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Motivi, čimbenici i konačnost povratnih migracija iz Njemačke u Hrvatsku

Motives, factors, and finality of return migration from Germany to Croatia

Cilj je istraživanja utvrditi motive za povratak, konačnost povratka i važnost geografske blizine zemlje podrijetla i odredišta kao čimbenika povratnih migracija hrvatskih državljana iseljenih u Njemačku nakon ulaska Hrvatske u Europsku uniju. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da su glavni motivi povratka ispitanika ispunjenje cilja zbog kojega su se iselili, povezanost s društvom u Hrvatskoj i nezadovoljstvo njemačkim društvom. Ispitanike uz Hrvatsku vežu obitelj, prijatelji i ljubav prema domovini, međutim ne i ekonomske prilike, koje su istaknuli kao mogući potisni čimbenik ponovnoga odlaska iz Hrvatske u budućnosti. U slučaju ponovnoga odlaska pojedini bi ispitanici pri odabiru odredišne zemlje, zbog geografske blizine Hrvatskoj, odnosno manjih troškova povremenih dolazaka u domovinu i lakšega održavanja izravnih odnosa s društvom zemlje podrijetla, osim Njemačke u obzir mogli uzeti i Austriju. Iskustva ispitanika upozorila su na potrebu učinkovitijih demografskih mjera (posebice u okviru stambene i radne politike) te podizanja životnoga standarda, koje su istaknuli kao snažne potisne čimbenike iseljavanja iz Hrvatske.

The research aims to determine the motives, finality of return, and the importance of geographical proximity of the country of origin and destination for return migration of Croatian citizens who immigrated to Germany after Croatia's accession to the EU. The main motives for the return of the respondents are the fulfilment of a goal abroad, connection to Croatia, and dissatisfaction with German society. The respondents are connected to Croatia by family, friends, and love for their homeland, but not by economic conditions, which were pointed out as a possible push factor for re-emigration from Croatia in the future. In the case of going abroad again, some respondents might consider Austria, in addition to Germany, due to its geographical proximity to Croatia. The experiences of the respondents showed that more effective population policies are needed, especially related to housing and labour policies, and a better standard of living, which were mentioned as strong push factors for emigration from Croatia.

Ključne riječi: povratna migracija, motivi migracije, geografska blizina, Hrvatska, Njemačka

Key words: return migration, motives of migration, geographical proximity, Croatia, Germany

Uvod

Međunarodna migracija u većini literature smatrana je pozitivnim procesom koji je omogućio razvoj mnogih danas visokorazvijenih zemalja te otvorio nove mogućnosti zaposlenja milijunima ljudi diljem svijeta. Ipak, nesumnjivo je da vanjske migracije na zemlje podrijetla i odredišta migranata djeluju različito (Wertheimer-Baletić, 1999; Nejašmić, 2005). S obzirom na pojedine negativne posljedice iseljavanja na ukupan razvoj zemalja podrijetla migranata zemlje obilježene intenzivnim iseljavanjem stanovništva, s ciljem povratka svojih iseljenika, posljednjih desetljeća sve češće definiraju povratne migracijske politike. Definiranje povratnih migracijskih politika pritom zahtijeva potpuno razumijevanje procesa povratnih migracija i kvalitetnu znanstvenu podlogu, a izostanak većega broja istraživanja povratnih migracijskih tokova jedan je od razloga što mjere pojedinih zemalja s ciljem poticanja povratka iseljenika uglavnom nisu imale većega uspjeha (Dustmann i dr., 1996. prema de Haas i dr., 2015). Potonjemu dodatno doprinosi teorijska i metodološka složenost (povratnih) migracija te manjkavost pojedinih službenih statistika koje ne raspolažu kvalitetnim podacima o migracijama. Spomenute manjkavosti službenih statističkih podataka odnose se i na Republiku Hrvatsku, odnosno Godišnja izvješća Državnog zavoda za statistiku o vanjskoj migraciji Republike Hrvatske koja sve do uspostave registra stanovništva kvantitativna istraživanja o migracijama ostavljaju na razini procjena.

Prema podacima Državnog zavoda za statistiku o vanjskoj migraciji Republike Hrvatske, od 2013., odnosno ulaska Republike Hrvatske u Europsku uniju, do danas, zaključno s posljednjim dostupnim podacima za 2021. godinu, iz Hrvatske se iselilo više od 300.000 osoba, dok se istovremeno uselilo oko 200.000 osoba. Gotovo polovica svih iseljenika (oko 140.000 osoba) u spomenutom razdoblju iselila se u Saveznu Republiku Njemačku. S obzirom na brojnost stanovništva iseljenog u Njemačku u recentnom iseljeničkom valu te njegovu važnost kao demografskoga revitalizacijskog potencijala Republike Hrvatske, predmet su istraživanja povratne migracije hrvatskih državljana iseljenih u Nje-

Introduction

In most of the literature, international migration is considered as a positive process that enables the development of many highly developed countries today and has opened up new employment opportunities for millions of people worldwide. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that external migration affects the countries of origin and destination differently (Wertheimer-Baletić, 1999; Nejašmić, 2005). Considering some negative consequences of emigration on the overall development of migrants' countries of origin, certain countries characterized by intensive population emigration have enacted return migration policies to lure emigrants back to their country of origin. Defining effective return migration policies requires a complete understanding of the process of return migration and a quality scientific basis, and the absence of many studies on return migration flows is one of the reasons why the measures of individual countries intended to encourage the return of emigrants have generally not been very successful (Dustmann et al., 1996 according to de Haas et al., 2015). The latter is additionally contributed by the theoretical and methodological complexity of (return) migration and the deficiency of official statistics, which do not have quality data on migration. The same applies to the annual reports of the Croatian Bureau of Statistics on external migration of the Republic of Croatia that, until the establishment of a population register, allow quantitative research on migration only at the level of estimates.

According to the data of the Croatian Bureau of Statistics on external migration of the Republic of Croatia 2013–2021, i.e., from the accession of the Republic of Croatia into the European Union to the time of writing, including the latest available data for 2021, more than 300,000 people have emigrated from Croatia, while during the same period about 200,000 people immigrated. In the mentioned period, almost half of all emigrants (around 140,000) emigrated to the Federal Republic of Germany. Considering the number of persons immigrating to Germany in the recent emigration wave and their importance for the demographic revitalization potential of the Republic of Croatia, the subject of research is the return migration of Croatian citizens

mačku nakon ulaska Hrvatske u Europsku uniju. Cilj je istraživanja utvrditi motive za povratak, konačnost povratka i važnost geografske blizine zemlje podrijetla i odredišta kao čimbenika povratnih migracija hrvatskih državljana iseljenih u Njemačku nakon ulaska Hrvatske u Europsku uniju.

Pregled dosadašnjih istraživanja

Glavni fokus znanstvenih istraživanja migracija dugo je bio na emigraciji i motivima iseljavanja iz zemalja podrijetla migranata, a prije samo dva desetljeća R. King istaknuo je da je povratna migracija „veliko nenapisano poglavlje u povijesti migracija” (2000, 7). Posljednjih desetljeća povratne migracije razmatraju se sve češće, međutim dosadašnja teorijska istraživanja (Gmelch, 1980; Rogers, 1983; King, 2000; Cassarino, 2004; Dustmann i Weiss, 2007; Battistella, 2018; King i Kuschminder, 2022) pokazuju da su povratne migracije i dalje nedovoljno istraženo područje jer se njihova teorijska objašnjenja gotovo isključivo odnose na opće teorije migracija.¹ Među dosadašnjim empirijskim istraživanjima povratnih migracija izdvojiti možemo istraživanja koja se bave motivima povratnih migracija, istraživanja o namjerama povratka te istraživanja čiji su predmet interesa povratne migracije u Republiku Hrvatsku.

Među brojnim istraživanjima motiva povratnih migracija različitih etničkih skupina kao relevantna za ovaj rad posebno se ističu istraživanja o povratnim migracijama poljskih radnih migranata iseljenih u Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo nakon ulaska Poljske u EU. Rezultati potonjih istraživanja pokazuju da su se krajem prvoga desetljeća 21. stoljeća javile naznake o povratku i razmatranju povratka sve većega broja poljskih migranata, no mnogi su od njih u međuvremenu ponovno emigrirali. Ipak, kao najučestaliji motivi povratka poljskih migranata u spomenutim se istraživanjima ističu ostvarenje cilja zbog kojega su se iselili (uštedevina, istek ugovora o radu i sl.), izgledi za bolji posao u Poljskoj, niži troškovi života

¹ Detaljna analiza teorija povratnih migracija prelazi okvire ovoga rada, stoga one neće biti navedene u okviru pregleda dosadašnjih istraživanja. Teorijska objašnjenja koja su činila polazište ovoga istraživanja navedena su u nastavku rada.

who immigrated to Germany after Croatia's accession to the EU. The research aims to determine the motives and finality of return migration, and the importance of the geographical proximity of the country of origin and destination on the (return) migration of Croatian citizens who immigrated to Germany after Croatia entered the European Union.

Overview of previous research

For a long time, the main focus of scientific research on migration was on emigration and the motives for leaving the countries of origin, and only two decades ago R. King pointed out that return migration is 'the great unwritten chapter in the history of migration' (2000, 7). In recent decades, return migration has been considered more and more often, however, theoretical research (Gmelch, 1980; Rogers, 1983; King, 2000; Cassarino, 2004; Dustmann and Weiss, 2007; Battistella, 2018; King and Kuschminder, 2022) indicates that return migration is still an insufficiently researched area because theoretical explanations are almost exclusively related to general theories of migration.¹ Among the previous empirical research on return migration, we can single out research of the motives of return migration, research of the intentions of return, and research where the subject of interest is return migration to the Republic of Croatia.

Among the numerous research on the motives of return migrations of different ethnic groups, relevant for this paper, the research on the return migrations of Polish labour migrants who immigrated to the United Kingdom after Poland's accession to the EU stand out. The results show that, at the end of the 2010s, there were indications of return and consideration of return of an increasing number of Polish migrants, but many of them re-emigrated again. However, as the most frequent motives of the return of Polish migrants were the achievement of the goal for which they emigrated (savings, expiration of the employment contract, etc.), prospects for a better job in Poland, lower living

¹ A detailed analysis of return migration theories goes beyond the scope of this paper, so it will not be listed in the overview of previous research. The theoretical explanations that formed the starting point for research are listed below in the paper.

u Poljskoj, obiteljski razlozi te nostalgija za domovinom (Cieslik, 2011, Machnis-Walasek i Organisciak-Krzykowska, 2014; Filimonau i Mika, 2017; Kijonka i Żak, 2020).² White (2014) uz to navodi da su pri samom donošenju odluke o povratku u zemlju podrijetla, odnosno ostanku u zemlji odredišta, poljskim migrantima važan čimbenik i potencijalne poteškoće s društvenom i ekonomskom reintegracijom u zemlji podrijetla. Osim motiva povratka poljskih državljana u okviru projekta *Re-Turn* ispitani su motivi povratnih migracija 549 iseljenika iz pet zemalja članica Europske unije od 2004. godine (Slovačke, Češke, Slovenije, Mađarske i Poljske) te Njemačke, Austrije i Italije. Rezultati istraživanja pokazali su da su najučestaliji motivi povratka ispitanika obiteljski razlozi, život u zemlji podrijetla općenito te udaljenost od prijatelja (Lang i Nadler, 2014).³

Rezultati istraživanja namjera povratka u zemlju podrijetla pokazuju da je donošenje odluke o povratku i realizacija povratka nerijetko rezultat individualnih čimbenika, međutim postoje i određene zakonitosti. Prema istraživanju Dustmanna i dr. (1996) sklonost povratku u zemlju podrijetla raste s dobi migranata pri ulasku u odredišnu zemlju, međutim ima tendenciju pada s duljinom boravka u odredišnoj zemlji. Jensen i Pedersen (2008) istaknuli su da na namjere povratka pojedinih iseljenika utječu i stupanj razvoja zemlje podrijetla migranata, stupanj obrazovanja migranata, obiteljske veze te uspjeh, odnosno neuspjeh migranata u pogledu asimilacije i integracije na tržište rada odredišne zemlje. Rezultati istraživanja de Haasa i dr. (2015) pokazuju da su investicije i društvene veze sa zemljom podrijetla u pozitivnoj, a društveno-kulturna integracija u odredišnim zemljama u negativnoj vezi s namjerama povratka u zemlju podrijetla. Slična saznanja donose i

2 Utjecaj društveno-gospodarske stvarnosti zemlje podrijetla i odredišta na povratak migranata potvrđuju i rezultati istraživanja procesa useljavanja i povratka etničkih skupina u Gornju Šlesku od 1898. do 1995./1998. godine, koji pokazuju da su motivi useljavanja i povratka u tranzicijskom razdoblju Poljske bili u čvrstoj vezi s gospodarskom i društvenom situacijom u zemlji podrijetla, posebice gospodarskim rastom. Dio iseljenika, posebice nestabilnoga ekonomskog i socijalnoga statusa u inozemstvu, na povratak su potakli sve sličniji uvjeti života i rada u Njemačkoj i Poljskoj (Heffner, 1999; 2000).

3 Više o motivima povratka iseljenih prema pojedinim zemljama podrijetla vidjeti na: <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssar-390656>.

costs in Poland, family reasons and homesickness (Cieslik, 2011; Machnis-Walasek and Organisciak-Krzykowska, 2014; Filimonau and Mika, 2017; Kijonka and Żak, 2020).² White (2014) also stated that potential difficulties with social and economic reintegration into the country of origin were an important factor for Polish migrants when deciding to return to Poland. The results of the *Re-Turn* project examined the motives of return migrations of 549 emigrants from five member states of the European Union since 2004 (Slovakia, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Hungary, and Poland), Germany, Austria and Italy. The results of the research showed that the most frequent reasons for the respondent's return were family reasons, life in the country of origin in general, and proximity to friends (Lang and Nadler, 2014).³

The results of the research on the intention to return to the country of origin show that the decision to return and the realization of the return is often the result of individual factors, however certain legalities are also apparent. According to the research by Dustmann et al. (1996), the propensity to return to the country of origin increases with the age of the migrants when entering the country of destination, however, it tends to decrease with the length of stay in the country of destination. Jensen and Pedersen (2008) pointed out that the level of development of the country of origin of migrants, the level of education of migrants, family ties and the success or failure of migrants in terms of assimilation and integration into the labour market in the destination country also influence the return intentions of individual emigrants. The results of research by de Haas et al. (2015) showed that investments and social ties with the country of origin had a positive relationship, and socio-cultural integration in destination countries a negative relationship, with in-

2 The impact of the socio-economic reality of the country of origin and the destination on the return of migrants is also confirmed by the results of research on the process of emigration and return of ethnic groups to Upper Silesia from 1898 to 1995/1998 which indicate that the motives for emigration and return in the transition period of Poland were closely related to the economic and social situation in the country of origin, especially economic growth. A share of the emigrants, especially those with unstable economic and social status abroad, were encouraged to return by similar living and working conditions in Germany and Poland (Heffner, 1999; 2000).

3 See more about the motives of migrants' return according to individual countries of origin at: <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssar-390656>.

Snel, Faber i Engbersen (2015), koji su istaknuli da migranti sa snažnim vezama s društvom odredišne zemlje, u odnosu na migrante sa snažnim transnacionalnim vezama, u znatno manjoj mjeri ističu namjeru povratka u zemlju podrijetla.

Istraživanja o povratnim migracijama u Republici Hrvatsku u odnosu na istraživanja o iseljavanju iz Republike Hrvatske također je znatno manje. Rezultati istraživanja provedenog potkraj 1990-ih na uzorku od 133 povratnika iz prekomorskih i europskih zemalja, od kojih se većina u Hrvatsku vratila nakon 1991. godine, pokazali su da su najčešći motivi povratka ispitanika nostalgija za domovinom te pokretanje novoga odnosno proširenje postojećega posla (Peračković, 2006). Nostalgija za domovinom kao motiv za povratak ističe se i u analizi četiriju migrantskih iskustava u trokutu Hrvatska-Njemačka-Slovenija autorice Čapo Žmegač (2007), a osim nostalgije kao glavne motive povratka ispitanici gasterbajteri navodili su neodgovarajući njemački mentalitet, obiteljske razloge, ostvarenje cilja zbog kojega su se iselili u povratak nakon umirovljenja. U istraživanju povratnih iskustava migrantica koje su se iselile u Njemačku, Švicarsku i Italiju u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća, autorica Mesarić Žabčić i Vrbanec (2017), kao osnovni motivi povratka ističu se obitelj u zemlji podrijetla, njihov identitet, privrženost životu i društvu u domovini te želja za investiranjem i realizacijom poduzetničke ideje. Bara (2013) u istraživanju povratnih migracija na otok (iz inozemstva i drugih dijelova Republike Hrvatske) kao najčešće motive povratka ispitanika ističe nostalgiju za domovinom i emotivni odnos prema otoku te zaključuje da „fizičko preseljenje u drugu sredinu ne mora nužno značiti da se osoba preseljava i emocionalno” (2013, 213). Povratne migracije na otok predmet su istraživanja i autorice Marinović Golubić (2017), koja na primjeru suvremenih migracija na otok Korčulu razdvaja iskustva povratka prve i druge generacije migranata navodeći da su motivi povratka ispitanih povratnika prve generacije iseljenih šezdesetih i osamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća (u prekomorske zemlje i veće hrvatske gradove) najčešće subjektivni i povezani s osjećajem pripadnosti otoku, odnosno nostalgijom, ali i posve praktični

tentions to return. Similar findings were also obtained by Snel, Faber and Engbersen (2015), who pointed out that migrants with strong ties to the society of the destination country, compared to migrants with strong transnational ties, emphasized the intention to return to the country of origin to a much lesser extent.

There is also significantly less work and research on return migration to Croatia than on emigration from Croatia. The results of research conducted at the end of the 1990s on a sample of 133 returnees from overseas and European countries, the majority of whom returned to Croatia after 1991, showed that the most common motives for the respondents' return were nostalgia for their homeland and starting a new, or expanding an existing, business (Peračković, 2006). Nostalgia for the homeland as a motive for return is also highlighted in the analysis of four migrant experiences in the Croatia-Germany-Slovenia triangle by Čapo Žmegač (2007), and, apart from nostalgia, as the main motive for return the interviewed guest workers cited the (incompatible) German mentality, family reasons, achieving the goal for which they moved abroad and returning after retirement. Mesarić Žabčić and Vrbanec (2017), in their research on the return experiences of five women who emigrated to Germany, Switzerland and Italy in the second half of the 20th century, highlighted family in the country of origin, identity, attachment to life and society in their homeland, and the desire to invest and realize an entrepreneurial idea as the main motives for returning. Bara (2013), in his research on return migration to an island (from abroad and other parts of the Republic of Croatia) pointed out the nostalgia for the homeland and an emotional relationship to the island as the most common motives for return, and concluded that 'physical relocation to another environment does not necessarily mean that a person moves emotionally' (2013, 213). Return migrations to an island are also the subject of research by Marinović Golubić (2017), who on the example of contemporary migrations to the island of Korčula, separates the return experiences of the first and second-generation migrants, stating that the motives behind the return of the surveyed first-generation returnees who emigrated in the 1960s and 1980s (overseas and to larger Croatian cities) are most often subjective and connected with the feeling of belonging to the island, or nostalgia, but also com-

i objektivni, odnosno vezani uz održavanje aktivnosti nakon umirovljenja, istek dozvole boravka i povratak s ušteđevinom. Razlozi povratka ispitanih pripadnika druge generacije migranata najčešće su vezani uz dugotrajnu želju za povratkom, fizičku sigurnost koju nudi otok te „obiteljsku ukorijenjenost razloga za povratak” (2017, 127). Navedena dosadašnja istraživanja povratnih migracija u Republiku Hrvatsku odnose se na iseljene u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća, dok su istraživanja čiji su predmet interesa povratne migracije hrvatskoga stanovništva iseljenog nakon ulaska Republike Hrvatske u Europsku uniju podzastupljena.

Metodologija istraživanja

U istraživanju motiva, konačnosti povratnih migracija i geografske blizine zemlje podrijetla i odredišta kao čimbenika (povratnih) migracija hrvatskih državljana iseljenih u Njemačku nakon ulaska Hrvatske u Europsku uniju primijenjen je kvalitativni pristup. Prvi razlog za odabir kvalitativne metodologije vezan je uz nedostatnost statističkoga bilježenja povratnih migranata koje bi omogućilo postizanje reprezentativnoga uzorka ispitanika i statističku relevantnost istraživanja. Drugi se razlog odnosi na potrebu individualnoga pristupa ispitanicima s ciljem prikupljanja što više podataka o njihovim migracijskim iskustvima (bez potencijalnoga nametanja odgovora od ispitivača ili izostavljanja pitanja specifičnih za iskustvo pojedinoga ispitanika), što je znatno teže postići metodom anketiranja, odnosno unaprijed definiranim anketnim upitnikom.

Istraživanje je provedeno metodom polustrukturiranoga intervjua. Predložak za intervju sastojao se od nekoliko unaprijed zadanih tematskih cjelina (planirana duljina boravka u inozemstvu prije iseljavanja, iskustvo života i rada u inozemstvu, odnos s društvom odredišne zemlje, motivi povratka, namjere ponovnoga odlaska u inozemstvo i važnost geografske blizine zemlje podrijetla i odredišne zemlje kao čimbenika migracija), međutim bez strogo propisana redosljeda pitanja. Is-

pletely practical and objective, i.e. related to maintaining activities after retirement, expiration of residence permit, and returning with accumulated savings. The reasons for the return of the interviewed members of the second generation of migrants are most often related to a long-term desire to return, the physical security offered by the island, and ‘family rootedness of the reason for returning’ (2017, 127). The aforementioned studies of return migration to the Republic of Croatia refer to emigrants in the second half of the 20th century, while studies whose subject of interest is the return migration of Croatians who emigrated after the accession of the Republic of Croatia to the EU are deficient.

Research methodology

In the research on the motives, the finality of return migration, and the geographical proximity of the country of origin and destination as factors of (return) migration of Croatian citizens who immigrated to Germany after Croatia’s accession to the European Union, a qualitative approach was applied. The first reason for choosing a qualitative methodology is related to insufficient statistical data regarding return migrants, which would enable the achievement of a representative sample of respondents and the statistical relevance of the research. The second reason relates to the need for an individual approach to the respondents to collect as much data as possible about their migration experiences (without potentially imposing answers by the examiner or omitting questions specific to the experience of an individual respondent), which is much more difficult to achieve with the survey method, i.e. with a predefined survey questionnaire.

The research was conducted using the semi-structured interview method. The interview template consisted of several predetermined thematic units (planned length of stay abroad before emigration, experience of living and working abroad, relationship with the society of the destination country, motives for returning, intentions to go abroad again, and the importance of geographical proximity between the country of origin and destination as a factor of migration), without a strictly prescribed

pitanici su odabrani metodom tzv. snježne grude⁴, odnosno putem međusobnih preporuka osoba s obilježjima relevantnima za istraživanje, pri čemu se, zbog pretpostavke o mogućem djelomičnom podudaranju migracijskih iskustava, vodilo računa da ispitanici nisu u obiteljskoj vezi. Kriteriji za odabir sugovornika odnosili su se na povratne migrante, hrvatske državljane iseljene u Njemačku nakon ulaska Hrvatske u Europsku uniju, u radnoj dobi, a koji su u Njemačkoj proveli najmanje godinu dana.

Ukupno je provedeno devet intervjua. Raspon dobi ispitanika kretao se od 28 do 41 godine. Četvero je ispitanika iz Varaždinske županije, troje iz Grada Zagreba i dvoje iz Krapinsko-zagorske županije. Ispitanici koji su u inozemstvu bili najduže, u Njemačkoj su proveli šest godina (četvero ispitanika), troje ispitanika u Njemačkoj je provelo pet godina, dok je po jedan ispitanik u Njemačkoj proveo tri, odnosno dvije godine. S obzirom na završeni stupanj obrazovanja sedmero je ispitanika bilo sa završenom srednjom školom te po jedan ispitanik sa završenim preddiplomskim, odnosno diplomskim studijem.

Istraživanje je provedeno od veljače do lipnja 2022. godine u domovima ispitanika ili javnim prostorima. Ispitanici su intervjuu pristupili dobrovoljno te im je zajamčena anonimnost, povjerljivost i korištenje odgovora isključivo u znanstveno-istraživačke svrhe. Intervjui su provedeni uživo, bez vremenskoga ograničenja. Razgovori su snimani tonski, a transkripti razgovora sačuvani su na računalo autorice rada pod šiframa. Citati su navedeni doslovno, kako su i bilježeni, bez izražajnih oblika poput usklika i smijeha. Pri atribuciji pojedinih citata imena ispitanika zamijenjena su izrazima *Ispitanik 1*, *Ispitanik 2* itd., a imena i toponimi, radi zaštite identiteta ispitanika, izostavljeni su i iz citata.

order of questions. The respondents were selected using the “snowball” method⁴, i.e., via mutual recommendations of persons with characteristics relevant to the research, whereby, due to the assumption of a possible partial coincidence of migration experiences, care was taken to select respondents who did not have familial ties. The criteria for the selection of respondents referred to return migrants of working age, i.e., Croatian citizens who moved to Germany after the accession of Croatia to the EU, who spent at least one year in Germany.

A total of nine interviews were conducted. The age range of the respondents ranged from 28 to 41 years. Four of the respondents were from Varaždin County, three from the City of Zagreb and two from Krapina-Zagorje County. The respondents with the longest stay abroad spent six years in Germany (four respondents), three respondents spent five years in Germany, one respondent spent three years in Germany, and one respondent spent two years in Germany. In terms of educational level, seven respondents had a high school education, one respondent had a bachelor's degree, and one respondent had a master's degree.

The research was conducted from February to June 2022, in respondents' homes or public spaces. Respondents participated in the interviews voluntarily and were guaranteed anonymity, confidentiality, and that their answers would be used exclusively for scientific and research purposes. Interviews were conducted live, without time limits. Conversations were audio recorded, and transcripts of the conversations were stored on the author's computer in “code”. Quotes are reproduced verbatim as they were recorded, excluding expressive forms such as exclamations and laughter. When attributing individual quotes, the names of respondents were replaced by the terms *Respondent 1*, *Respondent 2*, etc., and names and toponyms, to protect the identity of the respondents, were omitted from the quotes.

⁴ Metoda „snježne grude” je neprobabilistička metoda uzorkovanja temeljena na ciljanom odabiru početnoga uskoga kruga ljudi (ispitanika) koji istraživača upućuju na druge ispitanike, s obilježjima relevantnima za istraživanje, koji mogu biti uključeni u studiju (Goodman, 1961).

⁴ The “snowball” method is a non-probabilistic sampling method based on the targeted selection of an initial narrow circle of people (respondents) who refer the researcher to other respondents with characteristics relevant to the research, who can be included in the study (Goodman, 1961).

Motivi povratka hrvatskih državljana iseljenih u Njemačku nakon ulaska Hrvatske u EU

S obzirom na makropolitčki i makroekonomski kontekst iseljavanja iz Hrvatske u Njemačku nakon 2013. godine (ulazak u Europsku uniju, otvaranje tržišta rada zemalja članica EU-a za hrvatske državljane, sloboda kretanja radne snage, gospodarski razvoj Njemačke itd.) te rezultate dosadašnjih istraživanja motiva povratnih migracija polazište u istraživanju motiva povratka hrvatskih državljana iseljenih u Njemačku nakon ulaska Hrvatske u Europsku uniju činila su objašnjenja povratnih migracija u okviru nove ekonomije radne migracije i teorije društvenih mreža. Nova ekonomija radne migracije čini odmak od neoklasičnih modela⁵ te migraciju podrazumijeva životnom strategijom kojom se koristi kućanstvo, odnosno obitelj, s ciljem povećanja prihoda i prevladavanja tržišnih ograničenja zemlje podrijetla, a „povratak razmatra kao logičan ishod uspješnog iskustva u inozemstvu i ispunjenja ciljeva migranata” (Cassarino, 2004, 255). Teorija društvenih veza uz migrante povratnike vezuje održavanje jakih materijalnih, osobnih i/ili emocionalnih veza između domovine i odredišne zemlje. Obiteljske i druge društvene mreže prema ovom pristupu djeluju kao „kanali” koji utječu na odluku o povratku, povratak i ono što se događa nakon povratka. Iako je potonji pristup blizak transnacionalnom pristupu, spomenute se veze u okviru teorije društvenih mreža odnose na zajedničke interese i postignuta migracijska iskustva, koja mogu pridonijeti povratku (Cassarino, 2004).

Rezultati istraživanja motiva povratka devetero hrvatskih državljana iseljenih u Njemačku nakon ulaska Hrvatske u EU pokazuju da se glavni motivi povratka ispitanika mogu svrstati u dvije kategorije. Prva kategorija odnosi se na povratak nakon ispunjenja cilja zbog kojega su se iselili u inozemstvo, a koji je kao osnovni motiv povratka istaknulo petero ispitanika:

⁵ Neoklasična ekonomija naglašava da migranti teže integraciji u društvo primitka i dugoročnom (trajnom) useljenu u odredišnu zemlju te povratak smatra rezultatom neuspješna migracijskoga iskustva (Cassarino, 2004, 255-257).

Motives for the return of Croatian citizens who immigrated to Germany after Croatia's accession to the EU

Considering the macropolitical and macroeconomic context of emigration from Croatia to Germany after 2013 (entry into the EU, the opening of the EU labour market for Croatian citizens, free movement of workers, economic development of Germany, etc.) and the results of previous research into the motives of return migration, the starting point in the research of motives for the return of Croatian citizens who immigrated to Germany after Croatia's entry into the European Union was the explanation of return migration within the framework of the new economics of labour migration and the theory of social networks. The new economics of labour migration represents a departure from neoclassical models⁵ and implies migration as a life strategy used by the household, i.e. the family, to increase income and overcome the market restrictions of the country of origin, and considers return as a logical outcome of a successful experience abroad and the fulfilment of the migrants' goals (Cassarino, 2004, 255). The social network theory with return migrants links the maintenance of strong material, personal and/or emotional ties between the homeland and the destination country. According to this approach, family and other social networks act as “channels” that influence the decision to return, the return itself, and what happens after the return. Although the latter approach is close to the transnational approach, the aforementioned connections within the framework of social network theory refer to common interests and achieved migration experiences, which can contribute to return (Cassarino, 2004).

The results of the survey on the motives for the return of nine respondents who emigrated to Germany after Croatia's accession to the EU show that the main motives for the return of the respondents can be divided into two categories. The first category refers to return due to a fulfilled goal abroad, which was mentioned by five respondents as the main reason for return:

⁵ Neoclassical economics emphasizes that migrants strive for integration into the receiving society and long-term (permanent) immigration to the destination country, and considers return to be the result of an unsuccessful migration experience (Cassarino, 2004, 255-257).

Pa ja ni inicijalno nisam otišao s namjerom da u Njemačkoj ostanem trajno ili neki duži period. Cilj je bio otići tamo, zaraditi što više, slati novce ženi i djeci koji su ostali u Hrvatskoj i vratiti se s čim više uštedevine. Takav je bio zajednički dogovor. I otvoriti doma svoj biznis. (...) Taman je za moju struku bila malo povoljnija situacija pa sam se vratio. (...) Nismo se htjeli preseliti za stalno pa nam opcija odlaska zajedno nije bila u igri. (Ispitanik 3, 38 godina)

A prema iskustvima drugih odlučili smo, žena i ja, otići malo podebljati račun da si doma možemo neke stvari srediti. A bez da dižemo neke ogromne kredite. Kad smo zašparali, onda smo se vratili. Takav je bil plan. (Ispitanik 9, 32 godine)

Možda čudno za čuti, ali ljubav prema domovini i obitelji i prijateljima mi ni nije dozvoljavala misliti o odlasku za stalno. Kak sam i rekel, cilj je bil zaraditi novce i vratiti se. Otplatiti kredit i otvoriti obrt. U tom valu iseljavanja je dosta ljudi moje struke otišlo van pa su se nama ostalima kak se kaže otvorila vrata i koja prilika. (Ispitanik 1, 41 godina)

Otišla sam zajedno sa suprugom, zapravo par mjeseci nakon. On je otišao naći nam smještaj i sebi posao pa sam mu se ja pridružila. Otišli smo s idejom da idemo privremeno. Da riješimo kolko-tolko stambeno pitanje jer nismo mogli dobiti baš veliki kredit da kupimo stan u Zagrebu, a suprug koji je imao veću plaću je radio na određeno. Kad smo došli do iznosa koji smo si zacrtali uštedjeti, odlučili smo ići nazad. (...) Nikad ni nismo bili sretni zbog odlaska jer nas sve veže za Hrvatsku. (Ispitanik 4, 31 godina).

Prema navedenim iskazima motive povratka ispitanih hrvatskih državljana, osim u okviru spomenute nove ekonomije radne migracije, moguće je promatrati i u okviru strukturalne perspektive. Oba pristupa „naglašavaju važnost ekonomskih i financijskih resursa donesenih u zemlju podrijetla pri donošenju odluke o povratku“, međutim strukturalna perspektiva razumijevanju povratnih migracija pridružuje i gospodarske, društvene i političke okolnosti u zemlji podrijetla koje utječu na odluku migranta o povratku (Cassarino, 2004, 257). Posebno to potvrđuju iskustva ispitanika koje je na povratak u Hrvatsku, osim ispunjenja cilja radi kojega su se iselili (uštedevina), potaknula i povoljnija ekonomska situacija u

Well, I didn't originally go to stay in Germany permanently or for an extended period. The goal was to go there, earn as much as possible, send money to my wife and children who stayed in Croatia, and return with as much savings as possible. That was the common agreement. And to open our own business at home. (...) The situation was just a little more favourable for my profession, so I came back. (...) We didn't want to move permanently, so the option of leaving together was out of the question... (Respondent 3, 38 years old)

After the experiences of others, we, my wife and I, decided to put a little into the account so that we could do some things at home without having to take out a big loan. When we have the money saved up, we come back. That was the plan. (Respondent 9, 32 years old).

Maybe it's strange to hear, but my love for my homeland and for my family and friends didn't even give me the idea of leaving forever. As I said, my goal was to make money and return. Pay off my loan and open a business. In this wave of emigration, many people in my profession left, and so other doors and opportunities opened up for rest of us. (Respondent 1, 41 years old).

I moved together with my husband, a few months after him. He was looking for an apartment and a job, and I joined him. We left with the idea of leaving temporarily. To solve the housing problem, because we could not get a really big loan to buy an apartment in Zagreb, and my husband, who had a higher salary, was working temporarily. When we reached the amount we wanted to save, we decided to go back. (...) We were never happy about leaving, because everything connects us to Croatia. (Respondent 4, 31 years old)

According to the aforementioned statements, the motives for the return of the surveyed Croatian citizens, apart from the new economy of labour migration, can also be observed from a structural perspective. Both approaches emphasize the importance of economic and financial resources brought to the country of origin when deciding to return, however, the structural perspective adds to the understanding of return migration, i.e. the economic, social and political circumstances in the country of origin that influence the migrant's decision to return (Cassarino, 2004, 257). This is especially confirmed by the experiences of respondents who, in addition to fulfilling the goal for which they emigrated (savings), were

Hrvatskoj glede zaposlenja i pokretanja vlastitoga posla (Ispitanik 1 i Ispitanik 3). Navedeni iskazi ispitanih hrvatskih državljana pokazuju da njihov povratak nije isključivo rezultat njihove volje, već i spremnosti za realizaciju povratka, uvjetovane prikupljanjem materijalnih resursa te okolnostima u zemlji podrijetla koje su procijenili kao povoljne za povratak. Povratak pojedinih ispitanika u određenoj je mjeri potaknut i očekivanjima od zemlje podrijetla, odnosno razlikama u prilikama i mogućnostima koje su im nudile zemlje podrijetla i odredišta (Cerase, 1974; Cassarino, 2004). K tomu, iskazi ispitanika pokazuju da su pojedini ispitanici migraciju koristili kao svojevrsnu obiteljsku strategiju s ciljem povećanja prihoda kućanstva (Ispitanik 3, Ispitanik 4, Ispitanik 9). Njihov povratak u domovinu možemo promatrati kao logičan ishod uspješna iskustva u inozemstvu i ispunjenja unaprijed zadanih ciljeva (Cassarino, 2004).

Preostalih četvero ispitanika kao glavne motive povratne migracije istaknuli su povezanost s društvom zemlje podrijetla te nezadovoljstvo društvom u odredišnoj zemlji u koje se nikako nisu uspjeli integrirati:

Pa recimo glavni motivi povratka su bili obitelj i cura, kasnije žena, u Hrvatskoj koja nikako nije pristala na dolazak u Njemačku. Završila je fakultet i znala je da u Njemačkoj bez poznavanja jezika ne bi mogla raditi u struci. Na kraju je ta nostalgija za svima presudila da se vratim. (...) Kad sam otišao, mislio sam da se nikad neću vratiti. Ali eto, dosta često sam dolazio dolje, sve blagdane i godišnji, na kraju se zaljubio i vratio. (Ispitanik 2, 28 godina)

Mi smo navikli na homogeno društvo, toplije ljude, nismo se tamo baš uklopili u to društvo. Nismo ni u okolici di smo živjeli imali nekog od prijatelja i obitelji pa nas je sve vuklo dolje. Onih sat-dva tjedno na kavi s društvom, to nam je najviše falilo, i obitelj, naravno. (Ispitanik 5, 28 godina)

Više je tu faktora, ali recimo da smo se vratili i prije nego smo mislili jer smo osjećali da nam se klinici ne bi uklopili u školi u društvo. Plus nismo imali tu obitelj ili ekipu našu da se družimo. Možda da smo imali, sve bi se ostalo pregrmilo, ali ovako... Obitelji i prijatelji u Hrvatskoj su prevagnuli. Jesmo imali

motivated by the more favourable economic situation in Croatia in terms of employment and starting their own business (Respondent 1 and Respondent 3). The aforementioned statements of the interviewed Croatian citizens show that their return is not only the result of their will, but also of readiness to realize the return, conditioned by the collection of material resources and the circumstances in the country of origin, which the respondents assessed as favourable for return. The return of some respondents is to a certain extent shaped by expectations from the country of origin, that is, differences in opportunities and opportunities "offered" to them by the country of origin and destination (Cerase, 1974; Cassarino, 2004). In addition, the respondents' statements show that some of them "used" migration as a kind of family strategy to increase the income of their household (Respondent 3, Respondent 4, Respondent 9). Their return to the homeland can, therefore, be seen as a logical outcome of a successful experience abroad and fulfilment of predetermined goals (Cassarino, 2004).

The remaining four respondents cited attachment to the society of the country of origin and dissatisfaction with the society of the country of destination, into which they were unable to integrate, as the main motives for their return:

Well, let us say the main reasons for returning were family, and girlfriend, later wife, in Croatia who was not ready to come to Germany. She had finished her studies and knew that she would not be able to work in Germany without knowing the language. In the end, it was the longing for everyone that moved me to return. (...) When I left, I thought I would never come back. But I came down quite often, all vacations and holidays, fell in love and came back. (Respondent 2, 28 years old).

We're used to a homogeneous society with warmer people, and we didn't really fit in there. We didn't even have friends and family in the area where we lived, and that encouraged us to go back to Croatia. We missed the one or two hours a week having coffee with friends the most, and of course family. (Respondent 5, 28 years old).

There are more factors but let us say that we came back earlier than we thought because we felt that our children would not fit in in school. Also, we did not have our family or a friend circle with us to do anything with. Had we had that, we would have endured everything else, but so...

veća primanja, ali sve ostalo je ipak bolje u Hrvatskoj. Plus, skupili smo tamo ušteđevinu, uspjeli stati na noge u Hrvatskoj pa je sad lakše. Sa svojima i na svome, kak se kaže. (Ispitanik 6, 37 godina).

Navedeni iskazi ispitanika pokazuju da je bilocirana obitelj⁶ kao jedna vrsta „nepokretnih” migracija (Katunarić, 1974) snažan čimbenik povratnih migracija pojedinih hrvatskih iseljenika i u suvremenom razdoblju. Pojedini su ispitanici obitelji i društvene veze navodili kao primarne razloge povratka, dok su ih drugi navodili kao čimbenik koji ih je dodatno potaknuo na povratak u domovinu. Svi su ispitanici istaknuli da su prilikom boravka u inozemstvu fizičkim dolascima u vrijeme blagdana i godišnjih odmora te korištenjem suvremenih komunikacijskih alata neprestano održavali kontakt s obitelji i prijateljima koji su ostali u domovini:

Čuli smo se mi sa svojima u Hrvatskoj svaki dan, ali nije to to. (...) Shvatili da smo premladi da bi živjeli stalno s osjećajem čežnje, nedostajanja za nečim. I bili nezadovoljni. (Ispitanik 8, 30 godina).

Snažne veze između domovine i odredišne zemlje koje su ispitanici održavali tijekom cijeloga boravka u Njemačkoj u konačnici su utjecale na odluku ispitanika o povratku i povratak (Cassarino, 2004). K tomu, kod većine ispitanika kao primarni motivi povratka prevladali su privlačni čimbenici u Hrvatskoj, koji u većini slučajeva nisu ekonomske naravi, nad potisnim čimbenicima u Njemačkoj.

Neovisno o motivima povratka, donošenje odluke o povratku složen je i dugotrajan proces u kojem migranti, osim vlastite volje, u obzir uzimaju i prilike u zemlji podrijetla i odredišta (Čapo Žmegač, 2010). Ispitanici su stoga u okviru razgovora o motivima povratka ispitani i o vremenskom periodu u kojem su razmišljali o povratku. Osmero je ispitanika o povratku razmišljalo i prije samoga odlaska u inozemstvo, odnosno iselili su se iz Hrvatske s jasnom idejom o povratku u domovinu, dok se jedan ispitanik iselio sa željom da se u Njemačkoj nastani trajno, međutim ipak se vratio.

family and friends in Croatia prevailed. We had a higher income, but everything else is still better in Croatia. Plus, we accumulated savings there, managed to get back on our feet in Croatia, and now it's easier. With our people and in our country. (Respondent 6, 37 years old).

The statements of the respondents show that a bilocated family⁶, as a type of “immobile” migration (Katunarić, 1974), is a strong factor in the return migration of certain Croatian emigrants even in the modern period. Some respondents cited family and social ties as the primary reasons for returning, while others cited this as a factor that further encouraged them to return to their homeland. All respondents pointed out that, during their stay abroad, they constantly maintained contact with family and friends who remained in their homeland by physically visiting during holidays and vacations and by using modern communication tools:

We heard every day from our people in Croatia, but that was not enough. (...) We realized that we are too young to live constantly with a sense of longing, missing something. And to be dissatisfied. (Respondent 8, 30 years old).

The strong ties between the homeland and the destination country that the respondents maintained throughout their stay in Germany ultimately influenced their decision to return and their return itself (Cassarino, 2004). In addition, for the majority of respondents, the pull factors in Croatia, which are not economic, outweigh the push factors in Germany as the main motive for returning.

Regardless of the motives for return, the decision to do so is a complex and long-term process, in which migrants consider not only their own will, but also the opportunities in the country of origin and destination (Čapo Žmegač, 2010). Therefore, as part of the conversation about the motives for returning, the respondents were also asked about the how long they ruminated on returning. Eight respondents thought about returning even before going abroad, that is, they moved abroad with a clear idea of returning to their homeland, while one respondent immigrated with the desire to settle permanently in Germany but returned

⁶ Bilocirana migrantska obitelj jest privremeno „nepotpuna” obitelj u kojoj u određenom vremenskom periodu jedan ili više članova obitelji živi i radi u drugom mjestu i ne boravi svakodnevno u mjestu boravka vlastite obitelji (Dumančić, 1988).

⁶ Bilocated migrant family is a temporarily “incomplete” family, in which for a certain period of time one or more family members live and work in another place and do not stay daily in their own family’s place of residence (Dumančić, 1988).

Potonje potvrđuje da neki iseljenici iz Hrvatske odlaze s jasnom percepcijom i namjerom povratka iako su migracijska kretanja stanovništva kroz povijest potvrdila da veliki dio iseljenika, bez obzira na primarnu namjeru povratka, u inozemstvu ostaje trajno (Carling i dr., 2015).

Povratak kao posljednja faza migracijskoga ciklusa hrvatskih državljana iseljenih u Njemačku nakon ulaska Hrvatske u EU?

Desetljećima se smatralo da je povratak posljednja faza migracijskoga ciklusa, međutim, novija istraživanja, u okviru transnacionalizma i teorije društvenih mreža, povratak sve češće razmatraju kao tek jednu fazu u procesu migriranja (Cassarino, 2004; Čapo Žmegač, 2010; King i Kuschminder, 2022). Povratak u praksi nužno ne mora biti konačni čin, već oblik stalnoga migriranja između država (Čapo i Jurčević, 2014). Potonje posebno naglašava transnacionalni pristup istraživanju migracija koji povezuje koncept geografskoga prostora i društva te objašnjava sve intenzivnija migracijska kretanja i održavanje snažnih veza migranata s društvom zemlje podrijetla (Vertovec, 2004), koje uvjetuju stvaranje transnacionalnih društvenih prostora i imaju snažan utjecaj na odluku o povratku. Migracije su prema transnacionalnom pristupu proces uz koji se uvijek vezuje mogućnost povratka u zemlju podrijetla (Cassarino, 2004; Vertovec, 2004), ali i odredišta (tzv. „obrnuti” transnacionalizam; King i Christou, 2014).

Slijedom navedenoga devetero hrvatskih državljana iseljenih u Njemačku nakon ulaska Hrvatske u Europsku uniju ispitano je o konačnosti povratka, odnosno mogućem ponovnom iseljavanju u Njemačku ili neku drugu zemlju. Od devetero ispitanika tek je jedan istaknuo da trenutno ne postoji mogućnost njegova povratka u inozemstvo:

Pa trenutno nema šanse da opet idem van. (...) Možda da uspijem nagovoriti curu da i ona ode sa mnom, ali opet sam, ne. A teško da bi ona pristala pa... (Ispitanik 2, 28 godina).

anyway. The latter confirmed that some emigrants leave their country of origin with a clear idea and intention to return, however, historical migration trends have confirmed that a large proportion of emigrants remain abroad permanently, regardless of their original intention to return (Carling et al., 2015).

Return as the last phase of the migration cycle of Croatian citizens who immigrated to Germany after Croatia's accession to the EU?

For decades it was assumed that the return was the last phase of the migration cycle. However, in recent research, particularly in the context of transnationalism and social network theory, return is increasingly viewed as only one phase in the migration process (Cassarino, 2004; Čapo Žmegač, 2010; King and Kuschminder, 2022). In practice, return need not be a permanent act, but a form of semipermanent spatial movement between states (Čapo and Jurčević, 2014). The latter particularly underlines the transnational approach of migration research, which links the concept of geographical space and society and explains increasingly intense migration movements and maintenance of a strong link between migrants and the society of the country of origin (Vertovec, 2004), which condition the creation of transnational social spaces and has a strong influence on the decision to return. According to the transnational approach, migration is a process that is always linked to the possibility of returning to the country of origin (Cassarino, 2004; Vertovec, 2004), but also to the country of destination (so-called “reverse” transnationalism; King and Christou, 2014).

According to the aforementioned, nine Croatian citizens who immigrated to Germany after Croatia's accession to the EU were asked about the finality of their return, i.e. the possibility of emigrating again (to Germany or another country). Of the nine respondents, only one respondent indicated that there was currently no possibility of returning abroad:

Well, now there is no possibility that I will go abroad again. (...) Maybe, if I manage to persuade my girlfriend to go with me, but again, alone, no. And it's unlikely that she would agree, so... (Respondent 2, 28 years old).

Preostali ispitanici istaknuli su da njihov ponovni odlazak u inozemstvo, s obzirom na to da je njihovo iseljavanje i prvi put bilo potaknuto ponajprije ekonomskim motivima, ovisi o njihovoj budućoj financijskoj situaciji u zemlji podrijetla:

Pa otišao sam zbog rješavanja kredita, pa ako opet bude isto, sigurno idem opet van. Mislim da svaki idući put bude lakše jer sad već sve znam. I kaj me čeka, a i neke ljude gore s kojima sam ostao u kontaktu. (Ispitanik 1, 41 godina).

Nadam se da nećemo morati. Jedino ako nas opet situacija tu u Hrvatskoj pritisne na odlazak. (...) Opet otići, uštedjeti i vratiti se svojima i na svoje. (Ispitanik 6, 37 godina).

Potonje potvrđuje da su identitet migranata i održavanje snažnih veza s društvom zemlje podrijetla djelovali kao snažni povratni čimbenici ispitanih hrvatskih iseljenika, međutim većina je ispitanika istaknula da ne isključuju mogućnost ponovnoga odlaska u inozemstvo. Ispitanici su istaknuli da ih uz Hrvatsku vežu obitelj, prijatelji i ljubav prema domovini, međutim ne i ekonomske prilike, koje je većina istaknula kao snažan potisni faktor iseljavanja iz Hrvatske. Potonje navodi na zaključak da je migracija stanovništva nerijetko odgovor na uočene mogućnosti i ograničenja u zemlji porijekla i odredišta migranata.

Geografska blizina zemlje podrijetla i odredišta kao čimbenik (povratne) migracije hrvatskih državljana iseljenih u Njemačku nakon ulaska Hrvatske u EU

Geografska udaljenost jedan je od elemenata koji doprinosi heterogenosti oblika (povratne) migracije (King i Kuschminder, 2022), a jedne od prvih zakonitosti koje se odnose na geografsku udaljenost zemalja podrijetla i odredišta migranata spoznao je geograf E. G. Ravenstein ističući da većina migranata migrira na kraće udaljenosti (Ravenstein, 1885). Iako je od Ravensteinova istraživanja prošlo više od sto godina, novija istraživanja determinanti međunarodnih migracija i

The remaining respondents pointed out that their return abroad depended on their future financial situation in their country of origin, as their emigration was primarily economically motivated:

Well, I left to pay off the loan, and if the same thing happens again, I will definitely go abroad again. I think next time it will be easier because I already know everything now. I know what to expect, and I know some people there that I have stayed in touch with. (Respondent 1, 41 years old).

I hope that we'll not be forced to go. Only if the situation in Croatia forces us to go again. (...) To leave again, save money and return. (Respondent 6, university graduate, 37 years old).

The latter confirms that the identity of migrants and the maintenance of strong ties with the society of the country of origin acted as strong return factors for the respondents, however, most of them did not rule out the possibility of going abroad again. The respondents pointed out that they are tied to Croatia by their connection to family and friends and love for their home country, but not by economic conditions, which were highlighted by the majority of respondents as a strong push factor for emigration from Croatia. The latter leads us to the conclusion that spatial movement of the population is most often a reaction to perceived opportunities and constraints in the country of origin and destination country of migrants.

The geographical proximity of the country of origin and destination as a factor of the (return) migration of Croatian citizens who immigrated to Germany after Croatia's accession to the EU

Geographical distance is one of the elements that contribute to the heterogeneity of the form of (return) migration (King and Kuschminder, 2022), and one of the first laws related to the geographical distance between the country of origin and destination of migrants was recognized by geographer E. G. Ravenstein, who pointed out that most migrants migrate over shorter distances (Ravenstein, 1885). Although more than a hundred years have passed since Ravenstein's research, recent research into the

veze između geografske udaljenosti i (povratnih) migracija, bez obzira na učestale konstatacije da su se međunarodne migracije od druge polovice 20. stoljeća bitno ubrzale, a migranti putuju na sve većim udaljenostima (Arango, 2000), na sličnom su tragu. Prosječna geografska udaljenost između zemalja podrijetla i odredišta u razdoblju od sredine prošloga stoljeća do prvih desetljeća 21. stoljeća povećala se tek neznatno (Czaika i de Haas, 2014) te iako nekoliko europskih zemalja posljednjih godina ugošćuje sve raznolikije i geografski udaljenije migrantske skupine, spomenuto se ne može poistovjetiti s međunarodnim migracijama na globalnoj razini jer se većina međunarodnih migranata i danas češće odlučuje na migriranje na kraćim udaljenostima (de Haas i dr., 2019).

Unutarnja migracija, posebice migracija selo-grad, češće rezultira povratnom migracijom u mjesto podrijetla, no kada je riječ o međunarodnoj migraciji, migracija stanovništva u zemlju podrijetla ili ponovna migracija u odredišnu zemlju migranata vjerojatnija je ako su zemlje podrijetla i odredišta na manjoj geografskoj udaljenosti. Povratku i ponovnoj emigraciji iz zemlje podrijetla ponajprije doprinosi održavanje transnacionalnih kontakata prije i nakon povratka koji olakšavaju migriranje i umanjuju troškove migracija (King i Kuschminder, 2022); bez obzira na suvremeni tehnološki napredak koji danas, u usporedbi s načinom migriranja u ranijim razdobljima, već sam po sebi uvelike smanjuje troškove migriranja (Katseli i dr., 2006). Međukontinentalna migracija (zbog geografske, ekonomske, socijalne i psihološke odvojenosti između zemalja podrijetla i odredišta, nedostatka informacija o relativno udaljenim mjestima i sl.) te dugotrajni boravak u inozemstvu povratku čine manje vjerojatnim iako ne i nemogućim (Schwartz, 1973; Kim i Cohen, 2010; Sprenger, 2013; King i Kuschminder, 2022). Drugim riječima, što su dvije zemlje udaljenije, protok migranata među njima uglavnom je manji (Kim i Cohen, 2010).

Geografska blizina zemlje podrijetla i odredišta izrazito je važan čimbenik migracije i za ispitane hrvatske državljane iseljene u Njemačku nakon ulaska Hrvatske u Europsku uniju. Petero je ispitanika istaknulo da je geografska blizina Hrvatske

determinants of international migration and the connection between geographical distance and (return) migration is on a similar track, regardless of the frequent findings that international migration has significantly accelerated since the second half of the 20th century and migrants are traveling increasing distances (Arango, 2000). The average geographical distance between the countries of origin and destination in the period from the middle of the 20th century to the first decades of the 21st century increased only slightly (Czaika and de Haas, 2014), and although several European countries have hosted increasingly diverse and geographically distant migrant groups in recent years, it cannot be equated with international migration on a global level, because international migrants still mostly decide to migrate over shorter distances (de Haas et al., 2019).

Internal migration, especially rural-urban, more often results in return migration to the place of origin, but when it comes to international migration, return to the country of origin or re-migration to the migrant's destination country is more likely if the countries of origin and destination are geographically closer. The latter is primarily the result of maintaining transnational contacts before and after returning, which facilitates migration but also further lowers migration costs (King and Kuschminder, 2022), notwithstanding modern technological advances, which facilitate migration and lower migration costs compared to the past (Katseli et al., 2006). Intercontinental migration (due to geographical, economic, social and psychological separation between the countries of origin and destination, lack of information about relatively distant places, etc.) and long-term stay abroad make return less likely, although not impossible (Schwartz, 1973; Kim and Cohen, 2010; Sprenger, 2013; King and Kuschminder, 2022). In other words, the more distant two countries are, the "flow" of migrants between them is generally smaller (Kim and Cohen, 2010).

The geographical proximity of the country of origin and destination is an extremely important migration factor for the surveyed Croatian citizens who immigrated to Germany after Croatia's accession to the EU. Five respondents pointed out that the geographical proximity of Croatia and Germany (along with knowledge of the German language and posi-

i Njemačke (uz znanje njemačkoga jezika i pozitivna iskustva iseljenih poznanika) izrazito utjecala ne samo pri njihovu povratku u Hrvatsku već i pri odabiru zemlje iseljavanja:

Pa da, naravno da smo i to uzeli u obzir i presudilo je. Razmatrali smo i Irsku. Dosta ljudi je tad odlazilo tamo. Plus je to englesko govorno područje, ali ipak je Njemačka bliže. Razmišljali smo u smislu da smo brže doma kad god odlučimo ići u posjetu svojima. A za Austriju su trebale dozvole. (Ispitanik 4, 31 godina).

Da. Bile su u igri Njemačka i Austrija jer su blizu Hrvatskoj i to mi je olakšavalo posjete doma. Sigurno ne bi dolazio doma toliko često da sam otišao recimo u Kanadu ili tako nekud, pa čak i Irsku, a doma su mi bili klinici i supruga. (Ispitanik 3, 38 godina).

Pa je, da, bitna je bila blizina. Pa lakše je otići van, a opet biti koliko toliko blizu doma. Znaš da ako te uhvati kriza za tvojima doma, uvijek možeš sjesti u auto. (...) Je da su svi u to doba većinom odlazili u Njemačku, pa te i to dodatno pored svega potakne, ta iskustva drugih, pozitivna jel, ali da su recimo svi odlazili u Australiju, ne znam baš bi li otišao. Jedino da radim onda samo za avionske karte ako hoću često doma (Ispitanik 2, 28 godina).

Geografska blizina Hrvatske i Njemačke ispitanicima je uvjetovala manje troškove migriranja između zemlje podrijetla i odredišta, odnosno povremenih dolazaka u domovinu te olakšala održavanje izravnih odnosa s društvom zemlje podrijetla, koje je djelomično utjecalo na razmišljanje o povratku i povratak ispitanika u domovinu. Pojedini su ispitanici istaknuli da su pri razmatranju odredišne zemlje razmišljali i o Austriji, također zbog geografske blizine, međutim u razdoblju njihova iseljavanja za rad u Austriji još su uvijek bile potrebne radne dozvole, stoga im se iseljavanje u Njemačku činilo kao jednostavnija opcija. Jedna je ispitanica istaknula da su njezin suprug i ona kao potencijalnu zemlju primitka razmatrali i Irsku, zbog boljega poznavanja engleskog jezika, međutim pri konačnom odabiru odredišne zemlje presudila je geografska blizina Njemačke i Hrvatske. Osim toga, sudeći prema iskazima pojedinih ispitanika, geografska blizina zemlje podrijetla i odredišta bila bi važan čimbenik i pri njihovu potencijalnom ponovnom odlasku u inozemstvo:

positive experiences of expatriate acquaintances) significantly influenced not only their return to Croatia, but also their choice of emigration country:

Well, yes, of course we considered that, and it was crucial. We also thought about Ireland. A lot of people were going there at that time. Also, it's an English-speaking area, but still Germany is closer. We thought we would be home faster if we wanted to visit our relatives. And for Austria we needed a work permit. (Respondent 4, 31 years old).

Yes, I considered Germany and Austria because they are close to Croatia, which made it easier for me to visit my home country. I certainly would not have come home as often if I had gone to Canada or somewhere else, or even to Ireland, and my children and wife would be at home. (Respondent 3, 38 years old).

Well, yes, proximity was important. It's easier to go abroad and still be so close to home. You know that if you have a mental crisis, you can always get in the car and go home. (...) Back then, most people went to Germany, and that gives you courage, the positive experiences of others, but if everyone had gone to Australia, for example, I do not know if I would have gone. Then I would only work for plane tickets if I wanted to come home a lot. (Respondent 2, 28 years old).

The geographical proximity of Croatia and Germany made it less expensive to migrate between their country of origin and destination, i.e. occasional visits to the homeland, and facilitate the maintenance of direct relations with the society of the country of origin, which partially influenced the respondents' plans regarding return and their return to their home country itself. When asked about the destination country, some respondents also considered Austria, also because of its geographical proximity to Croatia, but at the time of their emigration they still needed a work permit to work in Austria, so emigration to Germany seemed easier to them. One respondent pointed out that she and her husband also considered Ireland as a potential host country and, although it was attractive to her because she spoke English better than German, the geographic proximity between Germany and Croatia tipped the scales for her. In the event of another stay abroad, respondents indicated that geographical proximity would be an important factor in choosing a host country:

Ako odem ponovno, vjerojatno bi to opet bilo privremeno i definitivno opet u Njemačku, zbog blizine i sad već iskustva. Eventualno Austrija jer sad više ne traže radne dozvole, a čak je bliže od Njemačke. (Ispitanik 7, 37 godina).

Zaključak

U radu se kroz iseljeničko-povratnička iskustva devetero hrvatskih državljana iseljenih u Njemačku nakon ulaska Hrvatske u Europsku uniju obrađuje tema povratnih migracija. Iskustva većine ispitanika svjedoče da je njihov povratak bio planiran i prije samoga odlaska u inozemstvo, međutim, donošenje konačne odluke o povratku bio je dugotrajan proces koji nije ovisio isključivo o njihovoj volji, već i o prilikama u Hrvatskoj, koje su u tom trenutku ocijenili povoljnima za povratak. Potonje posebno potvrđuju iskustva ispitanika koje je na povratak potaknulo ispunjenje cilja zbog kojega su se iselili, ali i povoljna situacija u Hrvatskoj glede zaposlenja u struci i realizacije poslovne ideje. Isti su ispitanici istaknuli važnost uštedevine donesene u zemlju podrijetla pri donošenju odluke o povratku, dok su pojedini naglasili da su se iselili u dogovoru s ostalim članovima obitelji s ciljem povećanja prihoda kućanstva. Svi su ispitanici istaknuli da su prilikom boravka u inozemstvu neprestano održavali kontakt s obitelji i prijateljima u domovini, a snažna povezanost s njima pojedine je ispitanike na kraju potaknula na povratak u Hrvatsku. Uz to je dvoje ispitanika istaknulo da ih je na povratak potaknulo znatno heterogenije i hladnije društvo u Njemačkoj u odnosu na društvo na koje su navikli u Hrvatskoj.

U razgovoru s ispitanicima o konačnosti njihova povratka u Hrvatsku većina je ispitanika istaknula da ih uz domovinu vežu obitelj i prijatelji, međutim ne i ekonomske prilike koje bi ih u budućnosti mogle ponovno potaknuti na iseljavanje. Pri potencijalnom ponovnom odlasku u inozemstvo pojedinim bi ispitanicima važan čimbenik pri odabiru određene zemlje bila geografska blizina Hrvatskoj, stoga bi osim Njemačke, u kojoj sada već imaju razvijene kontakte, radi lakšega održavanja izravnih kontakata s obitelji

If I were to go again, it would probably be temporary and to Germany again, because of the proximity and the experience. Maybe also to Austria, because you don't need a work permit there anymore and it's even closer than Germany. (Respondent 7, 37 years old).

Conclusion

The paper deals with the topic of return migration using the emigration/return migration experiences of nine Croatian citizens who immigrated to Germany after Croatia's accession to the EU. The experiences of majority of respondents testify that their return was planned even before going abroad, however, making the final decision about their return was a long-term process that did not depend solely on their will, but also on the opportunities in Croatia, which they evaluated as favourable for the return. This is especially confirmed by the experiences of the respondents, who were motivated to return by the fulfilment of the goal for which they emigrated, but also by the favourable situation in Croatia in terms of employment in their profession, and/or the realization of a business idea. The same respondents emphasized the importance of financial resources brought to the country of origin when deciding to return, while some also emphasized how they moved, in agreement with other family members, to increase their household income. All respondents pointed out that during their stay abroad, they constantly maintained contact with family and friends in their home country, and the strong connection with them encouraged some of the respondents to return to Croatia. In addition, two interviewees pointed out that they were motivated to return by differences in the society in Germany compared to the society they were used to in Croatia.

In a conversation with respondents about the finality of their return to Croatia, most of them pointed out that they were tied to their homeland by family and friends, but not by economic opportunities that could encourage them to emigrate again in the future. In the case of potential returning abroad, an important factor in choosing the destination country would be geographical proximity to Croatia, therefore, in addition to Germany, where they already have developed contacts, for the sake of easier main-

i prijateljima u domovini u obzir mogli uzeti i Austriju.

Osim toga, iskustva ispitanih hrvatskih državljana upozorila su na potrebu učinkovitijih demografskih mjera (posebice u okviru stambene politike), reguliranja rada na određeno/neodređeno te podizanja životnoga standarda, koje su istaknuli kao snažne potisne čimbenike iseljavanja iz Hrvatske, navodeći:

Iselilo je puno ljudi iz Hrvatske trajno. Puno toga ljude tjera van. Mislim da bi nas i još više otišlo za uvijek da nismo takav narod koji je jako povezan sa svojima. (...) Možda kad bi nam i svi naši otišli van, vjerojatno bi onda opet i mi, samo tad trajno. (...) Rijetko koga nešto više od obitelji i domoljublja veže uz Hrvatsku. (Ispitanik 6, 37 godina).

Naposljedku, iako je ovo istraživanje među prvim istraživanjima čiji su predmet interesa povratne migracije iseljenih nakon ulaska Hrvatske u Europsku uniju, važno je napomenuti da ono ima svojih ograničenja. Budući da skupina ispitanika nije odabrana po principu slučajnosti i nije dovoljno velika kako bi bila reprezentativna, rezultati istraživanja ne mogu se generalizirati i odnose se isključivo na devetero ispitanih hrvatskih državljana iseljenih u Njemačku nakon ulaska Hrvatske u Europsku uniju.

tenance of direct contacts with family and friends in their homeland, they would also consider Austria.

In addition, the experiences of the surveyed Croatian citizens showed that more effective population policies are needed, especially within the framework of housing policy, but also to regulate temporary/permanent employment and increase the standard of living, which were mentioned by respondents as strong push factors for emigration from Croatia, stating:

Many people have permanently emigrated from Croatia. Many things force people to emigrate. I think even more of us would be gone forever if we were not so connected to our people. (...) If all our people emigrated, we probably would again, but then forever. (...) Rarely have any of us connected anything other than family and patriotism with Croatia. (Respondent 6, 37 years old).

Finally, although this research is among the first where the subject of interest is the return migration of emigrants after Croatia's accession to the EU, it is important to note that it has its limitations. Since the group of respondents was not randomly selected and is not large enough to be representative, the results of the research cannot be generalized and refer exclusively to the nine surveyed Croatian citizens who immigrated to Germany after Croatia's accession to the EU.

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Motives, factors,
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**Izvori
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