years, growing from approximately 7,500 in 2008 to 12,700 in 2011, with the most represented age group of 20-34 year olds (Državni zavod za statistiku RH 2011). These numbers really hit hard when you imagine a city the size of Šibenik or Celje, made up of young, healthy and productive people simply vanishing in four short years.' According to the census from 2001 Croatia has 3,682,826 people in age 15 and more years old. Out of that number 254,500 are temporarily employed in foreign countries (6.9 %). It is more important to mention that 31,526 (12.38%) are highly educated what is significantly more than their deal in total Croatian population (8.01%)'. (Bjelajac 2007, 314). The negative saldo of international migration correlates closely with the beginning of the crisis. In 2008, the year the crisis shook the global financial market Croatia, not yet a member of the EU, had a seven year long run of a positive migration saldo. The first negative saldo was recorded the following year with - 1,472 and the numbers more than doubled in 2010 to 4,875, a number problematic for a country with only approximately 4,5million people and a negative birth-death ratio. Since the beginning of the crisis the migration saldo in Croatia never returned to the positive side. The destinations of the recorded emigrants, largely followed the dominant narrative of migration from the South to the North of Europe described earlier. Aside from the neighbouring countries like Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, most of Croatian emigrants migrate to Western Europe, mostly moving to Germany, a traditional destination form Croatian immigrant. Given the age structure of the migrating population, it is evident that the most of the migrants moving to neighbouring countries are in fact the older, mostly retired people that had moved to Croatia from the other ex- Yugoslav republics, and are now returning to their native countries to enjoy

their retirement. On the other side, the great majority of the young and work-able migrant stock are moving to find work in the countries of Western Europe. When the migration saldo is examined from the regional perspective, we can see that there are only a few counties that have a positive score. Only the city of Zagreb, County of Zadar and the County of Primorje and Gorski Kotar have a positive migration saldo. But when you look at the age structure of migrants coming to Croatia, only the city of Zagreb can attract a significant number of young and work- able international migrants. The rest of the migrants coming to Croatia are mostly retired Croats that had worked abroad.

9 THE RESULTS OF THE TEN INTERVIEWS

9.1 Interviewee nr.1

The first interviewee is Josip, a 23 year old student of journalism from Osijek. Josip's first responses to the question about the reasons for his expressed wishes to emigrate from Croatia were mixed. Although he expressed disappointment about the current situation in Croatia and gave a pretty grim description of the perspectives he is facing if he stays, his initial response was curiosity:

“Well, I think everybody is born with the desire to travel, to see the world and experience different things. So yeah, I’m curious, and I’m dissatisfied here. So why not.”

He describes his dissatisfaction as feeling like being trapped in quicksand. Croatia is one of the countries which responded to the crisis in the worst possible way. The country's economy is stagnating and unemployment is rising with no end in sight. Emigrating seems like a way out. He notes that he has been intrigued by the stories and experiences of a number of his acquaintances and friends who moved to Ireland. He perceives life abroad to be better. By better he refers to better pay and employment possibilities.

“Well not universally better. The grass isn’t always greener. But there are certainly places where, generally speaking, life is objectively better.”

The place he would like to emigrate, if opportunity presented itself, is England. His choice is based on professional ambitions but also on perceptions about the lifestyle and culture he finds appealing. He would like to have a career in sports journalism, and is especially interested in following the English football league he feels is the best in the world. From this point his answers move from being focused on pragmatic, professional and economic reasoning to a more culturally affected area. He would like to see those legendary stadiums and sights he is used to seeing on TV. He feels that their league has ‘more tradition, emotion... it is more professional, everything looks beautiful. It’s what you imagine when you think of football.’

He wouldn’t mind to have a career in sports journalism in Croatia, but he feels he would enjoy his professional life more if he emigrated. Even though he lives only a few blocks away from a stadium where professional football is played every Sunday, what he imagines when he thinks of football is not here but over there

‘Well I think it’s better but not perfect. I don’t think that there are no problems there, nor do I think all of my problems would be solved if I moved there. But there is no denying that in just a month in London I would have opportunities to see and experience things (concerts, exhibitions ...) that I would never have the opportunity to see here.’

He has no fears or doubts about his ability to adjust to life in a new place. He sees no big difference between moving from Osijek to Zagreb and moving from Zagreb to London. He wouldn’t feel foreign for long. As England and especially London are multicultural melting pots, he wouldn’t be any different than many others like him. He feels that the place he was born in doesn’t define him.

‘What do I have from being at home if I’m unhappy and work for nothing. Being home doesn’t mean anything.’

He recognizes the role of globalisation in his attitudes, his views and answers. He feels the world has changed dramatically since the generation of his parents, and believes that this change has come mostly because of communication and internet.

‘The World was divided before. We were more disconnected from each other. Every action movie had a specific foreigner for a villain. Now we’re somehow closer. And it’s not that our generation is special, or we’ve collected information about different people and cultures from

books or something. We simply had the chance to communicate more and we've found out that everybody is basically the same.''

He sees the European Union as a facilitator of emigration. It's easier to emigrate now than ever before. He believes that European Union is a political organisation created through globalisation and is one of the motors of it. European Identity is a globalised identity. He believes the places in Europe and the USA are attracting migrants from all over the world because they have this globalised identity, and thus spread their culture and identity all across the world.

9.2 Interviewee nr. 2

The second interviewee is Ornela, a 23 year old student of art history from Varaždin. The main reasons behind her wish to emigrate are of professional nature. She wants to move to a place where she would be able to develop herself professionally. Financial benefits of the move are secondary to the possibility to work in an area where she would have access to resources which would be helpful in the development of her career that she doesn't have in Croatia.

'I'm thinking of leaving because of the new experiences I could get if I move. For my own professional development...It's more about that than money... But yeah, I think the standard of living is better also.'

The choice of destination is also determined by her professional goals. As a student of art history and museology she is interested in moving to one of the cultural centres such as Paris, London, or possibly New York. She believes those places have vibrant art scenes and offer numerous chances for employment. She has visited those places, and speaks English and a little French. She is attracted to the different work culture in those places.

'I believe they think differently about work. We are still oriented to a single institution, to finding a job for life. I think that young people abroad are oriented towards projects. Now I'm doing this, when it's over, I'll find something else. '

In addition to the professional life, she is attracted to move because she perceives the life in the cities she named as more dynamic, she loves the infrastructure of big cities, and enjoys the history and architecture they have and the possibilities they offer.

‘‘Is life there better? I don’t know. I think it depends on a lot of things, mostly about the person who emigrates. But yeah. I personally think it’s better. More dynamic.’’

She thinks that there are not many cultural differences between herself and young people abroad. The same subcultures can be found everywhere. And the internet is making it possible for everybody to follow the same trends. If there is a difference, she sees it as differences in world view.

‘‘ I think young people there aren’t as negative as we are. Young people here are frustrated and afraid. I think that I would love to be surrounded with people my own age with ideas and optimism, not stuck in a vicious circle of worry and negativity.’’

As far as globalisation is concerned, she believes that the biggest change in the world in the last 15-20 years is the internet.

‘‘Internet is the main source of information for young people everywhere. I doubt that people abroad still rely on television or press for information. Everything happens online, on social networks, YouTube. Everybody visits the same sites, and that’s why we all listen to the same things.’’

Despite of all this, she doesn’t believe there is such a thing as global culture. Instead, she calls it western mainstream that occasionally incorporates something from other cultural spaces.

She perceives the European Union as a big factor of the increase in youth migration but strictly from a bureaucratic perspective.

‘‘ Just take Erasmus. Young people are circulating. Barriers are being broken, it’s easier without borders, passports and visas. But it’s still strictly bureaucratic .I don’t believe there is such a thing as a European citizen yet.’’

9.3 Interviewee nr. 3

The third interviewee is 26 year old Filip, who has a master's degree in journalism and is working part time in a magazine in Zagreb. He is contemplating emigrating for mostly pragmatic reasons. He would rather stay in Croatia, but if his struggles to find regular employment continue, emigration is a serious option. " I'm thinking about it because I can't find a job with the degree I have. I'm not picky, but the jobs just aren't there. I could maybe find some manual labour, but nothing in my field of choice. "

He identifies lack of work as the major motivator behind the growing numbers of emigrating youth.

"I think that it's because of the lack of any kind of work primarily, and secondary because of the possibility of a better payment abroad. I think it's a problem, especially for students of social sciences. People who have finished technical colleges can find a job here as well I think, but they leave because of the bigger salaries. Young people just can't get a job, except for 2400 kn, but that's just for a year. And then what? What's the perspective?"

As he said he would like to stay in Croatia. If he was to emigrate, it would like it to be to a Mediterranean country, as similar to Croatia as possible.

"I'd like to work as a journalist if it was possible, but not necessarily. I would eventually go wherever there's work. But if I could choose, it would be France or Spain or some other Mediterranean country. You know, where drinking coffee in the sun is a tradition. Climate and the way of life are important to me. I think that people in Germany or the UK work more. I believe people migrate to places with different living cultures have a problem adjusting. It's a big factor for me."

Although he would prefer to stay, paradoxically he doesn't feel he is rooted in Croatia forever. For Filip, it's more about habits and inertia. If he was to emigrate, he feels it would not be worthwhile if he couldn't build a similar life there. His move would not be temporary.

"If I leave and build a life in a another country, than coming back to Croatia would be like a new emigration"

He feels life's somehow better abroad. Although he is not naive and recognizes that there are problems everywhere, and that the places he would consider emigrating to aren't exactly the best examples of prospering economies, he still feels they are better for an average person. He feels that the adjustment period, would be difficult, but after about six months everything would be fine.

“I think I could assimilate. These cultures aren’t so different that I would have to feel like a stranger or something.”

He doesn’t see a big difference between young people from Croatia and abroad. He acknowledges that perhaps there are minimal differences, but as he puts it, there are differences in the way of life among people from different regions within the same country, and he doesn’t see the differences between people from different countries in Europe to be any more significant than those. The cultural differences between nations were bigger in the past, but have shrunk in the past few decades. The big reason behind this is globalization and especially, the internet.

“I think internet is a big factor, the information available. A movie comes out at the same time in Spain and Croatia now. More Books are being translated. Even learning the language is easier with the help of internet. And even without knowing the language, people can learn, read, study, know more about the world. There are student exchange programs available, it’s easier to travel. So yeah. It think all of this has an effect.”

On the other hand, the role of European Union in youth migration is seen as purely bureaucratic.

“Well yeah, one of the basic ideas is mobility. A lot of countries closed their markets to us, but a lot of them haven’t. So it’s definitely easier. At least in a technical way. It’s easier to get work permits and such.”

On the other hand, he finds the Unions cultural and ideological effect on the continents cultural space surprisingly bad. He feels like a European citizen, but the Union has nothing to do with it, and he would feel European even if he lived in a non- member country because he shares the European cultural heritage. European Union has not succeeded in the creation of common political identity.

“ The policy of the European Union, economic and other, has aided in the creation of many radical right wing parties, that have completely different ideologies and views than those of the European Union. These parties aren’t marginal any more. In France they are a leading party in some polls. I think that mistakes in European policy contributed to their rise in recent years.”

9.4 Interviewee nr. 4

The following interviewee is Petra, a 23 year old girl from Ljubuški, a student of politology at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Zagreb. Petra's main reason for wanting to emigrate is the lack of job opportunities and the general state of the Croatian economy that await her after graduation.

“ It's becoming worse and worse day by day. It's pretty clear that there are no real opportunities for the young folk, neither for finding work, nor for education or advancement.”

She feels that, although the situation isn't the best even abroad at the moment, it's still better there than at home. Even if the job opportunities aren't that much better, at least there are some, and at least the societies of Western Europe are less plagued with nepotism, corruption and crime. Because of all this, she perceives emigration as challenge she would like to try.

“ I don't know. It's a challenge I guess. I have nothing to lose here. I want it for the experience. It would give me opportunities I could never have here.”

The places she is considering as possible destinations are Netherlands and Germany. She perceives them as stabile societies with strong foundations in “European values”. She would like to have a clear plan of action when emigrating, in the sense of a job, an internship or doctoral programme waiting for her.

“ If I were forced to, I would go abroad and wash dishes. Do any kind of job. But right now, I'm just looking for some kind of an opportunity.”

Petra doesn't feel rooted in Croatia in any way and believes that if she emigrated, it would be forever. She perceives life there to be quite similar to life in Croatia, with maybe some differences in the way people treat each other. Cultural differences are minimal. She would feel like a stranger, but she doesn't see this as a particular obstacle. She feels she would have the same rights and opportunities as everybody else. The societies she is attracted to are open and encourage social mobility. She appreciates their long lasting democratic traditions and liberty. She feels she could fit very well in such a society. She believes people there are not culturally very different, but slightly different from Croats.

“ I think they are slightly different. They are perhaps more cultured, pleasant to each other. They go to the theatre more, go to the cinema, do sports and take better care of themselves and others.”

She thinks globalisation is a big factor in the rising numbers of emigrating youth.

‘ ‘ It definitely has a big influence. We just know more than the generations before us. Now, you can practically walk through the world using Google Earth. So it’s easier for us to learn to move and to adjust afterwards. ’ ’

The European Union is again seen as a simply a bureaucratic facilitator to the new wave of youth migrants. In the cultural, social and political sense, it is failing because of its constant spreading to new countries. The term European citizen is also still a dead term.

‘ ‘ I think something like a European citizen exists just nominally. It is not in people’s minds yet. At least not in the new member states. ’ ’

9.5 Interviewee nr. 5

The fifth interviewee is Marina, a 24-year old student of the Croatian language at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb. Marina feels that moving abroad would allow her to develop herself professionally in a way that wouldn’t be possible if she stayed at home. The main motivation here is not money, but the opportunities she could have abroad. She is interested in a long term migration, but she isn’t ruling out the possibility of returning to Croatia. The biggest obstacle young people face in Croatia is again unemployment, and a period spent abroad could be helpful in this regard. She feels that experiences gained abroad are appreciated by the employers.

‘ ‘ I don’t know. It’s just my experience. People who had worked or studied abroad get jobs easier. Maybe we (Croats) have a complex or something... ’ ’

She believes finding employment is easier abroad, at least in the countries she identifies as attractive to young people, Germany, Sweden and Ireland. Marina’s destinations of choice are New Zealand and Berlin. She is drawn to New Zealand because she admires their nature and likes what she has heard about the mentality of the people. Berlin would be her European destination because she would only move to a place where she speaks the language, and likes what the city has to offer.

‘ ‘ Berlin would offer me a lot of possibilities, to explore all those places, all those museums, I’m interested in all of that and want to see it all. But not just like a tourist. I’d like to have it all in my backyard. I’d like to build a life there, friends, love, everything. ’ ’

Although she speaks about her daydreams of working as a cherry picker in New Zealand, Marina plans to look for a job in her field of choice when emigrating. As a future teacher of the Croatian language, she believes she could easily find work in Germany.

“ Well I’ve heard that there is a need for teachers of the Croatian language in Croatian schools there. As we are now a member of the EU, our language is also one of the official languages in the Union, so there will be a need for Croatian language teachers, at colleges or in other institutions.”

She thinks it would be somewhat hard to adjust to a life in a new country, specifically, it would be hard for her to adjust to German work ethics. She wouldn’t feel like a foreigner though, because “almost everybody is a stranger there, so nobody is.” She believes young people are mostly the same everywhere, and the differences there are, are a product of the environments they come from.

“Maybe our views of the world are the same, but I think they are more involved in some ways. I think the city forces them to be this way, to be quicker, to react to their surroundings...it’s the environment I think.”

Marina sees globalisation as a big factor in both cultural movements in Europe and the increased migration as well.

“ It binds us together. There is no national art, national culture any more. It’s all a part of common western culture now. We all watch the same films, listen to the same music... Maybe that’s why Berlin seems so close to me.”

On the other hand, the role of European Union in youth migration is reduced to a simply a bureaucratic tool that facilitates migration, with no real political, ideological or cultural effects.

9.6 Interviewee nr. 6

Nikša is a 25- year- old unemployed graphic designer from Zagreb. Nikša is currently looking for work but is able to find just part time-projects. The opportunities for permanent employment are scarce and Nikša is considering emigration as a possible solution to his problems, as he feels that getting a job is sort of a lottery, and even if he manages to find work he will not have the kind of future he wants for himself.

“ It’s hard to get a job if you don’t have connections. I don’t think that’s the case abroad. You get what you’re worth. The money’s no good here, and even if you get the job you don’t have a clear future. It seems like a crappy life. You work for a company and never get to advance. You can’t try anything on your own if you don’t have the capital. Everybody I know who is employed is paid really low. Barely enough to go to the seaside in the summer. And we’re not twelve any more, vacations and drinks are not the top of the world anymore, you know.”

If he could choose where he would emigrate to, it would be to Berlin. He is convinced that he would be able to get a job in his field and be paid considerably better than in Zagreb. The second reason is the nightlife which he finds very important for a lifestyle he wants to live. Another is because Berlin is the music scene. Nikša plays guitar in a rock and roll band and music is very important to him.

“ I’d like to achieve something in music also, and Berlin has a great scene. What Portland stands for in America right now, Berlin stands for in Europe. There are a million bands, million good bands, million studios. Here there are only there’s recording studios. The scene is just bigger and you can actually make a living by creating music. Here you can barely survive, and again you have to have connections if you want to do music.”

If he moved to Berlin he wouldn’t consider coming back ever. He doesn’t think assimilating would be a problem. The biggest change for him would probably be the fact that “they work more”, but he wouldn’t mind making his work his life if he got the chance to do something he truly loves. He wouldn’t feel like a stranger because he imagines Berlin to be an accepting multi-cultural metropolis. He doesn’t speak German, but it wouldn’t be a problem either.

“ I don’t speak German, but that wouldn’t be a problem either. I know a dude that worked for three companies there without speaking the language. Berlin is a multi-cultural city, everything can be done in English. At least in creative fields.”

In his experience there are no cultural differences between young people from Berlin and Croatia.

‘‘ Whenever I’ve met foreigners, they are exactly like us. In seven different cities I’ve met seven different versions of my clique. The same jokes, the same music, the same websites. There’s really no difference.’’

He thinks that globalisation is one of the biggest reason why young people all around the world are more and more alike. He believes cultural differences have become just a part of a national folklore without real substance.

As for the role of the European Union in the recent boom of youth migration, Nikša feels that it is a factor, but only in the formal and not the cultural sense. He feels that European identity is still a work in progress and that regions (Scandinavia, the Balkans...) are the identifying terms for most Europeans.

9.7 Interviewee nr. 7

Lana is a 23- year- old student of design on the Faculty of Architecture in Zagreb. Much like the previous participant, Lana is considering emigrating because of the lack of job opportunities in her field in Zagreb. It’s not just the lack of work that’s bothering Lana, but also the way the field of her study is treated in the job-market.

‘‘ Because of the possibilities that exist abroad. And because of the way design is treated in Croatia. Here people don’t take designers seriously. Everyone thinks they can be designers, and consider you to be simply the person that is fulfilling their wishes. I think that elsewhere designers are treated with respect as experts in their field, and they have much more freedom in their work.’’

She would like to immigrate to the Netherlands specifically because this country is the place to be if you are s designer. There are also certain factors outside work that attract her to the Netherlands.

‘‘It’s mostly about work, but I think life’s better in other areas also. I don’t know. It’s more cultured, I guess. There are a lot of different things going on that are interesting to me.’’

Lana has travelled to the Netherlands a couple of times and even speaks a little bit of the language, as she has studied it for a year before changing to design. Despite of all of this, she still has concerns

“ It was interesting because it’s a different life. They are really strong in the field of graphic design, so it’s kind of a thrill to be there. On the other hand, everything seems so slow, and people aren’t as open as people here. Life’s better in some way. For instance, when you finish some kind of art school the state pays you a year to allow you to have freedom to establish yourself as an artist. On the other hand people seem to be withdrawn somehow, they spend more time at home, social life is focused on the indoors. I don’t know if I could picture myself there in for the long run.”

Despite of all these concerns, Lana doesn’t think she would feel like a foreigner or have a problem assimilating. She contributes this to the fact that the Netherlands is a multi-cultural society. She feels that, beyond habits and mentality, there are no specific cultural differences between her and other young people in Amsterdam or Eindhoven.

“ I think I’m not different from them. I think young people everywhere have common interests. I think it’s a part of globalisation. Today we’re all constantly connected, with the internet and everything. We know what’s going on everywhere. I think it’s only natural that our interests ware alike.”

She feels that the cultural changes caused by globalisation can be seen even in the field of design.

“I think that there is a trend of merging of aesthetics. It’s more or less the same everywhere, with some small differences. At least, when we talk about the visual culture. I don’t know much about other branches of art.”

9.8 Interviewee nr.8

Matea is a 24- year-old and has recently graduated in the field of web programming in the “Theničko Veleučilište Zagreb” but is currently working part-time as a waitress. Matea’s reasons for contemplating leaving Croatia are similar to other participants. She is struggling to find work in her chosen field and is forced to work in a bar to earn an allowance. Although

the situation on the job market is her main concern, she is also bothered with the political situation in Croatia.

“ It’s the unemployment, we’re all forced to live with our parents. Some laws in Croatia, as well, this whole thing with ‘ In the name of the Family’” association, it shows this way of backward thinking that’s still present in Croatia. We’re still light years away from Europe. It just makes me want to leave the country. Europe is much more open-minded, less conservative. A lot of people in Croatia still live in the past. I think young people have had enough of this constant bickering between the two main political forces. Young people want change, they are fed up with everything and that’s why they leave”

Despite of all that, she plans to emigrate only temporarily. Matea wishes she could leave for a couple of years to earn some money and gain useful experience before eventually returning to Croatia. Besides material and financial reasons, she would like to be closer to cultural events like music festivals she enjoys. When choosing a destination, she prefers countries in the South of Europe.

“ As far as the weather is concerned, I wouldn’t like to live where it’s cold. It’s the social life that attracts me to countries like Spain and Portugal. It’s also the mentality of people there. I’m not used to just leaving work without going for a cup of coffee with my co-workers. This social note is very important to me and I wouldn’t like to live in a country with a very different lifestyle.”

She believes that life there is similar, but better. When she says life there is better, she is referring to the way her profession is seen, and the possibility to be independent at a younger age than in Croatia. Most of the information comes from her friends who have been to Portugal and Spain as a part of student exchange programmes. She herself has visited to Spain and is planning a trip to Portugal. She feels she wouldn’t have a problem adapting to life there. She doesn’t speak the language but doesn’t consider it to be a big problem. She could find work only speaking English.

“ It wouldn’t be a big adjustment. I think the mentality of people there is very similar to the mentality in Croatia. I wouldn’t feel like a foreigner for long, at the beginning sure, but not for a long time.”

She thinks there is no distinct cultural difference between young people around the world, and acknowledges the role globalisation had in this.

‘‘ The way they spend their time is the same as us, hangingout, clubbing and stuff. We’re being filled with the same content so we consider the same things normal.’’

9.9 Interviewee nr. 9

The ninth interviewee is Aleksandar, a 25- year-old student of engineering from Zagreb. Aleksandar is considering leaving Croatia because he feels that he would be able to have a better career abroad. He figures that by leaving he would have a chance to do better financially and work and bigger, more interesting projects in his field. Aleksandar shares a dim view of the situation young people in Croatia are in with a lot of the other participants.

‘‘ We’re underpaid. There’s a lot of us who finish college and then have to make do with any kind of work. Not to mention the ones who can’t find work at all. Considering all, if you have family abroad or any kind of chance to leave, why not? It can’t be worse than here.’’

When thinking about where to emigrate, Aleksandar takes different factors in consideration. He is curious and would like to see the world and live in an international metropolis. He doesn’t have a specific destination, but the favourites are England and the US or Moscow as he speaks Russian and English, although it wouldn’t be a problem to him to migrate to any country in Western Europe. The biggest obstacle to migration for him is loneliness and the biggest difference would be the approach to work.

‘‘ There are thousands of examples of how the market is brutal in America for instance, more competitive. Eight hour work days are a joke by their standards. You work for at least ten hours. Break not included.’’

Aleksandar feels that the adjustment to the new surroundings would be hard once the initial excitement is over. It depends on where he migrates, but he believes that he would feel like a stranger and would be viewed like one. That would especially be the case if he was to move to Russia, because he has heard a lot of stories about how immigrants are treated badly there. Aleksandar himself wouldn’t have a problem assimilating to the new customs. He doesn’t

view young people abroad as very different to young people in Croatia, but he does see some differences.

‘‘It’s hard to talk about big differences today when we live in a globalised world. But it is interesting that, for instance, young people here tend to stay at home for a long time and young people abroad move out of their parent’s house at a very young age. Young people in Croatia are insecure and pessimistic. And I think young people abroad are more for capitalist consumer culture than us.’’

He believes that the process of globalisation was accelerated not only by technology, but also by the fall of communism. In today’s world almost everyone is brought up within the same ideological system so everybody develops the same concepts of the world and the same habits, with minimal differences in behaviour being.

As for the role of the European Union in the recent boom of youth migration, like a lot of the other participants, Aleksandar sees it as purely bureaucratic, without any ideological or a substantial cultural impact.

9.10 Interviewee nr. 10

The final interviewee is Iva, 28years old, from Valpovo, currently working part-time as a legal advisor in a non-government organisation in Zagreb. Unlike other participants of the study, Iva has some previous experience with emigration, having spent three months working as a babysitter in Ireland. She chose to work as babysitter despite having a degree in law.

‘‘ After I’d finished school and passed the state exam, I couldn’t find any kind of work in the part of the country I come from. There were simply no jobs. So I went to Ireland to babysit for several months. I was also supposed to help the man I was babysitting for with some projects he was working on. And I wanted to see Ireland too. When would I ever have the chance otherwise?’’

After returning from Ireland she moved from Slavonija to Zagreb, but has been able to find only part-time work. Her view of the situation in Croatia is extremely critical and she is considering emigrating for good.

“ You get a college degree, you put five, six, seven years into this, and then you can’t get a job in your field. It’s come to the point where you can’t find work even if you’re willing to do anything. You can’t get a job as a waitress. The economy is a disaster. And a lot of young people think that they will be able to earn a lot of money abroad easily. That’s a mistake too. A lot of them set off and go without a plan and end up returning home. You can’t go without a clear plan. ”

Iva believes young people tend to migrate because they perceive countries in the West of Europe as a kind of a promised land where all of their problems will be solved. Every migrant’s story of success is an invitation to migrate. On the other hand, her motives for migration, are not just to “make lots of money”.

“ I would also like to see as much as possible while I still can. I’d like to see the world and gain new experiences. You can find more culture and possibilities in bigger centres. I’m interested in writing and literature. There’s a lot of interesting stuff going on abroad. ”

Although she could work in different areas, if she could chose, she would like to work in social services. She speaks English and German, but doesn’t think language would be a significant obstacle to getting a job even if she moved to other countries. It is possible to do certain jobs almost everywhere if you spoke just English. Iva believes she would be able to assimilate easily, as she already has experiences with travelling and changing cities. She doesn’t feel culturally that much different from young people abroad.

“ Not a lot. I think there’s not much difference. Today we have access to a lot of information. Through the media and the internet. Everything is at our fingertips. I don’t see what could makes as different. ”

She sees globalisation as a significant factor in the process of migration.

“ The world has changed. It’s a lot faster now. You can’t just finish school and be like ok, that’s it I’m doing that. You have to learn new things all the time, you need new experiences if you’re going to be good at what you do. A lot of people simply outgrow Croatia. ”

On the other hand, European Union is again seen as simply a legal facilitator, but not a cultural or ideological factor in the process of migration.

10 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The initial hypothesis behind this research is that the nature of migration has changed, with the motives shifting from strictly economic ones toward cultural and social ones. Although the question why they want to leave Croatia is almost always followed with a tirade about the ruined economy, corruption, nepotism and a conclusion that it is practically impossible to find a job, this has been proved to be true. The participants unilaterally expressed their dissatisfaction with the situation on the work market. They blame this situation on crooked politicians and a corrupt system. Their view of the future in Croatia is largely pessimistic. All of this noted, they aren't ready to give up their goals. All of them have ambitions that go far beyond simply getting a job and be able to sustain. Their goals are to create careers in their respective branches, to develop themselves professionally as one of the participants said. The choice of destination is in large part a product of those goals. None of them seem to have an imperative need to leave in order to survive. These aren't stereotypical "Gastarbeiter" going away to work in construction or be waitresses. If someone wants to migrate to Berlin, it is not simply because there are more job opportunities there. It is more important what those opportunities are and what kind of a life can these opportunities lead to. It is also important that there is a vibrant music scene in Berlin or that there are more galleries and museums in Paris. It seems that their ambitions, goals and lives that they have envisioned for themselves have emigrated abroad even before they started thinking of leaving. Their intention of migration has come neither explosively nor suddenly. Their goals and ambitions are a part of the slow-building process of motivation for migration that lasted for years before the decision was induced by the financial crisis. For example, one of the participants talks about how his ambitions are to cover the English football league as a reporter. Another talks about how big of a thrill it is to be in the Netherlands because of the great and vibrant design scene. Both of them express a great dissatisfaction with current situation in Croatia, the lack of job opportunities, corruption in the highest ranks of government and general despair of youth. They are quick to state that these are the causes for contemplating of leaving Croatia. At the same time, when they talk about interests, desires and goals, they are clearly reaching far beyond Croatian borders. These dreams, wishes and desires have been cultivated long before the beginning of the crisis, during their education and formative years and are now manifesting as their wish to emigrate. This decision is as much, if not more, conditioned by their social and cultural identities and appetites as it is by financial crisis.

This all falls well within the theory of Mežnarić that forced migration is a synergic process, where the migratory decision builds slowly without the migrant being aware of it and comes

to realisation with an unplanned event. The wave of youth migration the participants of this study are about to join, although sudden, is not unpredictable. The event that has lit the wick and started the explosion is the financial crisis and dissatisfaction with the situation on the job markets it brought with, but the process that has led to the wish to emigrate, globalisation has started to affect their lives much earlier. Castels and Miller wrote as early as 1993 that globalisation will “spread the social and cultural spectral of migration”. This turned out to be more than true in this case. Globalisation has thoroughly changed the world and thus changed the nature of migration along the way. All of the participants, when asked about it admit that certain aspects of globalisation have are a big factor in their point of views. They identify the influence of globalisation through access to the same information as people all over the world and the ability to communicate and exchange information in real time. All of us are exposed to the same content and we have the possibility to connect with others, with similar interests and ideas without regard to actual space. This has created a sort of unified transnational form of culture at least in the “West”. It is the culture of common denominators, a culture in which ideas, information, worldviews and ideologies flow freely and are being shared among people to the point where we have the same or similar habits, lifestyles, wishes and ideas everywhere. Cultural differences are small, symbolic and getting more and more insignificant. Global culture has transcended even language. Participants don’t see language as a significant obstacle to migrating, they believe they can go anywhere and do anything using only English (this may be naïve but it is the way they dominantly perceive the world). In the world that is or is becoming more or less culturally unified, migration, especially migration of the young and the educated gains new meaning. The age of information and global consumerism gave us a plethora of choices and these choices have become our points of identification. We don’t root for our local football team on Sunday afternoons. We sit in bars watching English or German teams filled with international stars on television and choose the ones we identify with. A football club from North London becomes our own, and it belongs to our identities as much as it belongs to the identities of people actually living in North London. The same thing is happening with migration. We choose what we want to do, what we like and value, what we want to be surrounded with and what we want our lives to look like. We choose these things based on the images of what we think we are offered in life. When what we see is not compatible with those images we simply move. In a way, we become Berliners or New Yorkers a long time before we actually emigrate. And the change isn’t dramatic, we aren’t scared, there is nothing stopping us. We know very well where we are going to and what to expect. Or at least we think we do. We have already been there in our

minds. We have already seen it, we have literally walked these streets with the help of Google Maps.

As the participants describe it, the world, at least culturally, really fits Friedman's description of a flat world. The participants don't consider themselves to be culturally different from the young people from western countries. They believe they are basically the same, have the same interests, the same habits and the same problems. The differences they do mention, are only the positive ones. These cultural differences aren't seen as obstacles but as advantages of migration. For example, they may believe people in the West have better work ethic, are less worried, more decisive, polite, organised and so on. All of these qualities are the qualities the participants want to see in themselves and want to be surrounded with in their everyday lives. Participants have a perspective that life abroad is better, that they would be appreciated and successful in such an environment. In a way, they feel that they are already belong a part of it. All of this makes the move and adjustment that much easier.

On the other hand, the 'pull' towards migration, as in the push-pull model of migration, is also not exclusively economic in essence, but rather shifts towards cultural reasons. Even though the world is culturally flat from a personal point of view, there are 'spikes' as Florida calls them, epicentres of this Western or global culture. Whether it is because of the lifestyle, weather, nightlife, sports leagues, multiculturalism or something else, the pull towards a destination is always connected with cultural content the participants want to be exposed to. For them, place utility Nichols writes about, is not about the benefits of the job markets but about lifestyles they could have. None of them are considering migrating to a remote or small place in Sweden where they would be able to easily find work. All of them want to live in big cities, global metropolis where they could reach their professional goals and also see and experience different things. A large part of their motivation lies in curiosity. They seek new experiences and want different lifestyles. Whether they want to live and work in different environment or they don't want to lose the coffee drinking siesta lifestyle they cherish, culture is always a factor in the decision making process. Their intention is not to leave simply in order to earn money and provide for themselves, they want to build a life, and have a clear vision of what their life would be, where they would build it and why. Some want to live in a society with better social privileges, some want to be surrounded by a budding music scene, some by art galleries and museums, others by different contents according to their interests, but all of them are looking for a very specific lifestyle, a lifestyle they imagined some time before the economic crisis damaged the opportunities at home.

The European Union, from the perspectives of the participants, has mostly a secondary bureaucratic role in the migration process. Although the participants recognize EU as a great technical facilitator of migration, they do not see it as having a significant cultural or ideological effect on the process of migration. We don't need visas and we can get work permits and enrol on colleges easier, but that's about it. The terms like "European citizens" simply don't exist in the minds of the participants yet. They don't identify with the European Union nor do they believe the project of unified Europe has created a singular identity or has a significant effect in the European cultural space. European legislature on migration helps young Croats travel and re-locate, but it doesn't seem to change their perceptions or effect their sense of identity. This may be caused by the fact that Croatia is the youngest member state and a young state in general, still struggling with its own national identity and a place in the world. A politicized entry process and general scepticism towards another political integration, after the bloody dismemberment of former Yugoslavia, stand in the way of a stronger identification with the EU.

11 CONCLUSION

The theme of this thesis are the cultural changes caused by globalisation within the phenomenon of youth migration. The proposed hypothesis is that because of these changes the motives behind youth migration have moved from strictly economic one to cultural and social ones. The goal of this thesis is to describe the phenomenon of youth migration today, present the changes within the process and explain the factors that have changed it and how. The thesis is focused on youth in Croatia.

It consists of two basic parts: the theoretical one and the empirical one. In the theoretical part, the thesis presents relevant literature on youth migration, from the statistics on youth migration, the patterns of migration within the European Union, the development in the EU legislative on migration. It examines the effect cultural changes have had on the process of youth migration and the phenomenon of brain drain.

Migration is one of the basic demographic phenomena. The simplest theoretical explanation of migration is the push- pull mode. The main notion of this model is that migration occurs when the benefits of a new destinations or disruptive factors at home outweigh the wish to stay around. There have been different paradigms in the research of migration regarding the predictability of migratory waves. The latest wave of migration has been jumpstarted by the financial and economic crisis in 2008. It is marked by the increase of young and educated migrants. Although the event that started the wave is an economic crisis, and it could be very easily described as a wave of economic migration, there are several important factors that make this wave complex in regards to the factors that affected the migratory decision, at least within the EU. There are two dominant factors that affected the migratory process in this recent wave of migration within the European cultural space: globalisation and the EU. The process of globalisation has levelled the cultural playing field, creating a ‘culture of common denominators’. Young people regardless of national borders, have access to the same information and the same cultural content at the same time. They develop the same habits and behavioural patterns. This makes it easier to assimilate in another country and to be drawn to certain places that possess the greatest cultural benefits because they are less culturally rooted in their native country. On the other hand, the European Union has been focused on creating a unified European labour market out of demographic necessity. The unification of labour markets is done through legislature and ideological, political and cultural unification that would result in the creation of European identity among the workers of Europe.

The empirical part of the thesis provides the context and the statistics for youth migration in Croatia and a small qualitative research on the motives behind the decision to migrate within young people from Croatia.

The research consists of ten in- depth interviews with young Croats within the age group from 23 to 28. In the interviews participants answered a series of questions on what drives them to emigrate, what they are looking to gain, what the cultural benefits and obstacles to migration are, their perceptions on life abroad and the effects globalisation and the European Union have on the culture of migration today. The interviews are presented as case-studies and analysed collectively.

The analysis concludes that the cultural effects of globalisation have in fact changed the very nature of youth migration. The decision to migrate is a product of the participant’s wishes and not the bare imminent necessity. They are not migrating in order to provide for themselves but in order to develop themselves professionally and have a certain lifestyle they long for. The

financial benefits of migration are recognized but are almost always secondary. Globalisation not only changed the cultural landscape and diminished the cultural differences between nations or regions but also created a sort of a culture of common denominators, especially among the youth. The participants don't consider themselves culturally very different from young people from the countries they want to move to. They don't believe that assimilation will be a problem. They choose their destination with care and take different cultural and social factors in consideration. They are motivated by a variety of different reasons, with the financial benefits being just one of them.

12 POVZETEK MAGISTRSKEGA DELA V SLOVENSKEM JEZIKU

Tema tega magistrskega dela so kulturne spremembe ki vplivajo na fenomen migracij mladih na Hrvaškem. Teza raziskovanja je , da ekonomski motivi za migracijo mladih nadomeščajo kulturni in drugi družbeni motivi , ter da so razlogi za to spremembo v kulturnih vplivih procesa globalizacije. Delo sestoji iz teoretičnega in empiričnega dela. V teoretičnem delu so predstavljeni ustrezna literatura in podatki literatura o obsegu emigracije mladih od začetka finančne krize, samem fenomenu migracije, vlogi kulture v procesu migracije, vlogi globalizacije pri ustvarjanju globalne kulture in njenem vplivu na proces globalizacije, razvoju EU zakonodaje o migracijah ter o fenomenu "bega možganov". Empirično delo je obsegalo deset globinskih intervjujev z mladimi Hrvati, ki so izrekli željo za emigracijo. Intervjuji se dotikajo njihovih razlogov za migracijo, ciljev, ki jih želijo doseči z emigracijo ter njihovo dožemanje kulture v celotnem procesu.

V zadnjih letih je finančna kriza pustila sledi na trgih dela po vsej Evropi. Brezposelnost je prisotna povsod, posebej na jugu kontinenta, ki je najtežje prizadet s krizo. Hrvaška, s 45% brezposelnih mladih, ni izjema. Takšna situacija je postavila temelje novem velikem valu migracije. Kakor tudi v mnogih državah s podobnim problemom, je emigracija mladih postala ena izmed ključnih točk javnega diskurza.

Vsaka kriza, družbena, naravna ali kot v tem primeru, ekonomska, prinaša s seboj rast migracij. " Kriza brezposelnosti mladih je porinila milijone mladih k odločitvi, da emigrirajo s ciljem, da popravijo možnosti pri iskanju dela. Večina išče priložnost v mestnem okolju v svoji državi ali pa se odloči za odhod v tujino" (UN world youth report 1, 2013). Mladi so tako postali ena izmed največjih skupin med imigranti. Nove presoje DESA-e poudarjajo, da bi proti sredini 2010-ih globalno število migrantov, v skupini med 15 in 24 let, moralo biti okrog 27 milijonov ter bi tako tvorili eno osmino vseh migrantov.

Ti trendi so vidni tudi med mladimi Hrvati. Število emigrantov značilno raste vsako leto od začetka krize, od 7.500 2008. leta do 12.700 v 2011. letu, najpogostejša skupina pa so mladi med 24. in 34. letom.

Na podlagi teh podatkov, se lahko reče, da je najnovejši val migracij povzročen z ekonomskimi razlogi. To je lahko res toda obstajajo številni drugi dejavniki, katere je treba upoštevati, kadar se analizirajo migracije danes. Trenutni val migracije se dogaja v kulturno bistveno drugačnem svetu od preteklih obdobj, ki so bila označena z velikim obsegom migracij. Globalizacija je fenomen, ki je radikalno spremenil svet v zadnjih nekaj desetletij. Ni se spremenil samo videz sveta, temveč tudi točka, iz katere ga opazujemo. Vse to je vplivalo na migracije mladih. Zaradi sprememb v kulturnem prostoru so migracije postale enostavnejše in lažje kot kdajkoli prej.

Migracije so eden od osnovnih demografskih fenomenov. Obstajajo različne paradigme o tem fenomenu v sociološki znanost. Osnovna vprašanja na katera znanstveniki poskušajo odgovoriti je, kako pride do migracij, kaj jim prehodi in, glede na podane teoretične odgovore, ali so migracije predvidljive, ali se dogajajo ciklično ali pa so izzvane z nepredvidljivimi zunanjimi dejavniki ter se odražajo kot demografske eksplozije.

Obstajata dva teoretična in analitična pogleda na migracije. Prvi pristop obravnava migracije kot eksplozivni fenomen "novega vala". Drugi obravnava migracije kot dolgotrajni, ciklični proces gibanja ljudi skozi prostor. Prvi pristop vidi migracije kot nepredvidljive, zaradi nepredvidljivosti ekonomskih, političnih in drugih okoliščin, ki jim prehodijo. Po drugem so migracije delno predvidljive skozi opazovanje previdno izbranih "družbenih in demografskih pravilnosti v dolgotrajnem, cikličnem nadziranju migracij" (Le Bras, 2003, 73–74). Če se vzame, da je edini odločilni razlog za zadnji val migracij ekonomska kriza, se ga lahko prikaže kot primer "eksplozivne narave migracij". Vendar, številni drugi faktorji imajo vlogo v procesu, ki mu je prehodil, največ razvoj EU in kulturni učinki globalizacije.

Niti ena analiza migracij na evropskem kontinentu ni popolna brez analize vloge EU v celotnem procesu. Še od začetka veljavnosti Amsterdamskega sporazuma 1999., ima Evropska unija veliko vlogo v regulaciji migracij v Evropi. Izvajanje skupne migracijske politike, ne le iz perspektive varnosti, kontrole meja in politike izdajanja viz, temveč tudi v smislu ustvarjanja politike notranje mobilnosti v EU je postalo je eden izmed ključnih ciljev evropske zakonodaje. Ta cilj EU politike je zelo povezan z željo Evropske unije, da ustvari enotni evropski trg dela. Ustvarjanje skupnega trga dela skozi omogočanje lažje in bolj enostavne migracije naredi EU bolj odporno na sedanjo in na prihodnje finančne krize. Takšna politika je zelo olajšala in pomagala začeti trenutne val migracij.

Globalizacija, ki je s seboj povlekla revolucijo v tehnologiji, je omogočila, da so iste informacije dostopne po celem svetu. Glede na to, da so iste informacije in proizvodi dostopni vsepovsod, so se razlike med kulturami začele zmanjševati, zmanjšujoč pri tem kulturne ovire za migracije. Čeprav globalizacija ni nov proces, in zmanjšuje svet že več stoletij, je hiter razvoj tehnologije, posebej interneta, še bolj poudaril kulturni učinek celotnega procesa. Proces globalizacije je vedno omogočal prostor za medkulturno komunikacijo. Danes se, ta prostor za medkulturno komunikacijo zdi večji in pomembnejši kot katerikoli posamezni kulturni prostor. Različni kulturni prostori so toliko povezani, da so razlike med njimi postale le simbolične. Kraji, ki privlačijo največ mladih migrantov, so prav prostori globalizirane kulture, kot sta London ali Berlin.

Rezultati intervjujev so potrdili postavljene teze. Anketiranci trdijo, da so motivirani s krizo, toda istočasno, kadar govorijo o svojih željah, ciljih in interesih, razmišljajo daleč izven meja Hrvaške. Te sanje, želje in cilji so oblikovani daleč pred samim začetkom krize, tekom njihovih formativnih let in šolanja, sedaj pa se manifestirajo kot želja po emigraciji. Odločitev za odhod je pogojena z enako in celo več z njihovimi kulturnimi identitetami in apetiti, kolikor s samo finančno krizo. Val migracij mladih, kateremu se anketiranci želijo priključiti, čeprav impulziven, ni nepredvidljiv. Dogodek, ki je prižgal ogenj je zagotovo finančna kriza, toda sama tendenca k emigraciji je nastala veliko prej. Castels in Miller sta pisala že 1993. leta o tem, da bo globalizacija razširila "družbeni in kulturni spekter migracij". V tem primeru se je to pokazalo kot resnično. Globalizacija je temeljito spremenila svet, mimogrede je spremenila tudi naravo procesa migracij. Vsi anketiranci priznavajo delovanje aspektov globalizacije kot pomemben dejavnik pri svojih odločitvah. Vpliv globalizacije identificirajo skozi dostop do informacij in možnost, da komunicirajo z vsemi v svetu, brez omejitev. V svetu, ki postaja manj ali bolj kulturno združen, sam akt migracije ima popolnoma nov smisel.

Evropska unija, iz perspektive anketirancev v glavnem ima samo sekundarno birokratsko vlogo. Čeprav priznajo vlogo EU kot olajševalno v procesu migracije, ne vidijo unijo kot kulturni ali ideološki faktor v procesu.

Na osnovi analize smo zaključili, da so kulturni učinki globalizacije spremenili naravo migracij. Odlučitev za migracijo je proizvod želja in ciljev anketirancev, ne pa nujna potreba. Ne emigrirajo, da bi se prehranili niti rešili, temveč da bi se profesionalno razvili in imeli življenjski stil, kakršnega si želijo. Finančne koristi migracije so v glavnem sekundarne. Globalizacija ni le zmanjšala kulturne razlike, temveč je tudi sama ustvarila kulturo skupnih naslovnikov, posebej med mladimi. Anketiranci se ne doživljajo kot kulturno različni od mladih v državah, v katere želijo oditi. Kulturna asimilacija jim ne predstavlja problemov. Pozorno izbirajo destinacijo oziroma kraj, v kateregai želijo oditi in pri tem upoštevajo številne kulturne in družbene dejavnike, finance so pa samo eden od njih.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Framework for interview

1) Motives

- Why are you considering emigrating?
- What are the problems you are facing in Croatia?
- Why do you think emigration would solve those problems?
- What specifically attracts you towards emigration?

2) Destination

- Where would you want to emigrate to?
- What would you do there?
- What attracts you to that place?
- Have you ever been there?
- Do you speak the language?
- Would you stay there permanently?

3) Lifestyle

- How do you imagine your life there?
- Why do you prefer that lifestyle than the lifestyle you could have if you stayed?
- Would it be difficult to adjust?
- Would you feel like a foreigner?

4) Culture

- Do you think you are culturally different than young people there?
- If so, are these difference significant?
- How has globalisation affected these differences?
- How does globalisation affect culture?

5) EU

- What is the role of the EU in your migratory process?
- Do you feel like a European citizen?
- What does the term ‘European citizen mean to you’
- Do you feel the European Union promotes migration in any way?

APPENDIX B: Transcripts

Ispitanik broj 1

Josip Mihaljević, Osijek, 23 godine, student 1. godine magistarskog studija novinarstva, prvostupnik kulturologije.

Zašto razmišljaš o odlasku?

- Pa kao prvo mislim da se svaki čovjek rodi s željom da putuje... ono, da vidi svijeta, pa ima malo toga, znatiželje.. a i zato što se osjećam nezadovoljno ovdje.

Zašto se osjećaš nezadovoljno u Hrvatskoj?

- Mislim da je Hrvatska jedna od zemalja koja je najgore podnijela ovu krizu, iii da već ono ne znam, stagniramo u toj krizi. I da se onda povećava nezaposlenost. I nezadovoljstvo... Kao da tonemo i tonemo, mislim kao da smo u živom pijesku... Ne vidim tu neku budućnost, još pogotovo kada vidiš da je iz Osijeka samo prošle godine 3000 mladih ljudi otišlo u Irsku, ne znam koliko je otišlo drugdje, ali to sam negdje pročitao baš za Irsku, pa kad vidiš njih, čuješ iskustva, zapitaš se.

Misliš da im je vani bolje? Imaš li percepciju da je primjerice u Irskoj bolji život?

- Ne mislim da je vani univerzalno bolji život... ne mislim da je trava uvijek tamo zelenija... Ali postoje zemlje gdje je objektivno dokazano da je bolje....

Na što misliš kad kažeš da je vani "bolje"?

- Na životni standard.

U kojem smislu?

- Pa bolje si plaćen, iako su i cijene više, možeš i s minimalcem kvalitetno živjeti. Tu naprimjer s minimalnim primanjima samo čekaš da se nakupe dugovi pa da odeš u bankrot.

Kad već razmišljaš o odlasku, gdje bi želio ići i što bi volio tamo raditi?

- Volio bi otići u Englesku, zanimljiva mi je je zemlja, volio bi ju malo proputovati, istražiti i negdje se smjestiti. Ja studiram novinarstvo i volio bih nešto pisati. Zapravo volio bih pisati o njihovoj nogometnoj ligi, vidjeti te stadione, izvještavati...

Zašto bi volio ići baš u Englesku, zašto bi tamo htio graditi karijeru?

-Pa ne znam, volio bih biti sportski novinar, a oni imaju najbolju i najzanimljiviju nogometnu ligu i ja ju pratim. Ovdje mi recimo nikada ne bi palo na pamet otići na utakmicu. Ono što vidim na televiziji mi je toliko ružno da ne želim to vidjeti u živo. Ne znam... čini mi se da

tamo ima više emocije, više tradicije... Da je nekako ljepše, profesionalnije. Više odgovara slici nogometa koji zamišljaš....

Znači li to da je karijera koju želiš moguća vani a ne ovdje?

- Ma ne nužno. Ja želim biti sportski novinar i volio bih to raditi i ovdje. Samo mislim da bih tamo više uživao. Ovdje bih izvještavao s Gradskog vrta (stadion u Osijeku) (podsmijeh)

Govoriš li engleski jezik?

- Naravno.

Kada bi otišao, bi li ostao za stalno?

- Pa bih, to je sada jedna hipotetska situacija, ali bih.

Kakvu imaš predodžbu o životu u Engleskoj?

- Pa mislim da je bolji. Mislim, ne kažem da tamo nema problema, ni da bi odlaskom tamo svi moji problem bili riješeni. Mislim, maltene je isto, samo što je ono, bolje.

Kad kažeš bolje, na što misliš?

- Mislim na životni standard, na mogućnosti. Svaki dan bi imao pristup stvarima i događajima koje ovdje ne bih imao prilike vidjeti. Možda i bi, ali bi morao putovati do ne znam, Beča. U bilo kojih mjesec dana u Londonu bi sigurno imao prilike vidjeti stvari koje ovdje ne bih nikad. Na primjer koncerti, izložbe... što ja znam.

Misliš li da bi ti bilo teško prilagoditi se životu u Engleskoj?

- Ne mislim da bi mi bilo ništa teže nego da promijenim lokaciju unutar Hrvatske. Ništa teže nego kad sam se selio iz Osijeka u Zagreb. Mislim, jezik stvarno znam, ne vidim problem. Engleska je veliko multikulturalno središte. Nije kao tu, da se u moju ulicu u Osijeku doselio Englez, on bi uvijek bio onaj Englez. Tamo ja ne bi bio nikako obilježen jer sam došljak.

Misliš li da bi se osjećao kao stranac tamo?

- Pa po nekoj logici, ako sam došao od negdje, bih neko vrijeme. Ali ne znači mi to puno. Ne mislim da sam nečime obilježen što nisam otamo niti mislim da je to važno. Što ja imam od toga što sam ovdje kući ako nemam posao ni ništa, a tamo radim nešto što volim?

Što misliš koja je uloga globalizacije u svemu o čemu smo pričali?

- Pa sigurno da je ima. Tu se vidi generacijska promjena isto. Ja sigurno znam više o drugim kulturama, ne znam...o Engelzima, nego recimo moj otac. Mislim da je do toga došlo najviše kroz internet. Savki dank kad igram igrice na internetu, igram s ljudima svojih godina koji su vani. I nisu ništa drugačiji nego mi tu.

Misliš li da nas globalizacija na neki način zbližava?

- Mislim da je globalizacija kao jedan veliki kišobran pod koji smo se svi zgurali. I koliko god bili pod tim kišobranom različiti, svi ga dijelimo, svima nam je potreba. Mislim, ne znam, rekao sam da recimo naša generacija zna više od generacije naših roditelja. To se nije dogodilo tako što smo mi čitali knjige i tako skupljali informacije, nego smo jednostavno komunicirali jedni su drugima i tako preuzeli po nešto jedni od drugih. Prije se drugačije razmišljalo, svijet je bio podijeljeniji. U svakom akcijskom filmu neprijatelj je bio stranac. Rus neki obično. To je sad palo malo u zaborav a obični ljudi su postali sličniji.

Misliš li da takva globalizacija ima neke veze s tvojom željom da iseliš iz RH?

- Pa da nije tako ne vjerujem da bi želio otići ali o tome je teško pričati. Ali da, da imam manje informacija, da imam manje mogućnosti komunikacije, da imam takav jedan zatvoreni pogled na svijet ne bih želio otići.

Što misliš o ulozi Europske unije u migracijama mladih? Što se promijenilo time što smo u Europskoj uniji?.

- To je u neku ruku velik korak. Ukinute su granice s Europom i utoliko je lakše. Ako želiš otići, možeš sutra. Prepreke koje su prije postojale su sve manje. Više manje je najveća prepreka fizički promijeniti lokaciju.

Što za tebe znači biti građaninom Europe? Smatraš li se građaninom Europe?

- Pa i da i ne. Mislim rođen sam u Europi, živim odnedavno u Europskoj uniji, građanin sam Europe. Ali ne znam koliko me to definira. Mislim, govorio sam o globalizaciji kao o kišobranu, i Euroap je jedan takav kišobran, ali globalizacija je ipak iznad njega.

Misliš li da postoji postoji kolektivni europski identitet?

- Pa... da... ali i on je isto podložan globalizaciji. Mislim da je Europa, zajedno s Amerikom možda i predvodnik u toj globalizaciji. Mislim da zemlje poput Rusije, Japana i slično više posuđuju od tog identiteta nego mi od njih. To se vidi i kroz migracije, ljudi se sele u centre u Europi i Americi. Nećeš nigdje čuti da se Englezi masovno doseljavaju u Ukrajinu. A u isto vrijeme, zemlje iz kojih se ljudi sele preuzimaju kulturne vrijednosti Europe i Amerike.

Ispitanik broj 2

Ornela Čop, Varaždin, 23 godine, studentica pete godine studija povijesti umjetnosti i informacijskih znanosti na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu.

Zašto razmišljaš o odlasku iz Hrvatske?

- Pa najprije razmišljam o tome jer mislim da ću tako dobit nova iskustva koja ovdje ne bih mogla dobit.... Za profesionalnu formaciju same sebe.

Koji su problem unutar Hrvatske zbog kojih misliš da to što želiš ne bi mogla postići ovdje?

- Pa s obzirom na stanje moje struke, takvo kakvo je trenutno, mislim da nema dovoljno mjesta za napredovanje kakvo bi se moglo dobit vani... I mislim da je bolje plaćeno.

Dail ti je važno što je bolje plaćeno?

- Je, mislim svima je to bitno. Svi bi voljeli živjeti dobro.

Koliko ti je to važno u odnosu na profesionalno ostvarenje?

- Pa dobro, ipak je više zbog iskustva i profesionalnog ostvarivanja, ali mislim da je ipak generalno viši životni standard vani nego tu kod nas. .

Viši standard života u materijalnom smislu?

- Da.

Gdje bi željela ići?

- Pa što se tiče Europe i dalje su kulturna središta Pariz i London, ali mogu se vidjeti i u Americi, u većim gradovima.

Što te privlači baš tamo?

- Pa recimo Pariz je i dalje jedan od top gradova što se tiče umjetnosti, muzeja i općenito te kulturološke struke.

Jesi bila kad tamo?

- Jesam.

Jeli ti se svidjelo zbog nečeg posebnog?

- Pa osim što mi se vizualno sviđa arhitektura samog gradam naravno, sve je jednostavno vrlo uređeno, lako je živjeti, osim što bi eventualno prepreka bila ne poznavanje jezika.

Jesi učila Francuski?

- Jesam, kratko u srednjoj školi.

Kako zamišljaš svoj profesionalni život tamo?

- Pa kao što sam rekla, voljela bi raditi u struci, baviti se znanošću. Prvo kao asistent neki ili nešto a onda bih valjda napredovala.

Misliš da bi mogla i ovdje postići karijeru koja bi te zadovoljila?

- Mislim da bi to bilo puno teže jer vani jednostavno ima više institucija koje se bave kulturom i umjetnošću i puno je veća šansa za zapošljavanje...Čisto ako gledaš koliko tamo ljudi zapošljavaju u istom sektoru. Tu jednostavno nema dovoljno mjesta za sve nas koji završavamo taj studij.

Kada bi otišla tamo , zaposlila se i ostvarila nekakvu karijeru, da li bi razmišljala o povratku ovdje nekada?

- Pa to dosta ovisi o okolnostima. Ali ne bih isključila mogućnost povratka.

Kako zamišljaš život tamo?

- U kojem smislu? U profesionalnom ili svakodnevnom?

U oba smisla.

- Pa mislim da je tamo struka dosta više povezana, ne samo institucije koje su puno veće nego ove tu, nego i da su dosta povezani s društvom u cijelosti, čega tu malo možda fali jer ljudi jednostavno nisu zainteresirani toliko za umjetnost.

Kako zamišljaš svakodnevni život u Francuskoj recimo, ili u već nekom velikom gradu u koji bi htjela ići? Dali je to faktor koji te privlači?

- Definitivno. Sviđa mi se ta infrastruktura velikih gradova. Uzmi samo javni prijevoz koji je tamo 100 puta bolje uređen pa možeš doći za pola sata s jednog kraja ogromnog grada na drugi, pa usporedi to sa Zagrebom u kojem ako nemaš vlastiti automobile ,osuden si na pješaćenje i tramvaje. Mislim nismo mi sad tu neki bogei koji nemaju ništa, ali vani naravno postoji više mogućnosti. Možeš jednostavno svakodnevno istraživati stvari koje ti se sviđaju.

Misliš li da je život tamo bolji? Ljepši?

- Pa to ovisi od osobe do osobe i puno drugih stvari, ali da, mislim da je zanimljiviji. Dinamičniji.

Jel bi ti se bilo teško prilagoditi na život vani?

- Pa mislim da bi. Bilo bi problema sigurno.

Što bi točno bilo teško?

- Pa u Francuskoj sigurno jezik. Oni stvarno ne pričaju engleski. Ali u Americi bi se sigurno lakše prilagodila nego tu u Europi.

Misliš li da bi se tamo osjećala kao stranac?

- Da. U Parizu definitivno jer ne znam jezik, u Londonu možda jer nekako imam osjećaj da oni imaju tu neku svoju tradiciju i da se skuži ko je od tamo a ko nije, a u Americi sigurno ne.

Što ti misliš koliko s ti kulturno različita od mladih ljudi koji sad žive tamo, u Parizu, Londonu ili drugdje gdje bi ti htjela živjeti?

- Mislim da jednostavno oni razmišljaju na drugi način što se tiče tog zaposlenja. Mislim da smo mi fokusirani na samo jednu instituciju ili na stalno zaposlenje nekakovo, a

oni mislim više žive od projekta do projekta. Tamo je dosta dinamičnije I dosta lako može otići s jednog mjesta na drugo. I to mi se sviđa.

A na osobnoj razini kolko su drugačiji, koliko se razlikuju mladi Francuzi od mladih Hrvata?

- Mislim da smo slični. Sličnih supkultura ima svugdje. Sad pogotovo s internetom. Svi brijemo na sličnu spiku.

Misliš da te razlike nisu velike?

- Između mene i njih mislim da ne ali sad za ostale ne znam. Mislim da ne razmišljaju toliko negativno o svojoj budućnosti koliko mladi tu. Mladi se ovdje boje nešto poduzeti. Mislim da bi mi to okruženje gdje su mladi nabrijani na to što rade puno više odgovaralo nego tu gdje se svi vrte u istom krugu nekog crnila i brige.

Što ti misliš kako je globalizacija utjecala na sve ovo?

- O tome sam govorila. Prvenstveno intrnet, svi slušamo tu istu glazbu do koje dolazimo na iste načine, to je svugdje isto. Puno smo bliži sad zbog interneta nego što smo bili prije možda 15, 20 godina.

Kako su te nove komunikacijske tehnologije utjecale na nas?

- Sve te neke nove stavri saznajemo preko interneta. Sumnjam da netko mojih godina čeka da se nešto pojavi preko televizije, niti da saznaje nove informacije u magazinima. Sve s to događa preko Youtubea, društvenih mreža, nekih relevantnih stranica za kulturu i glazbu pa na kraju ljudi iz cijelog svijeta gledaju i slušaju isto na kraju dana.

Misliš da postoji nešto kao globalna kultura?

- Pa postoji zapadni mainstream. Ali ne znam koliko se to može nazvati univerzalnom kulturom, mislim da ima puno više različitosti u svijetu.

Misliš li da te različitosti mogu ući u mainstream? Primjerice, što bi rekla na slučaj Psy-a, korejskog pop pjevač koji se sa svojom pjesmom Gangam style koja je bila svijetski hit ušao u mainstream?

- Mislim da je to fenomen koji najbolje prolazi u Americi i Europi. To nije autentično nešto korejsko nego imitacija zapadnog mainstreama. Ne mislim da je ta zapadna kultura univerzalna, samo što svašta tu može proći.

Koliku ulogu ima Europska unija u tome što mladi ljudi sve više i više odlaze?

- Pa jako veliku. Uzmimo samo taj Erasmus, program za razmjenu studenata. Maldi cirkuliraju, ruše se te neke barijere. I iz čisto birokratske perspektive je lakše, s tim putovnicama, granicama i vizama.

Misliš li da se tako stvara nekakav osjećaj bliskosti između europskih naroda. Misliš li da smo sada manje stranci?

- Mislim da ne. Mislim da su pomaci više birokratski. Mislim da još ne postoji nešto kao građanin Europe.

Ispitanik broj 3

Filip Raunić, 26 godina, Zagreb, magistar novinarstva, honorarno piše za jedan tjednik.

Zašto razmišljaš o odlasku iz Hrvatske?

- Zato što sam završio fakultet s kojim ne mogu naći posao u Hrvatskoj. Nisam izbirljiv ali posla praktički nema. Mogao bi raditi neki fizički posao, ali teško ću naći nešto u struci.

Koji su problemi, po tebi s kojima se mladi suočavaju i zbog kojih odlaze iz Hrvatske?

- Ja mislim da je prije svega nedostatak bilo kakvog posla, a tek onda to što su ti poslovi slabije plaćeni nego vani. Za ove humanističke i društvene znanosti mislim da je problem što posla uopće nema. Ne mogu mladi raditi ništa, osim za tih 2400 kn, što je isto neizvjesno, a i ne znaju što će biti nakon tih godinu dana. Pitanje je da li postoji ikakva perspektiva nakon tih godinu dana, a samo godinu dana raditi pa ponovno na cestu nema nikakvog smisla.

Misliš da je vani bolje?

- Vjerujem da je. Pogotovo za ljude koji su završili prirodoslovne fakultete. Mislim da oni mogu naći posao i ovdje, ali su vani za njih višestruko bolje plaćeni. A za nas društvenjake, mislim da je vjerojatno bolje nego ovdje, ali isto mislim da nije bajno. To me isto malo obeshrabruje u odlasku van, to što nisam siguran ni da li bi vani uspio naći neki posao.

Što te još, osim posla, tjera na razmišljanje o odlasku?

- U biti ništa. Radije bi ostao u Hrvatskoj da mi se nudi adekvatan posao.

Gdje bi volio ići i što bi volio raditi?

- Volio bih raditi u novinarstvu ali ne nužno, a prihvatljive su mi države poput Španjolske i Francuske, u kojima mi je prihvatljiva klima, način života....

Da se pije kava na suncu?

- Da (smijeh) dojam mi je da se manje radi u Španjolskoj i Francuskoj nego u Njemačkoj ili Velikoj Britaniji. I mislim da je bolja socijalna država u Francuskoj nego tamo, za slučaj da ostanem bez posla ili mi se nešto dogodi.

Jesi li kad putovao tamo? Znaš li jezik?

- Ne

Kad bi uspio u namjeri da se zaposliš tamo, bi li razmišljao o povratku?

- Mogao bi se zamisliti da ostanem tamo. Da odem negdje i formiram si cijeli život, onda bi mi se povratak u Hrvatsku činio kao nova emigracija.

Kakva je tvoja percepcija života vani?

- Pa s obzirom da sam rekao da želim ići u te mediteranske zemlje, mislim da sam drugačiji od drugih koji žele ići u te neke možda tržišno zanimljivije zemlje kao Njemačka ili VB. Mislim da je život tamo zapravo dosta sličan životu u RH. Mislim da se u tim zemljama poput ne znam, ovih koje sam nabrojao puno više radi i da ljudi imaju manje vremena.

Privlače li te kulturne odrednice života u zemljama u koje bi volio ići. Način života, razmišljanja, jesu li one faktor u odluci?

- Mislim da jesu. Čak mislim da i više nego drugima. Mislim da ljudi silom odlaze u zemlje drugačijega kulturnog kruga i teško se prilagođavaju. Ja baš želim ići na neko mjesto koje će biti slično ovome.

Misliš li da je život tamo bolji?

- Mislim da je. Za prosječnog čovjeka, mislim da mu je bolje tamo. Možda manje u recimo Španjolskoj, ali u Francuskoj sigurno da.

Bi li ti bilo teško prilagoditi se?

- Mislim da bi mi najveći problem bio jezik. Mislim, taj prijelazni neki peorid bi svima bio težak. Ali nakon šest mjeseci mislim da bi sve bilo u redu na kraju. Nakon nekog vremena ne bi bilo razlike između tu i tamo.

Misliš da bi ostao tamo stranac?

- Ne, mislim da bih se asimilirao. Mislim da nisu te kulture toliko drugačije da bih se ja osjećao strancem.

Misliš li da su mladi tamo na neki način kulturno različiti od mladih ovdje?

- Minimalno. Mislim da to nisu razlike poput recimo emigranata iz Afrike i Azije, ali mislim da su naši ljudi uvijek u tim državama živjeli kao domicilno stanovništvo. Mislim da tu nema nekakve razlike ni u kulturnom smislu, ni u načinu života.

Kakvu ulogu globalizacija ima u tome?

- Sigurno veliku, mi pripadamo istom civilizacijskom krugu.... Mislim svaka država ima svoje specifičnosti, ali svoje specifičnosti imaju i Zagorac i Dalmatinac, ili Istrijan i Slavonac. Mislim da te razlike između nacionalnih kultura nisu drugačije od tih. Bar u Europi. Nisu to velike razlike, ne bi morao nikakve svoje navike, ne znam, zatomiti, ne bi mi te razlike predstavljale prepreku.

Misliš li da su te razlike bile veće prije, misliš li da su se smanjile globalizacijom?

- Paa da. Sigurno. Zato što je i internet veliki faktor. Ljudima su dostupnije informacije. Film izađe u isto vrijeme u Španjolskoj i Hrvatskoj. Knjige se više prevode. Čak je i učenje jezika olakšano s internetom. Ali i bez znanja jezika ljudi mogu puno više čitati, učiti, proučavati. Postoje te studentske razmjene, jeftinije je putovati. Tako da da.

Misliš li da Europska unija ima neku ulogu u tome što mladi sve više odlaze?

- Pa ima sigurno. Jedan od ideja je mobilnost.... Dosta država nam je sad zatvorila tržište, ali dosta i nije tako da... što se tiče tih tehničkih stvari... lakše je dobiti radne dozvole.

Da li se osijećaš kao građanin Europe?

- Osjećao sam se i prije. Neovisno o Europskoj uniji. Osjećao bih se kao Europljanin i da živim u Srbiji.

Što za tebe znači biti građanin Europe.?

- Pa to da gajimo neke zajedničke vrijednosti. Tolerancija, pomoć slabijima, mogućnost mobilnosti. Dijeljenje vrijednosti u kojima postoje jednake mogućnosti za sve. U kojima postoji nekakva pomoć od strane zajednice onima koji su slabiji na neki način.

Misliš li da Europska unija kao jedna nadnacionalna politička zajednica stvara zajednički europski politički identitet?

- Mislim da to radi jako slabo i loše. Pogotovo sad zbog politike Europske unije, ekonomske i drugih, pojavljuju se te radikalno desne političke stranke koje imaju potpuno suprotne ideje diljem Europe, koje nisu više nekakve marginalne grupacije kao prije sedam, osam godina, sada je takva stranka po anketama vodeća u Francuskoj...dosta su jake te stranke... U Grčkoj je treća stranka takva...Čini mi se da je upravo Europska unija zbog nekih svojih pogrešnih politika kumovala jačanju tih stranaka koje su nacionalističke, ksenofobne, rasističke.

Ispitanik broj 4

Petra Šarić, 23 godine, Ljubuški, studentica 2. godine diplomskog studija politologije na Fakultetu političkih znanosti u Zagrebu

Zašto razmišljaš o odlasku iz Hrvatske?

- Zato što je bezperspektivna. Zato što je svaki dan sve jasnije i jasnije da sve ide na gore. Zato što jednostavno nema pravih prilika za mlade, ni za rad ni za stjecanje novih znanja i napredak.

Koji su prema tebi najveći problem s kojima se mladi suočavaju?

- Nezaposlenost definitivno.

Misliš da je vani ta situacija bolja?

- Mislim da jest bolja, ali ne mislim da je drastično bolja. Mislim da su veće šanse, u svakom slučaju i isto tako da u nekim razvijenijim zapadnim zemljama nema toliko prepreka u smislu kurpcije i sličnih anomalija.

Što te privlači da odeš van?

- Ne znam. Izazov je. Nemam što više izgubit ovdje. Želim neko novo iskustvo. Priliku koju možda ne bi mogla imati ovdje.

A gdje bi htjela ići i zašto bi htjela ići baš tamo?

- Pa htjela bi ići u Njemačku ili Nizozemsku. Mislim da je Nizozemska jedno jako dobro uređeno društvo sa pravim europskim vrijednostima.

Koje su to vrijednosti?

- Jednakost, pravo na školovanje, pravo na rad... sva osnovna neka prava.

Kada bi išla van, što bi htjela raditi? Imaš li neku ideju ili bi radila bilošto?

- Pa kad bi išla van, išla bi ciljano. Kad bih bila stvarno primorana, onda bi išla van tražiti bilokakav posao, išla bih prati suđe ako treba. Ali sad, sad samo razmišljam da kad budem tražila posao poslje fakulteta, da ga tražim vani. Ili radi daljnjeg školovanja, ili nekog intershipa, ali u smislu vlastite struke ili nadogradnje u svojoj struci ili srodnom području.

Znaš li jezik i jesi ikad putovala tamo?

- Nisam nikada bila u Nizozemskoj ni u Njemačkoj, ali znam engleski jezik i mislim da mi je to dovoljno. Poznajem i puno ljudi koji su bili tamo i iz njihovih priča sam puno saznala.

Bi li otišla trajno?

- Ostala bi trajno sigurno. Ako bi otišla i zaposlila se, ne bih se sigurno vraćala. Mislim, dobro, uvijek postoji opcija, ali mislim da ne.

Ne osijećaš li se ukorijenjeno na neki način ovdje?

- Definitivno ne.

Kako zamišljaš život tamo?

- Pa praktički isto kao ovdje. Mislim da su ljudi tamo možda malo drugačiji, više pristupačniji, ovdje te ljudi nekad ne znaju ni pozdravit kada uđeš u trgovinu...mislim da su vani takve stvari jednostavno normalne...susjeda pozdraviti ujutro... isto tako mislim da su traženje posla i poslovni odnosi uređeniji.

Misliš da je život tamo bolji?

- Pa mislim da da, naravno, sve ovisi od osobe do osobe i od društva do društva, ali u mom slučaju, u slučaju ovih zemalja koje sam spominjala mislim da da.

Misliš li da bi ti se tamo bilo teško prilagoditi? Na novi grad, novo društvo...?

- Mislim da bi najteži i najveći problem bio jezik. Kada bih znala jezik ne bi mi bilo teško. Mislim da su strana društva otvorenija prema strancima i različitima.

Misliš li da bi dugo bila stranac?

- Mislim da bi cijeli život bila stranac u neku ruku, ali da bi imala sva jednaka prava. Mislim da ne bi bila tretirana kao stranac.

Misliš li da je isto biti stranac tu i tamo?

- Mislim da ima dosta ljudi koji su rođeni u Hrvatskoj, ali nisu rođeni imućni, nemaju poznanika, veza i slično i mislim da su samim time degradirani na neki način. Mislim da su tamo društva mobilnija.

Što misliš zašto je to tako?

- Zbog dugovječnosti tih država, tradicije, njegovanja demokratskih tradicija....

Misliš li da su tamo ljudi kulturno različiti od nas?

- Mislim da su blago drugačiji. U smislu da su kulturni, da su uljudni, da su bolji jedni prema drugima... Idu više u kazališta, kina, bave se sportu, vode brigu možda više nego mi tu.

Misliš li da ti pripadaš više u taj kulturni krug? Bi li i ti bila takva da si tamo?

- Pa sigurno da bih zadržala neke svoje kulturne navike, koje ni sad nisu drugačije od njihovih, ali bi se i prilagodila.

Misliš li da si ti na neki način kulturno drugačija nego mladi tamo?

- Pa... da... blago da...

Jesu li te njihove razlike pozitivne u odnosu na nas?

- Pa ne nužno. I nisu te razlike velike nego samo postoje

Kako po tebi globalizacija utječe na sve ovo o čemu smo pričali?

- Pa, s vremenom sigurno ima veliku ulogu, mislim sve ovisi od društva do društva, koliko je otvoreno prema utjecaju globalizacije.

Kako je globalizacija utjecala na migracije mladih?

- Pa ima puno utjecaja. Upoznatiji smo s drugim zemljama, sad možeš doslovno hodati po svim ulicama preko google eartha. Lakše je, znatno je lakše i otići i prilagoditi se.

Što misliš kakvu ulogu u povećanom broju iseljenika ima EU?

- Veliku ulogu ima, s obzirom da ima veliki broj programa za razmjenu i za zapošljenje. I ima puno više prilika.

Misliš li da EU kao nadnacionalna politička zajednica uspijeva stvoriti nekakav kolektivni identitet?

- Pa pokušava definitivno stvoriti, to neko zajedništvo, ali mislim da ga nema baš na čemu stvoriti, posebno je teško s tim konstantni širenjem.

Misliš li da postoji građanin Europe?

- Pa nominalno postoji, realno građani smo Europe, ali mislim da ne postoji još u svijesti ljudi, pogotovo kod nas mladih članova

Ispitanik broj 5

Marina Majdanić, Valpovo, 25 godina, studentica 2.godine diplomskog studija kroatistike na Filozofskom Fakultetu u Zagrebu.

Zašto razmišljaš o odlasku iz Hrvatske?

- Zbog toga što želim priliku ...željela bih prvo zbog financijskih razloga, mislim da bih vani mogla naći bolji posao, ili posao koji je bliži nekim mojim željama i vještinama.... Mogla bih raditi nešto što volim a ne samo preživljavati... A drugi razlog je to što...bih htjela imati u životopisu to da sam radila negdje vani. Ja ne bih otišla van zauvijek pa mislim da bi mi to pomoglo.

Zašto bi ti to bilo važno?

- Mislim da se to cijeni ovdje u Hrvatskoj. Kao referenca.

Zašto misliš da se to cijeni?

- Pa ne znam, iz iskustva. Mislim da su ljudi koji su radili ili studirali vani lakše snalaze ovdje. Možda imamo neki kompleks, ne znam.

Koji su osnovni problem unutar Hrvatske s kojima se mladi suočavaju pa odlaze van?

- Pa nezaposlenost prvenstveno.

Misliš da je vani bolja situacija.

- Pa kako gdje. Ali zato mladi uglavnom i idu na ta mjesta na kojima je bolje. Ne idu u Grčku, ne znam, nego u Njemačku, Švedsku, Irsku...

Dobro odlaze u Irsku često, ali opet, u Irskoj nije situacija tako bajna.

- Mislim da tamo odlaze jer su nam Irci slični mentalitetom...a opet je i tamo malo bolje mislim.

Što te još privlači da odeš van?

- Pa ja bi htjela ići na Novi Zeland. Tamo me privlači priroda. I mentalitet ljudi tamo.

Kakav je to mentalitet?

- Pa navodno su jako humani i obzirni. Ne znam...razumiju na primjer, zašto se netko ne želi baviti nužno svojom strukom nego bi radio nešto drugo...fleksibilni su, papir ti nije toliko bitan. Znam ljude koji su otišli tamo a sad tamo rade na berbi trešanja.

Dobro, to je onda nekakva degradacija u poslovnom smislu...

- Ma ne beru oni trešnje nego su nekakvi supervizori. Imaju super plaću. Dnevnicu im je 180 dolara a stanarina 350.

Bi li voljela ići i negdje u Europu?

- Da... Ali tu sam ograničena time da idem tamo gdje znam jezik.. Htjela bih recimo ići u Njemačku... u Berlin...

Zašto baš u Berlin?

- Pa sviđa mi se jer nije centraliziran... jer je multi - kulti... Onako mlad grad, grad za mlade...

Dali bi radila tamo nešto u struci ili bi radila bilošto?

- Pa s obzirom da završavam hrvatski, a čujem da tamo ima potrebe za profesorima u hrvatskim školama. A i sada kada smo u Europskoj uniji pa je samim tim i hrvatski službeni jezik unije, otvarat će se studiji hrvatskog jezika pa će i tamo biti mjesta za mene. Mislim, voljela bih raditi u struci a tamo bi sigurno bila bolje plaćena.

Jesi ikada putovala u Berlin ili Novi Zeland?

- Ne, samo sam prolazila kroz Njemačku.

Dobro, kada bi otišla tamo, bi li tamo gradila život ili bi planirala povratak u Hrvatsku?

- Pa voljela bi si baš izgraditi život tamo. Ne bih bila gastarbajter. Ali ne bih nikad ni isključila mogućnost povratka u Hrvatsku. Mislim, štedjela bih sigurno, ne mislim da bih tamo živjela kao ovdje da trošim na što hoću nego bi voljela nešto skupiti za eventualni povratak.

Kako zamišljaš život tamo u odnosu na život ovdje?

- A ne znam, Zagreb je zapravo mali grad, Berlin bi mi pružio puno mogućnosti za istraživanje, sva ta mjesta, muzeji, to mene sve zanima, voljela bi sve to vidjeti, ali ne onako turistički nego živjeti s tim svime u susjedstvu, imati prijatelje, pravi život...

Misliš li da je tamo život bolji nego tu?

- Pa kako za koga... mislim da se više radi..mislim da nema te kulture kafenisanja... ali mislim da žive kvalitetnije...

Zašto kvalitetnije, po čemu?

- Pretpostavljam da je viši je standard, veće su mogućnosti, više je sadržaja i kulturnog i svakog drugog.

Dal bi ti se bilo teško naviknuti se na život u Berlinu recimo?

- Da. Bilo bi mi možda teško doći do tih njemačkih radnih navika... ali opet, i da se tu zaposlim opet bi mi bilo teško navići se na rad.. tako da ne znam....

Misliš li da je isto preseliti se iz Valpova u Zagreb i iz Zagreba u Berlin?

- Pa ne..prvenstveno zato što bi bila još udaljenija od obitelji i pijatelja....

Misliš li da bi se dugo osjećala kao starnac u Berlinu?

- Pa ne. Baš zato što je to takav grad, mislim da se nitko tamo ne osijeća kao stranac dugo.

Koliko si ti različita kulturno od mladih ljudi iz Berlina?

- Puno (smijeh), Možda ne po svjetonazorima...Ali mislim da su oni puno poduzetniji, puno ... ne znam...

Zašto misliš da su takvi?

- Pa grad ih tjera na to... mislim da su prisiljeni tamo jednostavno biti brži... brže reagirati....okolina ih povuče...

A u životnom, kulturnom smislu, po čemu si različita od mladog Nijemaca.

- Pa ne..mislim mladi su mladi.. svugdje su isti

Što misliš, koja je uloga globalizacije u svemu tome?

- Pa mislim da je velika...Povezuje nas. Ne postoji nacionalna umjetnost, nacionalna kultura...sve je to jedna zapadna kultura...to je manje više to... svi slušamo istu muziku, gledamo filmove.. nismo zakinuti...Mislim da mi je zato i taj Berlin bliži.

Što misliš koja je uloga Europske unije u tome što sve veći broj mladih odlazi?

- Pa mislim da su svi shvatili taj ulazak u Europsku uniju kao šansu da se pobjegne van. Sad je to puno lakše, ako ništa, onda proceduralno.

Što misliš, kako ta Europska unija, kao jedna nadnacionalna politička ozgанизacija stvara nekakav zajednički identitet?

- Pa stvara, ako ništa ond bar privid.

Misliš li da su nam Česi i Nijemci sada manje stranci...

- Mislim da da..

Osijećaš li se kao građanin Europe?

- Pa ne znam... valjda... ne razmišljam o tome...

Ispitanik broj 6

Nikša Eršek, Zagreb, 25 godina , magistar grafičkog dizajna, nezaposlen

Zašto želiš otići iz Hrvatske?

- Čini mi se da bi tamo bolje živio. Mislim da imam puno više mogućnosti čim god da se bavim, imo bi više love, više tog za vidjet. Mislim da je bolji život vani.

Koji su po tebi najveći problemi s kojima se mladi suočavaju u Hrvatskoj?

- Pa teško dobiješ posao ako nemaš vezu. Vani mislim da nije tako. Koliko vrijediš takav posao dobiješ. Ovdje je mala lova, nemaš ni s poslom neku perspektivu, nekak mi se čini da je šugav takav život. Radiš u nekoj firmi i nećeš nikad napredovat, radiš stalno za nekog, nemoš niš sam pokušat ak nemaš veze i love, sva ova ekipa koju znam da rade, rade za tu neku mizernu lovu, jedva imaju za otić na more i to im je to. A nemamo više 12 godina da nam je imat za cugu i za na more jednom godišnje svrha postojanja, nego bi htjeli napraviti nekakav život, a ne mogu.

Zašto misliš da je vani bolje?

- Znam neke ljude koji su otišli i super zarađuju već sad. I ta diploma im je tamo korisnija. Čak i da ih plate manje nego nekog Njemca, nama je to opet brutalna lova.

Dal te privlači nešto osim posla?

- Mislim da ima puno više mjesta za izać van, puno različitog sadržaja, jedan Berlin nudi više nego Zagreb. U Zagrebu mogu jednom eventualno dvaput tjedno izać van nać nešto što me zanima, a srijedom recimo ak mi se sprdne završit ću na kraju u Rockstaru (birtija).

Gdje bi volio ići i što bi radio u idealnoj situaciji?

- U Berlin, zbog muzike. Volio bih se baviti muzikom a tamo je puno veća scena. Ono što je Berlin u Europi trenutno je Portland u Americi, ali tamo baš i ne bih htio ići. Milijun je dobrih bendova, milijun je studija, tu su samo tri prava studija. Scena je tamo veća, kvalitetnija i možeš od nje živjet. Ovdje jedva da možeš živjet od toga a i da bi počeo moraš nekog poznavat.

Jesi bio kad u Berlinu?

- Ne ali putovao sam malo po Europi. Svi veći gradovi su slični. Pariz, Varšava i Amsterdam, osjećao sam se kao malo dijete, gdje ćemo sad, dok recimo u Leipzigu mi je bilo isto kao u Zagrebu. U većima gradovima je puno ljudi, puno mladih ljudi, uvijek se nešto dešava, bilo je uvijek napeto.

Znaš li jezik?

- Ne znam njemački, ali mislim da to nije ni bitno, znam lika koji je radio u tri firme tamo i nikad mu njemački nije trebao, to je multikulturalni grad, sva se poslovna komunikacija može odvijati na engleskom. Bar u ovom kreativnom polju.

Bi li ostao tamo?

- Da, sigurno ne bih otišao na onu varijantu da tamo zaradim lovu pa tu živim ko beg, nego ako bi otišao, onda bi i ostao. Eventualno bi otišao još i dalje negdje, pa živio svuda nego se vraćao ovdje.

Kako zamišljaš svakodnevni život tamo?

- Mislim da bi mi nova ekipa, novi prijatelji bili ljudi s kojima bi radio. Mislim da bi se sve svelo na to da je to kaj radim. To bi bilo to, to bi mi bio život. Isto da i u muzici uspijem, povetio bi se poslu. Bio bi od nula do 24 u tome. I ne bih imao ništa protiv toga. Ak je to ono kaj volim i uspješan sam u tome, tako bih živio.

Usporedi mi malo kako zamišljaš svakodnevnicu u Berlinu kao gradu i Zagrebu kao gradu?

- Tamo se više radi. Ono kaj radiš to ti je život.

Misliš li da bi ti se takavom životu bilo teško prilagoditi?

- Pa ne, ako bi dobio tamo priliku, dao bi sve od sebe, složio bi si u glavi da je sad to to i onda mi ne bi bilo teško.

Bi li ti bilo teško prilagoditi se na život u novom gradu, u novoj državi?

- Mislim da ne, nemam problem s tim. Gdje god sam vani upozno neku ekipu to su sve isti ljudi kao ja. U sedam različitih gradova imao sam sedam različitih verzija svoje ekipa. Gledamo iste filmove, pričamo iste fore, zanimaju nas iste teme, idemo na iste stranice na internetu. Nema nikakve veze što je ovaj iz New Yorka a ja iz Zagreba.

Misliš li da bi se osjećao kao stranac u Berlinu?

- Pa ne, mislim da je tamo puno stranaca a i ovi koji su od tamo su navikli na strance pa tog zapravo više i nema baš.

Misliš li da postoji kulturna razlika između mladog Nijemca i mladog Hrvata?

- Mislim da ne. Možda je to nekada bilo tako ali danas sigurno nije. Pa vidiš i ovi turisti koji dođu, oni s kojima se družiš na kraju krajeva su isti kao i mi. Da sad dođe netko naših godina tu s nama na cugu pričao bi o istim stvarima kao i mi. A isto bi bilo i da ti dođeš kod njegove ekipe. Bilo bi isto. Ista nam je spika.

Kako je globalizacija utjecala na sve ovo o čemu smo pričali?

- Mislim da je globalizacija glavni faktor. Svima je ista kultura druženja, izlasci, klubovi, muzeji izložbe koncerti, svugdje je to isto. Svugdje studenti cugaju po parkićima ko ovdje. Svi čitamo iste vijesti, iste fore, idemo na iste stranice...Svi smo na Facebooku

Misliš li da se stvara neka univerzalna zajednička kultura?

- Mislim da da, možda ostaju neke sitnice koje Nijemce čine Nijemcima , ali to su sitnice tipa da će on pit točenu pivu a mi iz boce, on možda zna gdje treba ići na Oktoberfestu ja ću ići ko turist ali s vremenom ću i ja ići gdje treba. Sve je to ostalo na razini neke fore. Nije da sad Nijemci tamo hodaju u narodnim nošnjama pa se razlikujemo.

Što misliš kakvu ulogu ima Europska unija u povećanom broju mladih migranata?

- Pa jedino to da je lakše otići, tvoj faks je priznat, tvoja diploma vrijedi i možeš ići radit.

Misliš li da Europska unija kao jedna nadnacionalna politička zajednica stvara nekakav zajednički politički identitet?

- Mislim da ne baš. Mislim da se to ne percipira tako. Mislim da se Europa još dijeli po regijama, da Balkanci i Skandinavci ne dijele identet.

Misliš li da postoji tendencija da se to promijeni?

- Mislim da da ali da je rano još. Mislim da to dolazi od doma, da još postoje neki stereotipi koji nas dijele. Mislim postoje Nijemci koji kada im dođe u firmu neki menadžer iz Zagreba misle da je Jugoschweine i sto kao što bi netko tu to mislio za Srbe .

Ispitanik broj 7

Lana Grahek , Zagreb, 24 godine, studentica dizajna na Arhitektonskom fakultetu u Zagrebu.

Zašto razmišljaš o odlasku iz Hrvatske?

-Zato jer mislim da su vani veće mogućnosti. I drugačije je shvaćanje posla. U mojoj profesiji sigurno, budući da je tu dosta nezahvalna situacija.

Koji su to problemi tu?

- Dizajn se tu ne shvaća dovoljno ozbiljno. Svi misle da mogu bit dizajneri i shvaćaju te samo kao osobu koja izvršava njihove prohtjeve.

A vani?

- Pa vjerujem da te ipak poštuju kao stručnjaka u svojoj profesiji i imaš više slobode.

Zašto je to tako?

- Pa mislim da su više open minded.

Postoji li još neki razlog?

- Pa najviše posao ali mislim da je i inače bolje. Ima više događanja. Kulturnije je. Ima više sadržaja koji su meni zanimljivi na tom nekom stručnom polju.

Gdje bi htjela ići i što želiš raditi?

- Htjela bi raditi u struci, kao grafički dizajner i ići u Nizozemsku koja je najjača na tom polju. Ili bi išla u Ameriku, da idem radit negdje, išla bi na kraj svijeta.

Da li bi ikad išla van samo da odeš odvde, bez da radiš u struci?

-Pa možda ali na kratko. Nisam baš pobornik putovanja samo radi putovanja.

A kad bi našla posao u struci, bi li razmišljala o trajnom ostanku tamo ili bi se željela vratiti kući?

- Ovisi. Znam troje ljudi koji su studirali u Nizozemskoj i svi su se vratili. Očito nisu mislili da mogu tamo izgraditi život.

Govoriš li nizozemski?

- Pa malo čak i da. Jer sam studirala nizozemski na filozofskom kratko.

Misliš li da je jezik ključan za uspjeh vani?

- Ne sigurno, ne. Mislim da se više toliko ni ne inzistira na tome. Više je bitno koliko si stručan na svom području. A nije ni nizozemski neki problem.

Jesi kad bila u nizozemskoj?

Da. Bila sam u Amsterdamu, u Eindhovenu i u Arnemu.

Kakva su ti iskustva?

- Bilo mi je zanimljivo jer je drugačiji način života. Na području grafičkog dizajna su oni užasno jaki i to je kao neki thrill biti tamo. Ali je sve nekako užasno sporo i ljudi su tamo zatvoreniji dosta.

Sviđa li ti se to?

- Pa ne baš. Nekako se ne mogu tamo dugoročno zamisliti.

Prilagodba bi ti bila teška?

- Pa da. Nebi mi bilo teško bit tamo par godina, ali cijeli život baš i ne.

Misliš li da je život bolji tamo?

- Pa sigurno da su bolji uvjeti. Mislim , evo recimo samo u tom nekom polju umjetnosti, kad završiš neki faks država ti plaća neki džeparac da bi bio slobodan naći nešto sam.

A kako ljudi provode vrijeme, jeli i to bolje?

- A to nisam sigurna da li je bolje. Užasno su zatvoreni pa je to nama neprirodno. Oni više provode vremena unutra. Oni su više fokusirani na neke kućne tulume, na takva druženja , a nama je mislim fokusirano to više na van.

Misliš li da bi osjećala kao stranac?

- Ne jer ih je tamo puno, pa stranac pa nije nitko.

Da li se ti stranci asimiliraju ili zadržavaju svoje kulturne karakteristike?

- Zadržavaju svoje.

Što misliš, koliko si ti kulturno različita od mladih tamo?

- Pa mislim da nisam puno. Mislim da mladi generalno dijele neke zajedničke interese. I zapravo se možeš nać u tim interesima s ćovjekom od bilo gdje.

Što misliš kako je globalizacije utjecala na to?

- Mislim da globalizacija puno doprinosi tome. Danas smo svi konstantno povezani pa imamo i uvid u to što se dogaća drugdje. Internet i sve. Mislim da je to zdravorazumski. Svi se naši interesi stapaju.

Misliš li da se stvara neka zajednića zapadna kultura? Evo ti si dizajner, misliš li da postoji zajednića estetika?

- Mislim da postoji taj neki trend spajanja estetike, da je uglavnom svugdje isto, ali postoje te neke rziike. Bar u tom vizualnom dijelu. Mislim, ne znam za druge grane culture, ali što se tiće estetike da.

A uloga EU?

- Pa ima, na primjer fakultete plaćaš puno manje vani ako si ćlan EU, u Aremu 9000 e ako nisi iz EU, a 1500 ako jesi.

Zajednići identitet?

- Pa mislim da ne. Mislim da još postoje nacije.

Ispitanik broj 8

Matea Hari , Zagreb, 24 godine, diplomirala na Tehnićkom veleućilištu web dizajn, radi kao konobarica.

Zašto razmišljaš o odlasku iz Hrvatske?

- Zato što je moje zanimanje ovdje manje cijenjeno nego što je vani.

U kojem smislu?

- Pa puno ljudi u mojoj struci je na burzi. I to dugo vremena. Prihvaćaju poslove koji na kraju nisu ni plaćeni. A negdje vani je to navodno trženo i bolje je generalno.

Koji su po tvom viđenju najveći problem s kojima se mladi susreću pa se odlučuju na odlazak iz RH?

- Nezaposlenost, općenito to što su prisiljeni živjeti sa starcima, zakoni neki koji imamo tu, recimo nedavno ovo s U ime obitelji, to je jedan nedostatak progresivnosti, zadrživosti koja postoji tu, kada vidimo koliko smo još uvijek daleko od Europe i od svijeta. Dođe mi da napustim zemlju.

Što misliš da je vani bolje u odnosu na RH?

- Pa mislim da je Europa otvorenija, manje konzervativna. Mislim da nas opterećuje puo toga iz prošlosti i da nas to spriječava da napredujemo. Osim toga imaš i primjer u kandidaturi ovog Ivana Sinčića na predsjedničkim izborima. To govori dosta. Mislim da je mladima dosta tog konstantnog prepucavanja dvije sile. Mladi žele promijene, dosta im je i odlaze.

Što te privlači vani?

- Osim ovog navedenog ne znam. U kraće vrijeme mogu zaraditi više novca i onda se vratiti i tu živjeti lagodnije. Opet s druge strane tamo su veće i cijene pa te to dođe skoro na isto. Ne bi mi bio problem otići negdje, odraditi pet godina i vratiti se s nečim ovdje, dok recimo, ovdje mi se ne da rintati pet godina i ne imati ništa.

Ima li nešto nematerijalno što te privlači vani?

- Pa ne znam baš, nisam tamo. Možda se to nama čini kao obećana zemlja ali to vjerojatno nije tako. Ali opet tamo bi bila u blizini nekih festivala i sličnih stvari koje mi se sviđaju.

A gdje bi htjela ići?

- Pa nije mi to jako bitno. Znam da ne bi išla gore u Skandinaviju. Voljela bi ići tamo dolje, Portugal, Španjolska.

A što bi voljela raditi?

- U struci

Bi li pristala i na nešto drugo?

- Bi za prvu ruku, ali bi isto opet tražila nešto još u struci.

Kako zamišljaš profesionalni život tamo?

- Mislim da je više na cijeni. Govorimo ovdje o informatici, o web dizajnu. Mislim da ljudi ovdje nisu svijesni još koliko je to bitno u poslovanju. Misle da je to sporedna stvar. A vani je valjda jasno da je dobro odrađena web stranica jako bitna za posao. Imam i primjer prijatelja koji je išao u Švedsku, na razgovor s klijentima koji su preko njegovih radove ovdje prepoznali njihovu kvalitetu. Ovdje on svoj rad naplati enormno manje nego što bi ga naplatio u Švedskoj ili drugdje.

Zašto bi izabrala Portugal ili Španjolsku a ne recimo Skandinaviju?

- Osim zbog vremena, jer mi se ne da baš hodati po snijegu stalno, zbog mentaliteta ljudi. Nisam navikla na to da nakon posla samo odem doma, nego da se sjedne na kavu, pivu. Ta socijalna nota mi je važna u životu i ne bi htjela ići tamo gdje je drugačije nego tu.

Govoriš li jezike?

- Ne, to bi bila prepreka ali ne bi bila velika. Ne bi bio problem naučiti. U mom polju se čak može raditi i na engleskom.

Jesi kad bila tamo?

- Da, bila sam u Španjolskoj a sad su mi neki prijatelji baš bili i na Erasmusu tamo I dojmovi su samo pozitivni što se tiče tih stvari koje bi smatrala bitnim. Što se tiče tog socijalnog života i klime.

Misliš li da je život bolji vani? I u materijalnom i u drugom smislu?

- Pa čak bih rekla i da. Recimo u Portugalu je puno manji problem iznajmljivanje stana. Cijene su jako niske. S normalnom početnom plaću se može. Ovdje je to nemoguće.

A u društvenom i kulturnom smislu?

- Pa noćni život je odličan. To mi je dosta bitno jer sam mlada. I manje su konzervativni, društva su otvorenija.

Bi li ti se bilo teško prilagoditi?

- Mislim da ne. Mislim da je mentalitet sličan našem.

Bi li se osjećala tamo kao stranac?

- Mislim da ne bih. Neko vrijeme sigurno ali ne dugo. Po iskustvima drugih ljudi znam da su tamo ljudi otvoreni i prihvaćaju sve.

Misliš li da su mladi u Hrvatskoj i recimo Španjolskoj slični?

- Pa čak mislim da jesu. Kažem i dalje pričam po tuđem iskustvu, ali načini na koji provode slobodno vrijeme je isti kao naš, druženja, klubovi, zabava, sve je to isto.

Što misliš kakvu ulogu ima globalizaciju u tome što smo slični?

- Sigurno da ima veliku. Sve nas pune istim sadržajem i zbog toga iste stvari smatramo normalnima.

Koliku ulogu u svemu ima EU?

- Pa mislim da zapravo nema veliku.

Misliš li da EU stvara neki zaljednički identitet?

- Osobno mislim da ne. Ne postoji nešto kao građanin Europe.

Ispitanik broj 9

Aleksandar Mihajlović, Zagreb, 25 godina, student pete godine Fakulteta strojarstva i brodogradnje u Zagrebu.

Zašto razmišljaš o odlasku iz Hrvatske?

- Zbog boljih uvijeta rada vani, a i samih iskustava. Sve što mogu dobit.

Što za tebe znače bolji uvijeti?

- Više novca za manje vremena.

A na kakva iskustva ciljaš?

- Pa rad na većim projektima. Kod nas je sve nekako malo, mislim ne znam još sam na faksu, ali mislim da se vani mogu bolje ostvariti nego vani.

Jeli te strah da nećeš naći posao vani?

- Pa da, ovdje je nesigurno sve. Vani ima više prilika.

Koji su po tebi najveći problem s kojima se mladi suočavaju ovdje pa odlaze van?

- Očito je da su to niže plaće, koliko imaš ljudi koji završe faks pa ili ne rade u svojoj branši ili se uopće ne zaposle, a i ako rade nisu adekvatno plaćeni. Onda, posebno ako imaš već neku familiju vani ili nešto na što se možeš osloniti, nemre bit lošije nego tu.

Postoji li još nešto što te vuče van, osim ovog finacijskog materijalnog dijela?

- Postoji... sama mjesta..kada biraš gdje ćeš otić sigurno nećeš ići na naftnim bušotinama sam na moru, želiš ići u veći grad, s više sadržaja... vidjet svijeta.

Gdje bi ti izabrao ići?

- Okvirno htio bi ići na zapad. Ali s obzirom što znam ruski mogao bih i tamo.Dobro, Rusija je malo nestabilna. A što se tiče zapada otvoren sam za bilo koji veći centar. Amerika i Engleska su favoti jer bih automatski znao jezik, ali volio bih raditi i u Njemačkoj, Francuskoj, zašto ne.

Što bi tamo volio raditi?

- Volio bih raditi milijun poslova. Što u svojoj branši, što izvan nje.

Veliš izvan branše. Znači li to da bi išao tamo samo zaraditi novac na bilo koji način ili ti je bitno da se profesionalno ostvariš?

- Pa i jedno i drugo. Radio bih nešto što je unutar mojih interesa.

Nabrojao si par mjesta gdje bi vilio ići. Možeš li mi pojasniti zašto baš tamo?

- Pa dobro, Rusiju sam već rekao, znam jezik pa bi se lakše snašao tamo. I kulturno su bliži mislim. A već sam rekao, htio bih vidjeti to, zanima me, sve je to novo iskustvo.

Da emigriraš iz Hrvatske, bi li išao van s namjerom da ostaneš tamo ili bi se htio vratiti s uštedevinom?

- Pa i jendo i drugo bi mi bilo na pameti. Ne bih se bojao ostati tamo i sigurno bi si gradio život tamo, ali opet, ne vidim problem u tome da se vratim. Manji je problem vratit se nego ostati.

Kako zamišljaš život vani? Imaš li neku percepciju o tome?

- Pa prvo što mi pada na pamet u životu vani je da bi mi bio problem što ne bih znao nikog. Volio bih ići negdje gdje bar poznajem nekog jer bi mi bilo dosta teško solo.

A u profesionalnom smislu, rad u mojoj struci je manje više isti, samo što je razlika u tome na čemu i za koliko radiš. I u profesionalnim odnosima naravno.

Kakve su razlike u profesionalnim odnosima?

- Tipa pravila. Sad imaš tisuću primjerka kako je u Americi tržište deset puta brutalnije, konkurentnije. U Americi je deset sati radnog vremena sprdačina. Radi se deset sati bar pod normalno. I to ne uključuje sat vremena pauze kao ovdje.

Misliš li da bi ti se bilo teško prilagoditi?

- Pa sigurno. Možda čak ispočetka ne. Valjda bi me uzeo taj neki inicijalni moment. Neki adrenalin. Ali sigurno da bi u jednom trenutku počeo osjećati kako mi je teško.

Misliš li da bi dugo ostao stranac?

- Ovisi gdje. Recimo znam za tisuću slučajeva kako se Rusi odnose prema strancima i to je fakat sranje. A na zapadu ne znam. Znam neke ljude koji su otišli u Njemačku, koji kažu da si ti za njih uvijek stranac. Ali to ovisi i o osobi dosta. Ne znam.

A s tvoje strane, bi li se asimilirao?

- Pa mislim da bi. Mislim ovisi isto da li bi htio. Možda bi htio ići dalje negdje.

Koliko su ljudi generalno, s naglaskom na mlade, kulturno različiti ovdje i vani?

- Pa teško je govoriti o nekim razlikama sad u vrijeme globalizacije. Ali mislim da je zanimljivo kako mladi ovdje ostaju doma jako dugo a vani se već s osamnaest osamostaljuju. Prije dobiju taj nekakav instinkt za otići. Mislim da su kod nas mladi nesigurni. A što se tiče ovako nekih navika, mislim da su veći konzumeristi nego mi i mislim da su organiziraniji.

Kakve su te razlike sad u odnosu na to kakve su bile prije dvadesetak godina? Jesu li sada veće ili manje?

- Mislim da su puno manje, zbog trendova, globalizacije, interneta...U krajnjoj liniji nema više ni komunizama pa smo svi isto odgajani...

Kako globalizacije utječe na to?

- Pa stvara se isto.. U nedostatku ideoloških razlika stvara se jedna zajednička ideologija... stvara se ta jedinstvena kultura konzumerizma. Sustav nam se cijeli zasniva na tome pa ne možemo biti drugačiji.

Kako to utječe na nacionalne ili regionalne kulture?

- Pa smanjuju se razlike brzo. Mislim Amerika je savršen primjer kako se u 200 godina sve kulture stope u jedno. Od te culture Engleza, Iraca, Talijana stvorena je jedna.

Kakvu ulgu vidiš EU u tom boomu odlazaka?

- Pa mislim da ima ulogu, mobilnost mladih se promiče...

Je li to birokratski ili ima neku ideološku pozadinu? Stvara li se europski identitet?

- Mislim da bi se trebao ali da je to teško i komplicirano. Mislim da je puno nacija, puno razlika i da zajedničkog europskog identiteta još zapravo nema.

Ispitanik broj 10

Iva Hlavač, Valpovo, 28 godina, zaposlena na pola radnog vremena u Savezu gluhih Hrvatske

Zašto želiš otići iz Hrvatske?

- Pa nakon što sam završila stručno osposobljavanje u Centru za socijalnu skrb i položila stručni ispit, ponudili su mi da idem čuvati djecu u Irsku, otišla sam na par mjeseci iako mi to nije struka zato što u Slavoniji nisam imala uopće mogućnosti naći bilokakav posao. Uostalom, osim čuvanja djece trebala sam raditi na nekim projektima. Osim toga i htjela sam vidjeti Irsku. Ne znam kada bi mi se inače pružila takva mogućnost.

Znači kada razmišljaš o odlasku razmatraš i prihvaćanje poslova koji ti nisu u struci?

- Pa ne bih prihvatila sad baš bilo šta, ali uzela bi svašta. Na primjer otac te djece koju sam čuvala je radio u svejtski poznatom centru za skrb djece s posebnim potrebama, a to je recimo područje koje men zanima, ta socijalna skrb. Mislim, hoću reći uvijek se može naučiti nešto. U bilokakvoj situaciji. A i da nije bilo toga opet bih otišla. Čisto zbog novih iskustava.

Koji su po tvom viđenju osnovni problemi s kojima se mladi ovdje suočavaju pa se odlučuju na odlazak?

- Pa očigledno da je to nedostatak posla. Ti završiš neki fakultet u to uložiš pet, šest, sedam godina i onda nemaš priliku naći posao u struci. Čak sad nemaš više priliku naći ni bilokakav posao. Ni konobarenje, sve je problem. Naše gospodarstvo je katastrofa. Mladi misle da ćeš odlaskom van zaraditi masu para bez nekog truda. Što je isto pogreška jer znam dosta onih odlaze bez ikakvog plana i onda se vraćaju kući u istoj situaciji. Ako hoćeš negdje ići moraš imati nekakav unaprijed smišljen plan.

Odakle dolazi ta percepcija kod mladih da će si odlaskom van moći srediti život?

- Pa plaće su veće vani. Vjerovatno znaju neke ljude koji otišli van i snašli se, pa to valjda tako ide, usmenom predajom.

Ti si recimo bila to kraće vrijeme u Irskoj, sada si opet tu i razmiljaš o novom pokušaju vani, postoji li nešto drugo osim ovog finansijsko-materijalnog aspekta što te vuče van?

- Pa normalno, htjela bi vidjeti što je više moguće dok još mogu, upoznat više svijeta, steći nova iskustva. Kultura je u nekim gradovima razvijenija, bogatija. Men konkretno zanima književnost i pisanje. Vani ima puno toga što me zanima.

Što bi htjela raditi?

- Htjela bi se baviti nekakvim socijalnim uslugama. A htjela bi ići na puno mjesta. Sad me recimo zanima New York jako. Ali mislim da ne bih htjela tamo baš živjeti. Voljela bih živjeti ipak negdje u Europi.

Koje jezike govoriš misliš li da ti je poznavanje jezika bitno za mogućnost nalaženja posla?

- Govorim engleski i njemački. Ali mislim da jezik ne bi bio problem. To se jako brzo nući. A dosta poslova možeš raditi i bez da govoriš jezik. Možda poslove s ljudima koje bi ja htjela raditi ne baš, ali brzo se to pokupi. Puno ljudi je otišlo u Njemačku bez da znaju bekni pa su se snašli.

Kakva je tvoja percepcija života izvan Hrvatske?

- Pa iskreno mislim da je uvijek onako kako si čovjek napravi. Da se ti trudiš i u Hrvatskoj da bi uspio. Ali ipak mislim da je vani možda lakše. Što se tiče nekih kulturnih sadržaja, malo je bolje, zavis gdje odeš, što te već zanima. Ne znam, ja ne želim otići negdje s ciljem da zaradim brdo love. A sad kako ćeš ti živjeti to je tvoja stvar, možeš živjeti u najvećem kulturnom središtu i ništa ne iskoristiti.

Misliš li da bi ti se bilo teško asimilirati negdje vani?

- Mislim da ne. Dosta sam ja i putovala, nekad i sama, u Zagreb sam došla sama. Snađe se čovjek. Sve je u glavi, ako se želiš naviknuti, naviknut ćeš se.

Bi li se osjećala kao stranac?

- Vjerovatno bi. Bilogdje da odem, a nemam nekog kog znam. Mislim da bi se svatko osjećao i usamljeno i svakako ali opet, na tebi je sve. Možeš uvijek upoznat ljude i prilagodit se.

Da odeš van, da li bi gradila svoj život u smjeru da ostaneš tamo ili bi uvijek razmišljala o povratku?

- Pa zavisi. Ne mogu odgovorit na to pitanje. Zavisi o puno stvari.

Koliko si ti po svom mišljenju kulturno različita od mladih vani?

- Pa ne puno. Mislim da tu nema neke velike razlike. Danas su nam dostupne sve informacije, putem tevea, putem interneta. Sve što te zanima ti je na dohvat ruke unutar jedne sekunde. Svugdje je tako pa ne vidim što bi nas moglo činit različitim baš.

Što misliš koja je uloga globalizacije u tome što su mladi sve više i više mobilni?

- Ne znm. Mislim da je to postao neki trend. Mislim da se svijet mijenja, drugačiji je, sve je užurbanije, stalno ti treba nešto novo. Ne možeš više završit fakultet i reć to je to, to ja znam, to ja radim, nego su ti potrebna nova znanja i iskustva i puno toga drugoga, a mislim da smo mi tu u Hrvatskoj možda malo zaostali po tim nekim pitanjima pa mladi često prerastu Hrvatsku jednostavno.

Kakva je uloga Europske unije u tom boomu odlazaka?

- Europska unija im je olakšala put, ali neke velike uloge nema.

Postoji li nekakav zajednički Europski identitet?

- Mislim da ne. U teoriji da, u praksi, mislim štajaznam, ne.