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There and Back again

How young people from Spain perceive mobility

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Summary

Freedom of movement in the European Union is a unique legal and political construction which has enabled European citizens to travel, live, study, work, and retire anywhere in the member states. However, debt crises in various countries as well as uneven economic development increased the inequality between different European countries. In Spain, the difficult economic conditions, among other factors, led many young people to emigrate somewhere else. Immigration from economic weaker countries nurtured discontent with such an open-boarder policy in the economic more stable member states. This discontent became explicit when Great Britain decided to leave the Union via Brexit. It is under these circumstances – between the endless possibilities to live anywhere in the European Union and the evermore critical opinions as well as exit strategies – that this thesis is set in.

More concretely, this study aims to find out how young people from Spain, who have moved to the United Kingdom and back, perceive mobility. The focus is primarily on the personal experiences and feelings of such young movers about leaving Spain, living in Great Britain, returning after some time abroad, and belonging. Thereby, special attention is paid to the question of how their way of talking about their movements fits into the wider discourse of mobilities.

This master thesis is a qualitative, small-scale project based on 15 episodic interviews with young Spanish people between the age of 22 and 32 who lived in Great Britain for some time and are now back in Spain. The theoretical scope for this study is the "new mobilities paradigm" by Sheller and Urry (2006) and the transition from youth to adulthood is a category which needs to be considered. The analysis of the data revealed three discourse threads which give diverging insights into the mobilities concept.

Firstly, the participants for this study perceive mobility as an escape. They had no wish to leave Spain but did not see another option. Either they escaped from the difficult economic situation or from personal reasons such as feeling lost or dependent. Whatever the case, they perceived their emigration as an obligation, whereby most of them knew from the beginning that their mobility would be temporary and that they would return after some time abroad. Secondly, the interviewees see mobility as something everyone should experience at least once in life. The reasons for this promotion are mainly the confrontation with difference and personal growth. Becoming more open-minded, empathetic, mature, independent, and better in dealing with problems are factors that, according to the interviewees, make mobility something vital for everyone. And lastly, the participants perceive mobility as a one-time event. Some do openly discard future mobility while others suggest that if movement to somewhere else offered them tremendous opportunities, they would leave again. However, except for one interviewee, none of them actively looked for work abroad. This reluctance to leave seems to be coupled to a feeling of belonging to the city or country of origin.

These three intertwined and at the same time conflicting discourse threads indicate that there is a much larger discourse at work. In our society, it seems to be "normal" to see intra-European mobility as something positive and worth experiencing. However, the conversations I had with the young people from Spain revealed a divergence between the "accepted truth" of mobility as a choice and chance to improve and an "alternative truth" of mobility as a necessity and obligation which hopefully does not have to be repeated.

Another interesting finding of this study is that the mobilities term seems to have some drawbacks which are often overlooked in mobilities research. The participants for this study make a clear distinction between mobility as intra-European migration and mobility as tourism. This reveals the fact that using a term which includes every form of movement stands to lose definability and precision and instead could become everything. Therefore, it might be more suitable to use other terms such as, for example, intra-European migration or temporary migration. Whatever term is used, this thesis shows that a differentiation between migration and mobilities is questionable.

Finally, it must be mentioned that the results of this study are not generalisable. The interviewees are all Spanish, young, and have a university degree. Therefore, the findings are not applicable for non-Spanish, older, and less highly-qualified people. Furthermore, all the participants talked to for this thesis have returned from their experience abroad. Very different findings have to be expected when talking to people who still live in the United Kingdom. Nonetheless, the findings of this research project offer interesting insights into the mobilities debate and propose new knowledge to build upon.

Content

Tables and Figures:

1 Introduction

When I was still in high school, I went for an exchange year to Costa Rica. Later, I went for six months to Tenerife to do an internship in a hotel there. I wanted to further develop my Spanish and to gain some professional experience. Right after that, I went to the United Kingdom for three months to improve my English. I have always been drawn towards the foreign. Nonetheless, I have not lived in another place for some time now, feeling happy here without the urge to become mobile again. Still, the interest in mobility has not left me. And while migration from outside of Europe is an intriguing topic, there have been thousands of articles covering the migration flows from Africa, Asia, America, and even Oceania. In contrast, Intra-European mobility has been less on the scientific agenda even though there have been more studies on the topic since the EU enlargement in 2004, the financial meltdown in 2008, and the Brexit in 2016 because of the changing mobility patterns. It is because of my remaining interest in mobilities and personal experiences that I decided to write my thesis on such intra-European mobility.

When the European Union (EU) was founded, the goals were relatively modest: the creation of common market of Europeans and customs union (Fligstein, Polyakova and Sandholtz, 2012: 106). However, once it had started, the integration process produced one of the most extensive inter-state co-operations ever created. Since its initiation, the EU membership has expanded from six to 28 and EU authority has extended to almost every domain of modern economic and social life (ibid.). Thereby, freedom of movement is a right often cited by Europeans as the most important benefit of the European Union membership (European Commission 2006, qtd. by Favell and Recchi, 2009: 2). In fact, in 2011, 12.6 million EU citizens resided in a member state other than their country of origin, 2.4 million more when compared to 2007, which is an increase of 24% in just four years (European Comission, 2014: 11). And while this is just around 2.7% of the total EU population, it is most likely an underestimation because it does not include cross-border commuters (ibid.: 13). In other words, freedom of movement has enabled fast-growing and large-scale movement between European countries. However, this freedom of movement has been threatened by exit-strategies such as the Brexit and mostly conservative right-wing movements all over Europe. Nonetheless, so far, people within Europe are still mobile. Some even talk about hypermobility (e.g. Gössling et al., 2009), lifestyle mobilities (e.g. Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark, 2015) or “Eurostars” (Favell, 2008). But who are these people who move within Europe?

Favell found that a big group of those who are mobile are the young professionals from the South of Europe. Family, friends, and the preference for the Southern lifestyle are discounted against the benefits of a career move to the North (2008: 63). Favell further detected that many

of these young professionals from the South see their move as short-term (ibid.: 66). Nonetheless, the fear of brain drain and the sheer number of the ones who leave[1] have made the emigration of the young an often mentioned topic in the Spanish media. Newspapers are full of articles covering the moving away of the young: "El flujo de emigración de la población de nacionalidad española aumenta un 15,5%" – "The emigration flow of the population with Spanish nationality increases 15.5%" (Sanmartin for El Mundo, 2014a), "Los jóvenes emigran por impulso aventurero" – "The young emigrate due to an adventurous impulse" (El Pais, 2012), "Nos obligan a una vida muy precaria" – "A precarious life is forced on us" (Almenar Vara for El Pais, 2013), or "Me voy porque aquí no hay nada" – "I am leaving because there is nothing here" (Sanmartin for El Mundo, 2014b) are a few examples thereof. There is an area of conflict about whether the young left their home desperately, fleeing from the crisis or in search of an adventure. There is a big contrast between considering mobility to be a choice and a voluntary act - new experiences can be gained, the world can be explored, new skills can be acquired, and the personality can grow - and considering it as a necessity and a forced act where it is a way to escape from difficult economic and social situations (Montanari and Staniscia, 2017: 151). Whatever the case, being mobile has become part of the lives of many young adults from Spain.

It is exactly these young professionals described by Favell and the media that are in the focus of this master thesis. I want to find out how mobilities fit in the migration debate (see chapter 3.1.) not just by analysing papers but by hearing personal opinions of mobile subjects. I want to discover how these young people from Spain perceive their mobility experiences, whether they see their moves as a choice or a necessity, and what plans they have for future mobility. Furthermore, I want to hear about the personal changes they have gone through. However, I am not focusing on the ones who still live abroad but on those who have already returned. The statistics show (INE, 2016) that since 2013 young people from Spain are increasingly returning to their country of origin. While the numbers of the returnees in 2009 were only at around 6000, they reached circa 9000 in 2014, and over 15'000 in 2015 (ibid.). I am interested in their re-integration in Spain, the importance belonging and home have had in their decision to return, and the significance their return has had for their whole mobility experience as well as for future mobilities. Considering all these fields of interest within the mobility debate, this thesis aims to answer the question of how young people from Spain, who have gone to the United Kingdom and back, experience mobility.

The thesis starts with an overview of the political background, the development of the European Union and freedom of movement within it, the Brexit, and the emigration of young people from Spain. In chapter three follows the theoretical scope for this study. There, I introduce the new mobilities paradigm (Sheller and Urry, 2006), I explain how mobilties differ from migra-

1 The National Institute of Statistics of Spain has registered an increase of young Spanish people (20 to 34 years old) emigrating the country from circa 12'000 in 2008 to a record number of circa 32'000 in 2015 (INE, 2017a).

tion and how the concept can be structured, the importance of power relations within the mobilities debate is revealed, the connection to belonging is made, and Favell's (2008) "Eurostars" are presented. Chapter four introduces studies that are closely connected to my research interests and which have European mobility as their focus. Furthermore, two thought-provoking discourse analyses by Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano (2017) and Cogo and Olivera (2017) about the different conceptions of the Spanish government and the young mobile are set forth. In a next step, the research gap and research question are laid out before the chapter closes by explaining the category of becoming an adult used for this thesis. Chapter five is about the methodological framework of this thesis encompassing the sampling strategy, the interview technique, the data collection and preparation, and the analysis of the data through discourse analysis. Chapters six to eight present the results, the different discourse threads of mobility as an escape, mobility as something everyone should experience at least once in life, and mobility as a one-time experience. A concluding discussion and an outlook for future research is provided in chapter nine.

2 Political Context

Before proceeding to the topic of mobilities, I want to give a short overview of the political context my thesis is based on. This is, the principle of the Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons, the topic of the Brexit, the economic situation in Spain and the emigration of young Spaniards.

2.1. European Freedom of Movement

The European Union is an institution composed of 28 member states, 27 when the Brexit, the exit of Great Britain from the Union, will be finalised. Even though the EU has seemed to face some challenges in the last few years, it is difficult to imagine Europe without it. There are daily articles in the newspapers glorifying, excoriating or commenting the political, economic and social situation of the European Union. With the Treaty of Rome in 1957, the European Economic Community arose out of the Coal and Steel Community, laying the foundation of the EU as we know it today (Kravela, 2013: 5). The aim of the European Economic Community was to promote European integration and economic progress by agreeing on the free movement of people, capital, goods, and services (Bruzelius et al., 2014: 5; Portes, 2016: 14; Recchi, 2015: 2).

Because in this thesis I am focusing on the movement of young people from Spain, it is the free movement of persons that I am interested in. Freedom of movement is an important EU principle that has been expanding, particularly since the establishment of EU citizenship laid down in the Maastrich Treaty of 1992 (Kraleva, 2013: 5; Recchi, 2015: 26; Roos, 2016: 1). The concept of EU Citizenship was further embedded by the Lisbon Treaty which was signed in 2007 and entered into force in 2009. It was meant to complement national citizenship by giving cross-border rights to people (Boswell and Geddes, 2010: 187). 2009 was also the year when the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights entered into force. It states in article 15 that “every citizen of the Union has the freedom to seek employment, to work, to exercise the right of establishment, and to provide services in any Member State"(Bruzelius et al., 2014: 6). Furthermore, by article 45 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) all discrimination on grounds of nationality regarding employment are abolished. The TFEU extended the right to free movement for EU citizens, not just to work there but also with the simple aim of finding a job in another EU country (Portes, 2016: 15). What is more, European Union citizens can now travel, live, study, work and retire anywhere in the EU, and once having settled in a country, they are entitled to the same rights as the nationals, irrespective of the economic status of the person (Doherty, 2016: 377; Recchi, 2015: 17). This makes European freedom of movement a legal and political construction that cannot be found anywhere else in the modern world (Favell, 2008: 3) and which is - according to the Eurobarometer - considered to be the biggest advantage of being a European citizen (Favell and Recchi, 2009: 2). Together with the Schengen agreement, which was incorporated into the EU Treaty in 1999 and essentially abolished internal border controls, there are almost no more restraints to free movement within the EU for the citizens of its member states (Recchi, 2015: 39).

It was not only the private sector that promoted freedom of movement within the European Union but also universities. In 1987, the Erasmus program was established to encourage student mobility between pairs and networks of countries and universities (King et al., 2016: 16). It allows students to go for an exchange semester or year to another country. Together with the Bologna System[2] mobility for students was facilitated and increased (González, Montaño and Hassall, 2009: 113). Approximately three percent of the students in the EU are internationally mobile during their degree and about 20% of them stay in the country of destination afterwards to work there (Ritzen, Kahanec and Haas, 2017: 8).

Despite the many benefits the EU offers to its citizens, time revealed the negative repercussions of the Free Movement of Persons Agreement. Fliegstein, Polyakova and Sandholtz (2012: 109) argue that being "European" is highly tendentious because mobility only benefits a few: business owners and managers who travel frequently, young people who cross borders for schooling or jobs, and the group of wealthy people who participate in the diverse cultural life across Europe (ibid.). But this bias is not the only problem for mobility within the EU. Free movement had been an economic instrument motivated by optimal resource allocation and its potential as an adjustment mechanism. Excess labour in one part would move to somewhere else where work was to be found (Favell, 2008: 16). The large differences in wage levels and deteriorating working conditions – which have been increasingly the case since the 2004 enlargement and the economic crisis in 2008 – posed a huge challenge for the European Union (Portes, 2016: 15f). In other words, the European Union could be labelled a neoliberal project without equalization mechanisms. The Greek and the Spanish debt crisis as well as the uneven economic development increased the inequality between different European countries, nurturing discontent with a frontierless Europe at a time when such huge dissimilarities exist. It was these difficult economic conditions in Spain and the better possibilities in other European countries that led many young people to emigrate (see e.g. Moreno et al, 2014; Monteserin, 2013). And immigration from such economic weaker countries like Greece, Spain or Poland increased scepticism in the economic more stable member states such as France, Belgium and Great Britain (Recchi, 2015: 12). The consequences of this scepticism became concrete when the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union via Brexit.

2.2. EU breaking apart? – Brexit

In some European countries, among them the UK, the criticism of the European Union has been increasing steadily over the last few years. Particularly certain aspects of the free movement within the EU caused indignation with parts of the population, implying that it would be better to break free from EU arrangements (Boswell and Geddes, 2010: 191). After the economic crisis, people have been ever more uncertain of EU-level political institutions. There are many diverse reasons for this destabilisation of the European Union which I cannot elucidate in the

2 The Bologna System was enacted in 1999 and had the aim of putting university degrees on a comparable level with a two-cycle structure of university degrees and a transferable system of European Credits (González, Montaño and Hassall, 2009: 113).

scope of this master thesis. Important for this study however, is the role the Freedom of Movement Agreement has had in diminishing the solidarity between the member states and the fact that anti-immigrant policies and xenophobic public sentiment have risen, especially towards intra-EU migrants (Graeber, 2016: 1674). Fear was fanned by confronting people with the high numbers of immigration which, according to the Office for National Statistics, had risen from 15'000 to 87'000 after the 2004 enlargement (Roos, 2016: 1). On top of that, the ONS registered 362'000 net arrivals between 2008 and 2012 in the UK from EU-nationals (ibid.: 2). And even though EU migration to Great Britain had been smaller in size than immigration from outside of Europe, the fact that it could not be restricted was a strong argument for the parties that promoted leaving the European Union (Portes, 2016: 14). It was exactly this distinction between intra-EU mobility and migration from outside the continent and their impact on member state immigration policies that fuelled the anger of parts of the British population and which is interesting for this research project. Because of the free movement provisions, EU governments have ceded sovereign authority over the entry, residence and employment of nationals of other member states (Boswell and Geddes, 2010: 179). According Boswell and Geddes, this loss of control scared people. In fact, it was found by Vasilopoulu (2016: 222) as well as by Doherty (2016: 375) that this concern about intra-European mobility was a more deciding factor for voters than control over Britain's laws, the economy and national security. After having been on the political agenda for years, the Brexit referendum was the deciding point for the UK which had been member of the European Union since 1973.

This concern about the freedom of movement within the European Union was therefore one of the main reasons that on 23 June 2016, 51.9 percent of the British population voted to leave the European Union. This decision stands as a turn-around in European cooperation and might seriously decrease European mobility in the future (Ritzen, Kahanec and Haas, 2017: 13). The Brexit decision will have an impact on people from EU countries living in Great Britain as well as for Brits living in another EU country. Therefore, the impact on the mobility flows from and to the UK will be substantial (ibid.: 14). It is for that reason that the United Kingdom is an interesting case for the purpose of this thesis. While there are other countries with parties that want to leave the European Union, the UK is the only one who has dared to take this step out of the Union so far, impacting all those who have settled there.

It is under these circumstances – between the endless possibilities to study or work anywhere in the European Union and the evermore critical opinions as well as exit strategies that raise voices about a faltering European Union – that this thesis is set in. The policies of freedom of movement and the Brexit might be meaningful aspects when looking at the mobility experiences of young people from Spain.

2.3. The Spanish emigration of the young

During the Civil War and Franco's regime that lasted until 1975, Spain was an emigration country, whereby over 85% of those who left were men, and over 60% of them had been working in the primary sector before their departure (Navarrete Moreno et al., 2014: 174). However,

after the Oil Crisis of 1973, Spain became an immigration country (Boswell and Geddes, 2011: 24). After its entry into the European Union in 1986, the immigration rate rose further. In 2006, Spain was the country with the highest immigration rate in Europe, reaching 840'000 people moving to the country (ibid.). Things changed again after 2008, when Spain became an emigration country again (González-Ferrer, 2013: 2; Navarrete Moreno et al., 2014: 19). This time, the percentage of men and women has been much more balanced and it has been especially the young with a university degree who have gone abroad (Glorius and Domínguez-Mujica, 2017: 7; King et al., 2016: 27; Navarrete Moreno et al., 2014: 174). In fact, 91 per cent of emigrants had a university degree when they left the country (Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano, 2017: 247).

One of the reasons for this sudden emigration of the young is the financial crisis which hit Spain in two phases. From 2008 to 2010 the situation was tied to the global financial crisis. The second stage from 2011 to 2014 was linked to the austerity[3] policies of Spain. While in the first phase there was very little emigration, the second stage triggered the movement of many young people who, after finishing university, could not find a job (Pumares, 2017: 134). In fact, over 960'000 people among the 6.2 million unemployed were younger than 25 (Monteserin, Fernández Asperilla and Martínez Vega, 2013: 7). Therefore, the labour market situation in Spain was one of the most crucial factors for the vulnerability of young people (Rocha, 2012: 7). Rocha (2012: 8) also points out that in addition to the precarious working conditions there are other dimensions of the crisis that are equally relevant for the employment of young people in Spain. According to Rocha, those dimensions are the number of scholarships that is rising due to missing opportunities elsewhere, the increasing extent of people who work as self-employed, the presence of a significant number of young people working in the black market, reduced access to social protection, and an undermining of the right for freedom of association and protection against harassment and discrimination (ibid.). These reasons for emigration from an economic perspective have been the focus of (mainly Spanish) research (e.g. Carballo Cruz 2011; Herrera Caballos 2014; Monteserin, Fernández Asperilla and Martínez Vega, 2013). As a result, instead of examining the explanations of action from an economic perspective, for this thesis, the focus is on the personal emigration experiences of young people from Spain.

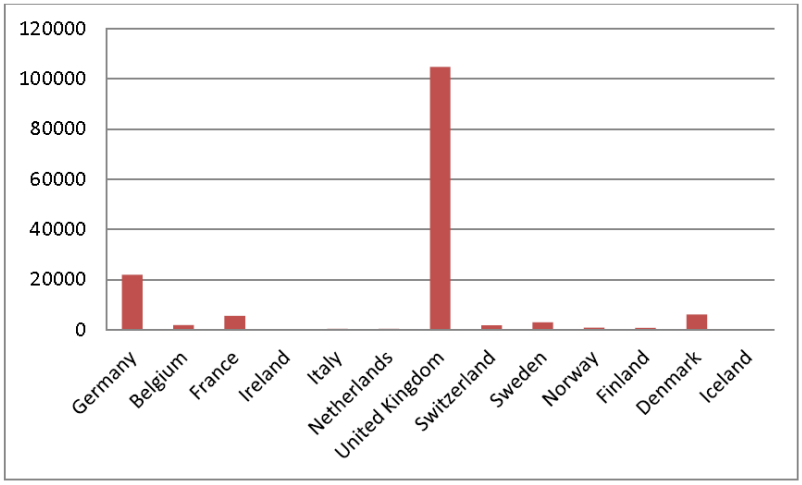
Ramos and Royuela (2016: 1) argue that the emigration of the young with a university degree has generated an alarming situation in the Spanish society. But even though this recent emigration wave has received a lot of attention, it is impossible to estimate the number of the people who have left Spain. In 2013, numbers varied from 40'000 (González Enríquez, 2013) up to 700'000 (González-Ferrer, 2013: 10). Since then, this confusion has only increased because some of those who left have already returned to Spain. This chaos about the official number is due to the fact that there are different statistical sources by the Spanish Statistics Insti-

3 For more information about austerity policies in Spain, see article by Janina Kehr, Against Sick States: Ebola Protests in Austerity Spain.

tute, the INE (Instituto National de Estadistadística), for the study of exterior mobility. According to the Padrón de Españoles Residentes en el Extranjero, around 180'000 Spaniards emigrated in 2016 of whom less than half were born in Spain. Of those just over 65'000 emigrants who were born in Spain, circa 38'000 moved to another country in Europe (PERE, 2017: 3). However, as the registration is voluntary and does not offer a lot of incentives, many of those who leave Spain do not appear in those statistics (Favell, 2008: 32; González-Ferrer, 2013: 10; Monteserin, Fernández Apserilla and Martínez Vega, 2013: 6). In fact, almost 70% percent of young people from Spain who participated in a study for the INJUVE[4] affirmed that they have never registered in the corresponding consulate (Navarrete Moreno et al., 2014: 27). Therefore, it can be assumed that the number of emigrants from Spain is much higher and that the statistics of the receiving countries are more reliable because the migrants need to register there to be able to work legally.

The United Kingdom is the favourite destination for young people from Spain (Herrera Caballos, 2014: 92; Pumares, 2017: 137). Between 2008 and 2013, 30'779 people emigrated to the UK when looking at numbers from the INE compared to 112'980 if the official sources of the British government are used (Herrera Caballos, 2014: 92). This is a stunning number, especially given that Spain held position 14 of people emigrating to the UK in 2010 but took position two in 2013, second only to Poland[5] (González-Ferrer, 2013: 7). The following figure shows the main countries of destination within Europe for Spanish emigrants:

Figure 1: Spanish people who emigrated to other European countries between 2009 and 2013 (estimations) (Navarrete Moreno et al., 2014: 80).



The United Kingdom's Office for National Statistics (ONS) registers data about workers from Spain since 2002. Since 2008, directly after the crisis, this number has been increasing rapidly.

4 Instituto de la Juventud, a public organisation which promotes equality for the young people from Spain

5 For more information about the Polish emigration to Great Britain, see book by Kathy Burrell, Polish Migration to the UK in the 'new' European Union: After 2004.

In 2010/2011 an increase of 85 percent compared to the year before was registered (Navarrete Moreno et al., 2014: 28). The British statistics do not only provide information about the number of immigration from Spain but also about the age of the immigrants. It was found that over 80 percent of the people who went to work in the UK between 2006 and 2013 were between 18 and 34 years old (Navarrete Moreno et al. 2014: 31). This coincides with a study by Domínguez-Mujica, Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano (2016). They find that 50% of emigrants - especially the young - settle for countries within the European Union, and particularly the United Kingdom due to geographical proximity, more opportunities and the free movement agreement (ibid.: 208). The study also shows that people over 30 are more likely to go to Latin America, while the ones over age 35 prefer the United States, Canada or East Asia (ibid.: 211). Considering all the statistical databases, Navarrete Moreno et al. (2014: 169) estimate that between 2009 and 2013 341'000 people have emigrated Spain whereby just over 260'000 have moved to a country within Europe. The number of young people from Spain who moved to the United Kingdom during that time span is estimated to be 105'000 (ibid.). Since then, the number has further increased.

Numbers of the Instituto Nacional de Estadística show that the emigration patterns have been changing. Since 2013, young adults from Spain are increasingly returning home (INE, 2016). It has even been argued that around a third of migrants leave their host country again in their first five years abroad, most of them still in their twenties (McKenzie, 2007, qtd. by González-Ferrer, 2013: 13). Pumares and González-Martín (2016: 283) found that many who went abroad and then returned named tiredness as the main cause for their going back. They argue that many of their participants returned because they could not bear being away anymore and not because they had reached their goals (ibid.: 287).

This thesis is about how young people from Spain, who have gone to the UK and back, experience mobility. To understand such trajectories better it is important to comprehend the conditions for such mobility. Therefore, this chapter has shown how freedom of movement between EU-countries came to be, how critical views on free movement led to exit strategies like the Brexit in the UK, and how the situation in Spain triggered an emigration wave of young people. Furthermore, it was suggested that many of those who had left in the early 2010s are returning home.

3 Mobilities

In this master thesis, I will discuss the movement of young people from Spain within the theoretical scope of the new mobilities paradigm (Sheller and Urry, 2006). When talking about moving across borders, the mobilities approach can be helpful to better understand this phenomenon of the moving young. Therefore, an examination of the mobility literature builds the theoretical approach of this thesis. The different perceptions of mobilities emphasise the breadth and complexity of the relatively new term. In a first step, the new mobilities paradigm and its dissociation from traditional migration studies is introduced. Then, different ways to structure mobilities are proposed, followed by a short part about power relations between mobilities and "moorings". In a further step, the mobilities-belonging nexus is analysed before the chapter closes by connecting the mobilities concept with European freedom of movement.

3.1. From Migration to Mobilities: The New Mobilities Paradigm

People have crossed borders since ancient times. Moving from one place to another has been part of countless lives for many different reasons. There are various research fields that have such movement as their object of investigation. However, for a very long time, migration studies were the most frequently used approach to examine and describe such flows of people and things. Classic migration studies used the term migration to describe various forms of movement across borders which can be shortly summarised by Constant and Zimmermann's (2011) approach. They emphasise how *migration* is traditionally considered to be a permanent move from the home country to a host country. *Return migration* is defined as the final return of migrants back to their country of origin. In contrast, migration that is frequently and repeatedly performed is classified as *repeat migration*. *Circular migration* is another form of movement which the authors describe as the regular flow of migrants between their country of origin and foreign countries, often in search of work. Following these definitions, Constant and Zimmermann argue that return, repeat, and circular migrations are related to each other but are not the same (2011: 498). Their framework gives an idea of how complex the multi-layered migration research is. But whatever migration term is used, migration theorists perceived movement always as something that happened because one place pushed people away while another place pulled them in. Therefore, instead of being about movement, migration has always been about places (Cresswell, 2011: 20). This lack of focus on the actual movement opened a space for a new approach: a mobility approach (ibid.: 18).

Mobility studies comprise studies on exile, migration, immigration, migrant citizenship, transnationalism, communication, and tourism (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006: 10; Sheller and Urry, 2006: 211). The concept of mobilities is about large-scale movements of people, objects, capital and information as much as it is about local processes of daily movements and small-scale body motions (Cresswell, 2010: 552; Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006: 1). Mobility implies physical movement, movement improved by technologies, movements of information, communication and images (Bräuchler and Ménard, 2017: 3). Because of the huge impacts of mobilities, a "new mobilities paradigm" emerged (Sheller and Urry, 2006). This new concept

transforms the social sciences, questioning territorial precepts, changing the ways in which nation states and cities are perceived (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006: 2). Tourists, workers, students, migrants, scientists, business people, soldiers as well as objects and ideas are on the move. Thereby, the human body and the home are transformed and proximity and connectivity are imagined in a new fashion (ibid.).

For the purpose of this thesis, I am going to highlight a few important differences between mobility and migration to take into account when looking at young people from Spain who have moved to the UK and back. As argued above, migration was originally seen as a move from one nation to another and perhaps back (King et al., 2016: 9). This fixity of migration is challenged by mobility trajectories with greater variability in time and space. To address these new, flexible forms of human movement, apart from mobilities, the term "liquid migration" (see Engbersen and Snel, 2013) is sometimes used. Liquid migration describes intra-European migration which is characterised by temporality, labour migration, unpredictability, individualisation, and a variety of options (Engbersen, 2015: 7f, qtd. by Bygnes and Erdal, 2017: 103). The concept is especially valuable to describe a context where legal constraints and the need for planning are small (ibid.: 114). The importance of this flexibility is also addressed by Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark (2015). They used and developed the conceptualisation of temporary mobility and permanent migration by Bell and Ward (2010) whereby the former refers to repetitive, non-permanent moves of varying duration, while the latter is a permanent change of usual residence (Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark, 2015: 158). While a migrant is normally defined as someone who lives outside his or her country of origin regularly or irregularly for a period of 12 months or more (International Organisation for Migration, 2008: 2, qtd. by Boswell and Geddes, 2010: 2), a mobile person makes semi-permanent moves whereby the frequency and periodicity of those moves is highly variable (Bell and Ward, 2010: 89). Therefore, the key dimensions of movement are duration, frequency and seasonality (Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark, 2015: 158). By adding the dimension of temporality, Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark (2015) draw on the term "lifestyle mobility". In contrast to migration, lifestyle mobility is an ongoing fluid process with a higher significance of physical mobility as a defining attribute of a person (ibid.). Furthermore, lifestyle mobility differs from permanent migration in that it does not pre-suppose that there is no intention to return (ibid.: 159). O'Reilly and Benson (2015: 4) also use the concept of lifestyle migrants, arguing that they are often searching for "the good life", escaping monotony and routine as well as redundancy and uncertainty about the economic future. Drawing from personal stories of such migrants, O'Reilly and Benson suggest that lifestyle mobility is often perceived as a trajectory away from something negative towards a more meaningful way of life (ibid.). However, when moving to another country, the costs and benefits need to be considered. Favell (2008: 205) argues that the costs and benefits differ between migration and mobility. He suggests that while migration has long-term benefits that outweigh short-term costs such as difficulties with integration, the pain of leaving, and starting a new life, mobility offers the opposite. Favell points out that in mobility there are short-term benefits such as going on an adventure, getting to know new places, as

well as gaining social and professional benefits. The costs of mobility, he argues, emerge slowly over time (ibid.).

There is another, special distinction between migration and mobilities when looking at movement in the European Union where new patterns of movement have arisen since border controls have been reduced in the context of the Schengen Treaty. This distinction is particularly meaningful for the purpose of my thesis. Boswell and Geddes (2010: 3) argue that there is a trend to describe intra-European movement as mobility, reflecting the EU's free movement ideology, and immigration from outside the EU is labelled as migration. This coincides with Recchi's (2015: 1) study where he finds that intra-EU movements are increasingly referred to as mobility rather than as migration which is used to describe the movement by people from third countries. Therefore, Recchi argues that mobility means migration "in first class" where documents are not needed and the risks are much lower compared to migration by "traditional migrants" where international travelling is still a matter of social extremes (ibid.). This is a big difference to European mobility as described by Ritzen, Kahanec and Haas (2017: 2). They see European mobility as movement between EU countries which generally is less about permanent settlement and more about learning something abroad and then returning to the country of origin. Therefore, they argue that EU mobility tends to be circular with large groups coming and going (ibid.: 7). As opposed to this, migration from outside of Europe has a lower return rate and is more about staying. This is one of the reasons why migration is often perceived as a "threat" in Europe because it implies that migrants will settle and maybe become a burden on the welfare state (King et al., 2016: 8). In contrast, "mobility" implies that people will move on. This distinction between threatening migration from the outside and beneficial intra-European mobility is also used strategically by governments, universities and politicians to lessen resentments towards mobility by EU-citizens which can have many forms. There is the often-studied East-West mobility, long-distance commuting of business men and women, seasonal and circular migration, student exchanges, working holidays, international internships, just to name a few. King et al. (2016: 9) argue that these "new" forms of movement blur the distinction between migration and mobility and make it difficult to distinguish between the two, depending on how migration and mobility are defined.

Overall, the literature on the movement of people shows a distinctive shift away from migration studies towards the new mobilities paradigm, focusing more on the actual movement. This new mobilities paradigm is interesting for my thesis because it emphasises that moving from one country to another is not just about going to live in a new place and maybe return home. There are many different forms of movement involved in such a mobility experience: Capital flows between the countries, through modern technology information is more rapidly exchanged, images can be sent between countries, and ideas and imaginaries about home or the foreign change. In the next part, it will be illustrated how mobilities can be structured to better understand this complex concept.

3.2. Structuring Mobilities

One author who has been particularly important for mobility research is Tim Cresswell. He structures the mobilities term by distinguishing three aspects of mobility (2010: 29). Firstly, he names physical movement which is principally getting from one place to another. He considers this as the raw material to produce mobility. Secondly, he names the representations of movement that give it shared meaning. Mobility has been graded as adventure, as tedium, as education, as freedom, as modern, and as threatening (Cresswell, 2010: 19). The way mobility is perceived is highly meaningful. For example, there is a huge distinction between what EU-logic denotes as "beneficial mobility" within the European Union and "threatening mobility" from outside. Even though the representation of intra-European mobility has been viewed more critically in the last decade, it still reflects free market values and enhancement of efficiency of labour markets, while the latter is often perceived as a potential challenge to the national culture and the labour market (Boswell and Geddes, 2010: 180). Thirdly, Cresswell highlights the experienced practice of movement. This is both the everyday sense of walking, running or flying and the theoretical sense of this movement as it is habitualised. In other words, we do not have to actively think about everyday movement like walking or driving but do it out of a mix of will and habit (ibid.). According to Cresswell (2010: 20), the experience of mobility depends on whether it was chosen by or forced upon a person. And while this "either-or-approach" does not consider all the intermediate forms of self-determination of mobility, it still offers an interesting scale to think about movement. In short, movement can happen physically, it can be understood differently, and it can be processed in various ways. However, it is almost impossible to untangle these aspects, bound up with one another as they are (Cresswell, 2010: 19f).

Another approach to systemise different forms of movement is suggested by Larsen, Urry and Axhausen (2006). In contrast to Cresswell, they have two categories concerning physical movement. The first type is about movement of people, be it for work, leisure, family life, pleasure, migration, or escape. The second one concerns the physical movement of objects, for example between producers, consumers and retailers. Their third category contains imaginative travel through memories, texts, images, TV and films. TV, for example, enables people to attend live events without leaving the armchair. A further group is about virtual travel on the internet, transcending geographical and social distance. People can plug into global networks of information through which they can do things without their bodies having to travel physically. Lastly, they create a category involving communicative travel through person-to-person messages via letters, telephones, emails, and text messages (Larsen, Urry and Axhausen, 2006: 47f). Even though Larsen, Urry and Axhausen developed a different strategy to structure movement, their categorisation as well as the one by Cresswell indicate the complexity of the mobilities concept.

It has been shown how movement can be structured in various ways. To facilitate a structuration and organisation of the mobilities concept, it is necessary to outline different questions about mobility that need to be addressed. In his article from 2010, Cresswell proposes such a

"questionary". Firstly, he asks why a person or thing moves. An object has to be moved by an external force. With humans, Cresswell suggests, this force can be either a voluntary choice or an involuntary coercion, or arguably somewhere in between. Secondly, he argues that the velocity of a person or thing must be considered. Thirdly, Cresswell suggests to always ask in what rhythm a person or thing moves. Rhythms are repeated moments of movement and rest which are part of any social order or historical period. Fourthly, the question of the route must be posed. Cresswell asserts that mobility is channelled, moving along routes. Producing order is about channelling motion. Fifthly, he indicates that it is important to question how movement feels. How mobility is experienced is an import factor if one wants to understand it. Lastly, Cresswell claims that there is the process of stopping which needs to be dealt with. Only by acknowledging all six aspects, the creation of a modern mobile world can be understood (Cresswell, 2010: 22-26).

3.3. Immobilities and Power Relations

Understanding how mobilities stand in contrast to immobilities and how this divergence is caused by power relations is imperative for the mobilities concept. It is generally agreed upon the fact that mobility is not just about calculable movement but also about meaning. It is not just a practical issue, but a political and ethical one (Cresswell, 2011: 552). The politics of mobility revolve around the ideas that power is enacted in very different ways and that different meanings are ascribed to it, depending on the different social circumstances of the people involved (Adey, 2006: 88). Being mobile is to be able to move freely (Bräuchler and Ménard, 2017: 3). The right to free movement in the state's territory is a human right granted by the UN Charter on Human Rights (Article 13) and various state institutions (ibid.). However, mobilities can only be described in contrast or in relation to forms of stillness, place or relative immobility (Cresswell, 2010: 552). Sheller and Urry see in the new mobilities paradigm patterns of concentration that create zones of connectivity, centrality, and empowerment, on the one hand, and disconnection, social exclusion, and inaudibility on the other hand (2006: 210). Therefore, Cresswell stresses the importance not to suggest that the immobile is obsolete and no longer relevant. He states that the new mobilities paradigm equates the importance of "moorings" with the one of "mobilities" (2010: 18). Hannam, Sheller and Urry (2006: 4) argue that the best example for such a complex interplay between mooring and mobility systems is the airport. Airports form networks that bring together connected places, while distancing those places that are not well-connected. On the one hand, airports enable mobility. On the other hand, they immobilise people in lounges, waiting rooms, and everyday routines (ibid.). Therefore, immobile infrastructures that organise the flow of people, information and images as well as the borders that regulate movement are also important for the study of mobility (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006: 11). All this means that the potential to move is a central dimension of unequal power relations. While the mobilities of some are enhanced by technologies and places, the immobilities of others are reinforced, whereby race, gender, age and class play important roles (Bräuchler and Ménard, 2017: 3). As Skeggs writes: "Mobility and control over mobility both reflect and reinforce power. Mobility is a resource to which not everyone has an equal relationship" (Skeggs, 2004: 49, qtd. by Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006: 3). In

other words, mobility is always political and embedded in the production of power and relations of domination (Cresswell, 2010: 20).

I am aware that the mobilities paradigm is a very complex research field and the scope of this thesis does not allow me to consider all aspects of mobilities research. For this reason, factors such as daily movements and body motions are not considered in this study. Rather, I am interested in the aspects as structured by Cresswell (2010). Firstly, I take a look at the physical movement from Spain to the United Kingdom and back. Secondly, I am curious about the representation of movement. What does mobility mean for the young people from Spain I talked to? Is it an adventure? Is it a manifestation of freedom? Is it an escape? And thirdly, I am interested in the experienced practice, not in the experience of the actual movement, for example walking, but in the self-positioning on the choice-coercion scale. Furthermore, the structure by Larsen, Urry, and Axhausen (2006) also offers fascinating possibilities. What is the role of travel through memory when my interviewees think about their country of origin? How can mobility be perceived as travel through communication? But mainly, this thesis is about the different meanings that are ascribed to mobilities and the power relations influencing such understandings of movement.

3.4. Mobility and Belonging

Earlier in this chapter, it was suggested that the understanding of home is transformed through mobility (Butcher, 2010: 23; Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006: 2). In this part, I am going to discuss this connection between mobility and belonging. Gustafson (2009: 491) argues that different forms of mobility, depending on their frequency, distance, and duration, can have different impacts on territorial belonging which also depends on the spatial levels, such as neighbourhoods, cities, regions, and countries. Belonging here is defined as the process of identification and contestation generated by mobile subjects' struggles to understand their sense of home though place-based attachments (Christou, 2011, qtd. by Marcu, 2014: 331).

When talking about the concept of belonging, it is generally agreed upon the fact that the feeling of belonging grows stronger over time. This means that mobility complicates the development of a strong sense of belonging (e.g. Fischer and Malmberg, 2001; Lewicka, 2005). Belonging is not just about membership rights and duties, as Anthias (2008: 8) argues but also about social places. He writes: "To belong is to be accepted as part of a community, to feel safe within it and to have a stake in the future of such a community of membership. To belong is to share values, networks and practices and not just a question of identification. It is important to relate the notion of belonging to the different locations and contexts from which belongings are imagined and narrated" (Anthias, 2008: 8). While this is a very positive perspective of belonging, it is important to mention that questions of belonging often only emerge when a person feels that he or she is not included or cannot participate in aspects of life. Anthias (2008: 8) therefore argues that the key factors of belonging are the notions of exclusion and inclusion, the construction of "we-ness" and "otherness".

It is exactly this distinction between "we-ness" and "otherness", this "not feeling included", that mobile subjectss are confronted with when arriving in a host country. This makes the connection between mobilities and belonging an interesting one because mobility transforms the relation people have with their surroundings. Through mobility people can discover different ecologies of place (Conradson and McKay, 2007: 168). By going to a foreign place, they are confronted with difference and they need to newly define their understandings of home.

According to Butcher (2010: 24), home is not just a house but consists of imagination, everyday practices, relationships, cultural ideals, and values. It is a symbolic place full of meanings that connect feelings of safety, familiarity, comfort, love, and belonging. Hence, Butcher argues that "here" and "there" are not just two places that are apart but also cultural spaces separated by difference (ibid.). Lucas and Purkayastha (2007: 255) even argue that this contrast of being "here" and there" mirrors the contrast between "home" and "away". It comes as no surprise that when migrants cannot participate in aspects of life in the new place, when they do not see themselves as belonging to the host country, they feel nostalgia of home. Boym (2002) divides such nostalgia in three parts. The first one is restorative nostalgia which stresses "nostos" – the return home –, whereby the lost home is reconstructed through rituals to spatialise time. The second one is reflective nostalgia which is about the "algia", the longing itself. It holds dear the memories of a place. The last one is prospective nostalgia which is the romantic bringing together of home and abroad, past and present, dream and reality (Boym, 2002: 14).

Whatever form of nostalgia they feel, Butcher (2010: 25) as well as Ralph and Staehli (2011: 522) found that to manage the displacement of their mobility, migrants often have strong attachments to a home. However, this home does not necessarily need to be in the home country but can be recreated in a new place. However, in her study about relocation of Australians, Butcher found that in the face of difference, many participants increased their sense of belonging to their place of origin (2010: 29). This is confirmed by Lewicka (2005: 382) who found in a Polish study that being away from home may increase a person's feeling of belonging. Furthermore, it was found by Brown, Brown, and Perkings (2004: 757) that women have - at least in some studies - been shown to have a stronger sense of territorial belonging than men. If migrants fail to build a home in the host country, nostalgia often leads the migrants back home (Ralph and Staehli, 2011: 522). If they then decide to return home, there are often difficulties involved. Ralph and Staehli (2011: 523) focus on such challenges associated with return migration. They argue that after having lived in another country for some time, going back does not necessarily mean going home. Instead, migrants often experience ambivalence when returning because they, as well as their "home", have changed. Therefore, returnees are faced with difficulties of reintegration, at both social and professional levels (Cassarino, 2004: 262). For these reasons, Ralph and Staehli state that a return to a home for which they have yearned can be distressing for the migrants because they do not longer feel like belonging in their home place. This leads very often to returnees considering re-emigration (ibid.). However, Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark (2015: 159) state that lifestyle mobility is not about returning home. On the contrary, it pre-supposes that there is an intention to keep on being mobile. Instead of

thinking about one home back in the country of origin, multiple homes emerge with the changing of residence. This was also a finding by Marcu (2014: 332) who suggests that through EU-mobility "second homes" emerge. According to Easthope (2009: 74), the sense of home in the new place is different from the sense of home in their place of origin because their new homes are a creation. At the end of the day, she argues that home is a place where the habitus develops. In other words, moving to a new location requires an appropriation of a new habitus for dealing with the new surroundings (ibid.).

This part of the chapter fleshed out the complex and ambivalent junctures between the concepts of belonging and mobility. Generally, there are two main streams of research on this matter. While sometimes it is argued that moving subjects feel home in different places, in "second homes" with an intention to keep on moving, others argue that mobility in fact intensifies a sense of belonging and a need for a home. Butcher (2005: 34), for example, argues that there is no evidence that by being mobile one belongs "everywhere", as it is often suggested by research on transnationalism. On the contrary, she found that many migrants need to feel belonging to a home, whether in the new place or the old (ibid.).

3.5. Eurostars? Mobilities and the European freedom of movement

This chapter introduced the complex concept of mobilities. It was shown how mobility can be understood in many different ways, from physical movement to imaginary travel. The aim of this part is to connect the theory of mobilities with the European freedom of movement. Above, it was explained how intra-European movement is often labelled with "mobility" while immigration from other countries is classified as "migration". Using this approach, the young people from Spain I interviewed for this thesis would all fit into the mobilities category. It was explained why freedom of movement in Europe is a unique legal and political construction (Favell, 2008: 3). It is particularly meaningful because European mobility is sometimes defined as movement over small distances separated by large national borders, influenced by distinctive national and regional cultures (ibid.: 10). This renders the notion of belonging interesting because the mobile subjects need to find their place in a new community. For this reason, it is promising to look at the ones who experience such intra-European mobility. Favell (2008) defined high-skilled workers who move among European capitals as "Eurostars" who do not see themselves as migrants but as mobile. They move from city to city to find a place where they can integrate, seeing Europe as their home. In other words, they attempt to combine their mobility with a functional integration. Such mobility which is conducted for the sake of mobility itself (Cresswell and Merriman, 2011: 3) is particularly attractive for Europeans because of the closeness of European countries and the missing border controls, lower prices of airline tickets, reduced economic barriers, and easier long-distance communication (Favell, 2008: 40, 91). This was also a finding by Constant and Zimmermann (2011) who stated that the easier mobility is, the more likely migrants are to engage in it (ibid.: 513). However, there are other approaches that contradict such a hyper-mobility suggestion. Hauvette (2010: 48), for example, argues that often such movements are the result of regional disadvantages and

mismatches of skill and educational capital. Nonetheless, the argument that many young Europeans are mobile for the sake of mobility itself and that freedom of movement in Europe allows them to move from city to city is an intriguing one.

It is this intra-European free movement of young people from Spain I am interested in. The aim of this thesis is to find out how those moving subjects experience their mobility and whether they perceive themselves as "Eurostars". Mobilities research and its connection to belonging offers new points of departure. Kalir (2013: 312f) even suggests that new perspectives are generated by looking at mobility regimes from the perspectives of those involved in them because so far, the mobilities paradigm does not show the consequences for people who experience it. He writes: "It is time for a mobilities paradigm to generate research projects which study human mobility holistically, privilege the perspective of moving subjects, explore the impact of movement on the lived realities of involved actors and bring in the state as people experience it" (Kalir, 2013: 325).

4 The Mobile Young

Heretofore, I have explained the political background and introduced the mobilities paradigm. This chapter has the ambition of showing what research has been done on the mobile young so far, to indicate the research gap, formulate the research question and explain the conceptual framework for this thesis.

4.1. State of Research on the mobile young

As mentioned in the chapter about the political background, recent research on emigration from Spain has been conducted mainly in the field of economics. Many other studies have focused on why young people from Spain moved abroad. However, for this thesis, the economic factors are secondary and this thesis is not supposed to be about who moves and who does not, nor is it looking for answers to the question why people move. The aim of this thesis is to find out how mobility is conceived not by looking at statistics or ad hoc surveys but by using qualitative interviews. There have been a few studies on the matter of young mobile Europeans that I am going to mention here because they are closely connected to this study.

The article most closely connected to my research was written in 2016 by Pumares and Gónzales Martín. They interviewed 27 young people from Spain who had moved to the area of Brighton and 32 people who had returned to Spain after having spent some time in the United Kingdom. Pumares and Gónzales Martín looked more than anything at the reasons for emigration – mainly the crisis and the wish to experience something new - and the reasons for return which turned out to be mostly tiredness and not the achievement of goals (ibid.: 277 – 283). Furthermore, Pumares and Gónzales Martín found that most of the returnees did not discard the possibility of future mobility, especially if it went well for them in Great Britain. They therefore argue that there are many who are open for other experiences abroad if it means that there is an opportunity for professional growth (Pumares and Gónzales Martin, 2016: 285). Pumares and Gónzales Martín also found some who do not rule out future mobility because the situation in Spain has not improved and they do not see another option (ibid.). A last group of the participants are the ones who have found a satisfactory job, those who knew that they wanted to live in Spain, and those who most wanted to be with their family or have children themselves (ibid.). They further argue that the majority of those who have returned to Spain were able to use their new skills, especially their English. Still, many were not able to improve their situation (ibid.: 287).

One year later, Pumares wrote another article where he analyses interviews held with young people from Spain in Brighton. He finds many of the young emigrants have a short-term mobility in mind, wanting to do something useful during the time of crisis (Pumares, 2017: 133). The main goal of his project was to find the reasons for emigration. While he acknowledges the “classic reasons” such as learning English and improving one’s career chances, he also looks at reasons that are more closely connected to the present emigration. Pumares finds that many leave the country out of frustration and anger because of the situation in Spain. They go

to the United Kingdom where they often experience dequalification (ibid.: 150). Pumares furthermore suggests that many of the emigrants also go abroad to make the transition from study do work, from dependence to independence and from youth to adulthood (ibid.: 145). While this is an interesting article that offers various explanations for the emigration of young people from Spain, it does not focus on the mobility experience itself which is the aim of this thesis.

Another though-provoking approach comes from Trevena (2013) who analysed the results of in-depth interviews with and observation of young Poles with a university degree who had moved to London to work there. She categorises the interviewees in three different groups of migrants depending on their migration motivations (2013: 10). "Drifters" move to live an experience without clear future plans. Their aim is to experience something new away from home with a focus on learning English (ibid.). These "drifters" are closely to the "searchers" by Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich (2007: 10f) who are young ambitious people who keep their options open and see their mobility as a passage into adulthood. "Career seekers" are, as the name indicates, people who emigrated for a better career, either in London itself or after a return to their country of origin (ibid.: 11). The last group by Trevena consists of "target earners" whose main purpose is to save money which they can take back to Poland (ibid.). This is a promising approach to categorise the reasons for emigration which does not cover the whole mobility experience however.

When looking at the aspect of return, an interesting study was conducted by Pessoa (2010). She had conversations with young people from Portugal who had moved to Macao and back to Portugal. In spite of her study not being on intra-European mobility and even though there are many studies on return migration, this study by Pessoa offers new insights into the debate about young movers. She found that the young Portuguese did not see their return to Portugal as final but as a stopover for financial, education, professional, or familial reasons, before their mobility continued (Pessoa, 2010: 29). On top of that, Pessoa found that even the ones who remained in Portugal after their return revealed a strong desire to re-emigrate (ibid.: 31). The participants of her study could be categorised as "Eurostars" because they did not see their state as sedentary but as continued mobility.

Another interesting approach about return and future mobility expectations comes from Bygnes and Erdal (2017). They wanted to find how notions of "liquid migration" are made relevant when adult intra-European migrants from Poland and Spain talk about mobility, settlement and the future. This means that the authors did not only talk to young people but focused on adults who were more likely to have aspirations for a grounded life. They found that many of their research participants no longer saw their imagined future in their countries of origin (Bygnes and Erdal, 2017: 108). Quite on the contrary, even if they originally had planned to return, such plans were often revised after some time in Norway (ibid.). Especially the Spanish participants often described the door to Spain as "entirely closed" and return migration as "out of the question" (ibid.: 109). In general, most of the informants could not imagine a free-moving lifestyle but wanted to settle somewhere and have a grounded life, even if it is not in

the country of origin (ibid.: 114). This goes in line with the mobility-belonging nexus presented in the last chapter about migrants needing a fixed home somewhere.

The last research project I am going to introduce here is one made by Domínguez-Mujica, Díaz-Hernández, and Parreño-Castellano (2016) who did a large-scale survey with young skilled people from Spain who emigrated after 2008. Their goal was to define the profile of those young adults, their decision to go abroad, their arrival and integration in the host country, their relationship with Spain, and their prospects for the near future. Thereby they included many of the aspects I was interested in for my thesis as well. The authors found that many of their participants considered their move to have been successful, confirming that their emigration was an important step in their emancipation (Domínguez-Mujica, Díaz-Hernández, and Parreño-Castellano, 2016: 221). Nonetheless, the young people showed a strong identification with their home and kept in touch with their family and friends (ibid.). Most of them would only consider a return to Spain if the conditions improved significantly which the majority thought was an unlikely scenario (ibid.: 218).

4.2. The young emigrants versus the government and the media

In this part, I want to introduce two studies that are especially thought-provoking for my project. Qualitative data often comes from interviews or observation. However, there is the possibility of extracting it from existent texts (Reuber and Pfaffenbach, 2005: 119). This is also the case for a discourse analysis of a public discourse where newspaper articles and reports are evaluated. There have been two such discourse analyses which focused on the discrepancy between the Spanish emigration as presented in the media and experienced by the young emigrants themselves.

The first study I am going to introduce here was conducted by Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano. They analysed the experiences of young people from Spain who have gone abroad, their current frame and future expectations. This they put in contrast to how the emigration is perceived by Spanish society and the mass media (2017: 245). They found that there is a big contrast between the disappointment and hope for a better life abroad the Spanish youth feels towards emigration and the official and media discourses that range from denial of the mass exodus of the young to incomprehension and criticism of the phenomenon (Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano, 2017: 245).

Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano (2017: 253f) describe the frustration the young feel towards the government, the working conditions, the educational system and how the young, after having left the country, did not expect to ever return to Spain. Furthermore, they argue that the emigrants often perceive themselves as excluded individuals who emphasise that they did not leave their county voluntarily (ibid.: 255). Slogans such as “No nos vamos, nos echan” – “We are not leaving, they throw us out” clearly illustrate this idea. However, the president of Spain refuses to acknowledge that 500’000 young people have left Spain due to the financial crisis. Before that, Secretary-General of Immigration and Emigration had stated that the main

reason for the emigration of the young was "adventurous spirit of youth" (ibid.: 257). Therefore, Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano (2017: 258) argue that the government has downplayed the importance of youth mobility by calling it something normal and typical of a particular age group. Furthermore, they argue that while the denial of this reality is surprising, the speed at which the media have spread such counter-messages to the frustrated voices of the young is no less astonishing (ibid.)[6]. Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano also look at how the phenomenon of the emigration is presented in television. They argue that programmes such as "Españoles por el mundo" give the most distorted view of the emigration, focusing only on success stories of adventure that bear no resemblance to the often difficult experiences of the majority (ibid.: 259ff). Because of the news and such programmes, Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano point out that the media has exploited the images and symbols of the Spanish emigration in a simplistic way and that a serious effort to investigate the heart of the matter has never been made (ibid.: 260). They conclude their chapter by stating that the contrast between the emigrants' own narratives of frustration and the discourses employed by the media about personal freedom and wealth reveal the need to take a closer look at the personal level (ibid.: 164f).

A second interesting discourse analysis was implemented in 2017 by Denise Cogo and Mauricio Nihil Olivera who used newspaper articles, interviews by coordinators of the press, observation notes, youtube videos of Marea Granate members, and internal records of Marea Granate to look at the phenomenon of the emigration of the young. Marea Granate is a transnational movement by young emigrants from Spain who felt like being thrown out of the country. It was established in 2013 after the "no nos vamos, nos echan" demonstration by Juventud Sin Futuro[7] (Cogo, 2017: 171). The members communicate worldwide via internet and criticise the economic crisis and the following forced mass exodus of the young (Cogo and Olivera, 2017: 166). While the discourses of the Spanish government about migration are produced and supported with and by the media, the discourses by Marea Grante are spread mainly through the internet and social networks (Cogo and Olivera, 2017: 167). To find the discourses at work, Cogo and Olivera (2017: 173f) look at the headlines of newspaper articles in Spain:

- Wert afirma en Alemania que la emigración de jóvenes españoles no es un "fenómeno negativo" – Wert (Minister of education, culture and sport) asserts in Germany that the emigration of young Spaniards is not a "negative phenomenon" (Europa Press, 12.07.12)
- La secretaria de Inmigración dice que los jóvenes emigran por "impulso aventurero" - The secretary of immigration says that the young emigrate because of adventurous spirit (La Vanguardia, 30.11.12)

6 For example, the most read newspaper in Spain, El País, published 246 news items on this topic between January 1, 2009 and January 31, 2015 (Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano, 2017: 259).

7 Juventud Sin Futuro is an organisation which was founded in 2011 in Madrid by young people to demonstrate against the precarious working conditions and the economic situation after 2008.

- Esperanza Aguirre cree que los jóvenes migrantes son un "motivo de optimismo" – Esperanza Aguirre (President of the political party "Partido Popular") believes that the young migrants are a "cause for optimism" (Público, 27.04.13)
- González Pons: "no podemos decir que trabajar en la UE es trabajar en el extranjero" – González Pons (assistant secretary for studies and programs of the Partido Popular): "we cannot say that working in the EU is working abroad (20 Minutos, 02.06.13)
- Es bueno que los jóvenes puedan elegir entre trabajar en España o en el exterior – It is a good thing that the young can decide whether to work in Spain or abroad (El Boletin, 05.09.13)

From these headlines, Cogo and Olivera (2017: 174) conclude that the representatives of the Spanish government deny the massive exile by the young. They argue that the media presents emigration as something positive, as a right to choose between staying and leaving. The government and the media talk about neoliberal principles of freedom and circulation and apply it to the young who emigrate (ibid.).

In a second step, Cogo and Olivera (2017: 180) analyse youtube videos by Marea Granate. Thereby they find that the emigrants themselves do not see their mobility as the positive act the media tries to conjure up. They point out that some of the most used phrases are: "no nos vamos de aventura" – "we're not going on an adventure; "no nos vamos a aprender idiomas"- "we're not going to learn a language" and "no nos vamos, nos echan!" – "we're not leaving, they throw us out!" (ibid.). An interesting statement that shows the spirit of Marea Granate comes from Olalla Pastor del Valle, the representative of the French node: "Estamos cansados en Marea Granate de defender el hecho de que no somos jovencitos que nos vayamos a la aventura, ni somos niños que han salido de Erasmus […]" – "At Marea Grante we are tired of defending the fact that we are not youngsters going on an adventure, nor are we children who have left with Erasmus" (Galiano and Sánchez, 2015, qtd. by Cogo and Olivera, 2017: 167).

Cogo and Olivera (2017: 183f) conclude their article by arguing that there is a huge disparity between the perspective of the emigrants and the one of the government and the press when it comes to the topic of youth mobility. While the Spanish government argues that youth emigration is an adventure, a chance to improve a language or to gain working experience, the members of Marea Granate name the precarious situation and the missing job opportunities as their reasons to go abroad. This paper, as well as the one by Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano, has as its focus this difference between the "official" discourse of mobility as an adventure as presented by the government and the media and the "alternative" discourse of mobility as a forced necessity.

4.3. Research Gap and Research Question

So far in this chapter, I have introduced a few studies about mobility of Europeans that are interesting for this thesis for various reasons. And while none of them have their focus on the mobility experience as a whole but mainly about their reasons for emigration or seldom about

their reasons for a return, they offer fascinating thoughts to build upon. Nonetheless, within the debate of migration, mobile European citizens have been relatively little studied in the past (Recchi, 2015: 81). This lack of empirical literature on circular migration in the European context comes mainly from the non-availability of data or its inconsistency (Constant and Zimmermann, 2011: 499). And while in the beginning of the 2000s, the mobile young have been almost completely ignored in migration studies (Geisen, 2010: 11), the literature on it has been growing fast in the last few years (King et al., 2016: 45), unfolding fascinating insights on mobilities. However, as indicated before, the data that exists mainly focuses on macro-scale aspects of mobility. The studies that actually are about personal experiences are often about migrants who have stayed after their emigration. The return home after a short stay abroad has rarely been discussed (Favell, 2008: 203). King et al. (2016: 43) also point out that very few studies so far have been carried out on the return, resettlement and reintegration of intra-European migrants. There are studies about dequlification of young people from Spain, about reasons for emigration, and about return migration. However, little has been done about the topic of the actual mobility experience of moving to a foreign country and back. Therefore, Easthope (2009: 62) argues that it is important not just to ask why people migrate but also how people experience and understand their movements. People who are mobile are often faced with unknown situations which require them to rethink their understandings about the world (ibid.). It is these personal insights that I am interested in. In the concrete example of Spain, most research focuses on the emigration during Franco's regime (e.g. Garcia 2002) or the economic factors of emigration and the reasons for leaving (see Carballo Cruz 2011, González-Ferrer 2013, Herrera Caballos 2014, among others). And while there have been many interesting and thought-provoking studies on mobility patterns in Europe, the Spanish migration to the UK since the global crisis in 2008 from the perspective of the young people from Spain themselves has been represented less in scientific research.

The aim of my paper is to contribute filling in this research gap. I want to give some of those mobile individuals a voice. I want to find out how young adults from Spain, who have lived and worked in the UK during some time, perceive being mobile. While their reasons for the decision to go abroad are certainly important, they are not meant to be the central aspect. I want to understand what mobility has meant for them, whether they are "Eurostars" who want to keep on moving, how they connect their mobility with a feeling of belonging somewhere, whether mobility is conceived as an adventure or a necessity, and their expectations for future mobilities in general. I was inspired by questions posed by Cresswell (2010: 21) such as: How is mobility constituted? What narratives have been constructed about it? How are mobilities represented? How are they embodied? To what extent is mobility forced or free?

Keeping all these sub-questions in mind, I formulated the following main research question:

> ***How do young adults from Spain, who went to Great Britain and back, perceive mobility?***

To answer this question, a fitting lens to look through must be chosen which is introduced in the next two sections of this chapter.

4.4. The problem with methodological nationalism

Norms are nationalised forms of behaviour. They allow people to speak about nations and cultures as if they were perfectly bounded, self-consistent entities (Favell, 2008: 136). However, naturalising the nation state is problematic. In their article from 2012, Amelina and Faist criticise the fact that the nation state is often still used as the most important framework for studies about international migration. Their main arguments are that migration researchers presume the nation state as the central relevant context for their studies, that ethnicity is often seen as the dominant category for research organisation, and that many studies are characterised by concepts naturalising ethnic belonging (2012: 1709). Furthermore, Amelina and Faist argue that understanding nations as natural entities is problematic because the bounded nation-states are a historically new phenomenon that resulted out of power relations (ibid.: 1713). Therefore, it is a methodological challenge to think outside the box of the national state as the only relevant context and the state as a quasi-natural container (Faist, 2012: 52). However, Faist (2012: 54) argues that critique of methodological nationalism should not lead to abandon the idea of the national state. For this reason, Amelina and Faist suggest using a "both/and" logic instead of the old-fashioned "either/or" logic of methodological nationalism. The "both/and" logic facilitates the contextualisation of research question in a multi-perspective way (ibid.: 1713). This could help researchers not to consider ethnicity and nationality as the only markers of difference but to also consider other categories as well (Faist, 2012: 56).

It cannot be denied that people on the move are often defined by their nationality. However, in the case of my interviewees, another category that could be applied is their youth. All the young people I talked to had not yet started a family, had not yet lived in an independent household, and most of them had not had a permanent job before their emigration. From a traditional perspective, it could be argued that they had not yet made the full transition into adulthood. For this reason, instead of just focusing on their Spanish nationality (see chapter 5.2.), I chose becoming an adult as the lens to look through for this thesis.

4.5. From youth to adulthood

To explain the concept of adulthood better, I need to explain the traditional view on the matter. Originally, transition from youth to adulthood has used markers to explain the progression. Examples of such markers are the step from education to work, from unemployment to employment, the formation of a stable partnership, having children and establishing a home (Skelton, 2002: 101; King et al., 2016: 12). Such markers were only possible because of the high degree of standardisation of life-courses between the end of World War II and the Oil Crisis of 1973, the "Golden Age" of economic conditions and secure labour markets (Blatterer, 2007: 774). However, Blatterer (2007: 777) argues that such markers lose their significance and adulthood is being redefined. Young people in their twenties and thirties stay in the parental home longer, especially in the South of Europe. Moreover, many drift from job to job

and they form families later. Thus, Blatterer points out that the young live in the present with little concern for the future and little regard for stability, attributes normally associated with adolescence (ibid.). Heath and Cleaver (2003: 184) even argue that the young are consciously choosing to procrastinate some of the traditional markers of adulthood. Because there are so many different trajectories, it is impossible to decide which markers are the most appropriate ones to characterise adulthood nowadays (Shanahan, 2000: 671). Arnett (2006: 469)[8] agrees that for these reasons traditional markers are no longer suitable and that a new stage of life course is necessary which he calls "emerging adulthood", the postponing of adult-related commitments by young people. According to Arnett, emerging adulthood has five main features: the age of identity exploration where different future paths are considered, the age of instability where educations and jobs change frequently, the age of feeling in-between youth and adulthood, the age of self-focus, and the age of possibilities when life prospects are viewed with optimism (Arnett, 2006: 114). Even though Arnett's "emerging adulthood" is an interesting approach to the transitions from youth to adulthood, it does not consider the different economic situations across Europe and therefore got a lot of critique.

One of those who criticises Arnett's approach is Moreno (2012) who focuses on transition to adulthood in Spain. He, among others, states that the late transition of young people from Spain may come from institutional, structural, economic, and cultural factors (Domínguez-Mujica, Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano, 2016: 207; Moreno, 2012: 21). Examples thereof are limited social policies for the young, high unemployment rates, job insecurity, and housing market conditions. In addition, Moreno (2012) names the aspect of familism. Familism is often defined as a form of solidary towards the family at the expense of individual economic interests unique of Southern European societies whereby neither the young nor the parents place a high value on autonomy and independency from the family (Moreno, 2012: 22). Moreno sees this as a cultural norm of belonging, autonomy and dependence which emerged because the young felt vulnerable in the economic and institutional environment (2012: 23). Sentiments of not knowing what to do with one's life are typical for becoming an adult (ibid.: 20). However, in the case of young people from Spain, Moreno argues that the late emancipation comes from job insecurity, limited youth policies and the transition regime (ibid.: 40). It is this cultural end economic context that makes the youth in Spain dependent on their parents, delaying an autonomous life-course (Moreno, 2012: 42). This is a completely different approach than the one suggested by Arnett (2006) who did not consider different situations across the continent.

Another, more general approach comes from Skelton (2002: 111) who argues that youth is often seen as a period in life that one must go through to emerge in a better way afterwards. Skelton criticises that research on this transition often perceives people who do not follow a certain trajectory as failures whereby normal transitions are often categorised as heterosexual, financially privileged, and Western (ibid.). Therefore, she suggests conceptualising the transition from youth to adulthood as a process that happens to different groups of people

8 For more information, see also the articles by Arnett from 2000 and 2004.

rather than a common phase to pass through. Thereby, Skelton argues, it is possible to recognize that there are as many different ways to experience this transition as there are different young people (ibid.: 113). Furlong and Cartmel (2007) also focus on such inequalities in adulthood transitions and their outcomes which reach from freedom and the possibility to develop to frustration and the inability to lead independent lives (ibid.: 70). Therefore, it is important to note that variables such as labour markets, education, gender, class, ethnicity and cultural differences influence individual life-courses. Trying to formulate a more appropriate definition of adulthood, Geisen (2010: 17) states that the transition to adulthood includes the establishment of a self-confident, independent and free personality.

Another modern definition was made by King et al. (2016). They define youth as a life-course category which is socially constructed and can change depending on the circumstances. Most importantly, they see it as a category that is always in relation to other ages and generations such as childhood, adulthood, middle age and so forth (2016: 9). Youth can also be seen as a process of becoming, an evolution towards the future rather than an orientation to the past or the present (ibid.). Youth has also been connected to other research fields. Geisen (2010: 13) argues that since the 1990s, there has been increasing reference to concepts of belonging, cultural repositioning and social mobility in migration research, with an active interest in the subjective strategies of young migrants making the transition to adulthood. In the case of Spain, for example, the emigration experience can be an important step towards the emancipation process and independence which gives the youth the ability to support themselves instead of relying on their families (Domínguez-Mujica, Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano, 2016: 218). However, it is not just emigration that is interesting for the transition from youth to adulthood. King et al. (2016: 44) argue that return may constitute either the ultimate youth transition to full adulthood or it could be fraught with difficulties and uncertainties about finding work and social reintegration and therefore be a "reversed transition" (ibid.). Such a consideration of the influence of return is thought-provoking for this master thesis.

It could be argued that there are different streams of research about the transition from youth to adulthood. While some still use the traditional markers to describe becoming an adult, others suggest that the markers have become so manifold and changed that it is difficult to decide which ones do matter. And while some emphasise the liberty of finding one's own life course, others suggest that life courses are still determined by gender, sexual orientation, the level of education, class, and ethnicity. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the transition to adulthood is an interesting category to use when looking at mobilities because going abroad could be a process of becoming independent and self-confident. These are, according to Geisen (2010), the new markers of adulthood which are interesting factors which could be connected to the mobility experiences of young people from Spain.

5 Methodology

This chapter provides an overview of the methodology used for this research project. First, I am going to explain my reasons for choosing qualitative research for my thesis. Then, I am going to talk about Spain as a research site. In a next step, I am introducing my sample description followed by an overview of my interview technique, my data collection and data analysis. I am closing this chapter by touching upon a few methodological problems and question that emerged during the process of writing this thesis. Before I start, it must be mentioned that this master thesis is a qualitative, small-scale project which has its focus on young people from Spain. The findings are not generalisable and offer only a limited perspective on mobility in Europe. Still, the outcomes can give insights into the dynamics of post-crisis inner-European mobility trajectories.

5.1. Qualitative Research

There exist many studies using a quantitative approach to explain the emigration of young people from Spain as well as to give insight into mobility patterns in Europe. Qualitative approaches about these topics are far less frequent. Quantitative approaches can tell us something about the extent of European mobility and the Spanish emigration, the direction of the movement and the macro- and meso-scale impacts on politics, the economy and social systems. The macro-level theories stress migration systems, groups of countries and communities. The focus here lies on the flows of money, goods, services, information and ideas (Beets and Willekens, 2009: 22). Another approach offer meso-level migration theories which emphasise the role of social networks (ibid.). However interesting the macro- and meso-scales of migration, they cannot explain what mobility means for the people who have experienced it and what it means on the micro-scale which has its focus on agency where the individual is seen as the main centre of attraction who makes decisions, such as leaving the country (Beets and Willekens, 2009: 21). To have the focus on the individual is the aim of this qualitative research. And while numbers and statistics are without doubt interesting and important to better understand the migratory flows, for this thesis, they are secondary as I want to focus on these individual voices which are not less meaningful and far less heard. While mobility in Europe has been glorified and criticised, the thoughts and experiences of those who have been mobile are not as well known. For this reason, I wanted to arrive at a better understanding of how young people from Spain, who went to Great Britain and back, feel and think about mobility. I was interested in the aspects that made mobility attractive or what its drawbacks are for those having lived a cross-border experience. A qualitative approach seemed to be the most suitable approach to find answers to these issues.

Flick, von Kardorff and Steinke (2007: 14) conceive of qualitative research as a means to describe how people see the world or an aspect of it. They argue that the aim of qualitative research is to help provide a better understanding of social truths by using the unexpected, the different and the new as a source of knowledge (ibid.). In other words, qualitative research focuses on the understanding of a person's perspective, of a phenomenon from the inside

(Flick, 2006: 48f). However, qualitative research is not only about the subjectivity of the person who is interviewed but also about the subjectivity of the interviewer him- or herself (Flick, von Kardorff and Steinke, 2007: 25; Mattissek, Pfaffenbach and Reuber, 2013: 34). To put it differently, the results of qualitative research are always perspectives on perspectives (Mattissek, Pfaffenbach and Reuber, 2013: 34). This means that while analysing the perspectives of the young interviewees, it is important to always remember that the personal perspectives of the researcher are also part of the analysis.

5.2. The young from Spain who went to the UK and back

Choosing the mobile young from Spain who went to Great Britain and back as "research topic" resulted from various factors. Firstly, there was the question of age. As shown in chapter 2.3, even though people of all age groups are emigrating, it is especially the young with a university degree that reach exceptionally high numbers (Herrera Caballos, 2014: 94). Because there are so many and because it has mainly been numbers instead of personal reports, I believe that focusing on the young can give interesting insights into the mobility topic. When I say young, I mean people between 18 and 34. I chose this age range because over 80 percent of the people from Spain who went to work in the United Kingdom between 2006 and 2013 were between 18 and 34 years old (Navarette Moreno, 2014: 31) and because they were the most severely affected by the financial crisis (Monteserin, Fernández Asperilla and Martínez Vega, 2013: 7).

Secondly, the question of the country of origin arises. Why Spain? This Southern European country was chosen primarily because it is among the countries with the largest number of intra-EU emigrants. Spain is a country that has been part of the European Union only since 1986 (Díez Medrano and Gutiérrez: 2001: 755). And while it was an immigration country for decades after the Oil Crisis in 1973, it has become a country of emigration after the financial meltdown in 2008 (Boswell and Geddes, 2011: 24) which had a devastating effect on the Spanish economy. Last but not least, the country was chosen because of my personal interests and contacts I have in Spain. Furthermore, my knowledge of the Spanish language allowed me to conduct the interviews in the interviewees' mother tongue which is good for data collection because it is more natural for the interviewees (Flick, von Kardoff and Steinke, 2007: 23).

Choosing Spain as a research site turned out to have a few impediments. Because it is such a spacious country it was quite difficult to meet my interview partners. It took a lot of time to visit the different villages and cities. As a result, I decided to conduct a few interviews via skype, being aware of the detriments such long-distance communication can have. When an interview is conducted face-to-face it is easier to take control over the course of the conversation and to get a feeling of how to talk to an interviewee and what questions to pursue (Mattissek, Pfaffenbach and Reuber, 2013: 92). But with a bit of patience and time, I was able to talk to people from all over the country. The places I visited were Elgoibar in the Basque Country, Madrid, Mérida and Badajoz in Extremadura, and Barcelona. The Skype interviews I conducted were with people who lived in Cádiz, Almería and Granada in the South of Spain, and someone who lived in Vitoria, in the North.

Figure 2: Residence of Interviewees in Spain (own depiction)

The third factor which must be considered is the country of destination. I chose the United Kingdom because of statistical numbers. Most young people from Spain who emigrated chose the United Kingdom as their destination (Herrera Caballos, 2014: 92; Pumares, 2017: 137). Furthermore, Great Britain was part of the European Union but left the institution via Brexit in June 2016 which was one reason, among others, that some of the interviewees decided to return. Therefore, Great Britain is an interesting country to look at for the purpose of this thesis and the free movement in Europe in general.

The last factor which needs to be explained is the aspect of return. Why did I not choose to talk to people who are still living abroad? Earlier in this thesis, it was illustrated how there have been many studies on mobility within the European Union but very few studies on return migration in this context (Favell, 2008: 203; King et al., 2016: 43). I wanted to contribute filling in this research gap by focusing on those who have gone back to their country of origin. Furthermore, I wanted to find out whether the young people from Spain are "Eurostars" (see Favell, 2008) that are mobile for the sake of mobility itself. By talking to those who have returned, I wanted to find out whether returning home had been their final move or whether they planned to keep on moving in the future. Talking to people who had returned gave me a new perspective on the mobility debate.

5.3. Sample Description

In contrast to quantitative studies where the sampling is random, qualitative research uses purposeful sampling. This is a technique to identify and select individuals that are well-in-

formed about and experienced with a phenomenon of interest (Palinkas et al., 2015: 534). Another difference between quantitative and qualitative research is the aim of the project. While qualitative methods are mainly intended to achieve depth of understanding, quantitative methods have the aim of achieving breadth of understanding (Patton, 2002, qtd. by Palinkas et al., 2015: 534). Nonetheless, Palinkas et al. (2015: 539) argue that even though qualitative and quantitative methods are contrasted on the basis of depth versus breadth, they both require elements of either. For that reason, I applied purposeful sampling with the aim of achieving both depth and breadth.

I tried to find interview-partners from different places in Spain with various educational backgrounds who went to different cities in the United Kingdom. In Spain, I visited different towns and cities, some very small with less than 15'000 inhabitants, others huge, such as Madrid with a population of over 3'000'000. This wide range of research sites allowed me to gain some very broad insights. I wanted to avoid using just Global Cities (see Sassen 2005) and World Cities (see Massey 2007) as sites of investigation, allowing other reasons for returning to Spain than just moving on to the next vibrant city (see Favell 2008).

Finding people from different educational backgrounds turned out to be more challenging. Even though I tried to access a diverse range of participants with different educational backgrounds, I was unable to find young, mobile people without a university degree. Therefore, people who are less well educated are not represented in this thesis. Furthermore, one third of my interview-partners have a teaching diploma. This creates a distortion in my sample. Even though this thesis does not claim to be statistically representative, the lack of breadth in this sense is not ideal. However, as mentioned earlier on, 91 per cent of emigrants from Spain had a university degree when they left the country (Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano, 2017: 247). Therefore, this lack of people who are less educated in my sample is not surprising and fits with the statistics. Finally, finding people who went to different places in the United Kingdom was not simple either. The majority of the interviewees spent their time abroad either in London or in Oxford. The reason for this is that, on the one hand, London is considered as the perfect city for the mobile young (Favell, 2008: 37). On the other hand, Oxford appears here due to the applied sampling method of interviewees (see below). This is another distortion which was not desired but inevitable. But because my thesis does not focus on their destination abroad but on their mobility experience as a whole, this bias was considered as less important. A last factor that needs to be mentioned is that I deliberately excluded young people who went to the United Kingdom only for studying because the dynamics of academic migration are very different from those of the ones who become mobile to work abroad.

To find people I could interview who fitted the above-mentioned criteria as well as possible, I used a mixture of two different purposeful sampling strategies. The first one is sampling by criterion or selective sampling. This strategy aims to identify and select all cases that meet predefined criteria of importance (see Palinkas et al., 2015: 535f), in my case young people from Spain who moved to Great Britain and back. The second sampling strategy I applied was the snowball method. It identifies cases of interest from sampling people who know people

with similar characteristics (Esser, Hill, and Schnell, 2011: 292). In my case, I interviewed people who met my predetermined criteria and asked them whether they knew other people who met the same criteria. This sampling strategy resulted in the abovementioned cluster of participants who had been living in Oxford. Finding interviewees proved to be more complicated than anticipated at the beginning of the thesis. I started recruiting through personal contacts. They helped me approaching others who had lived through a mobility experience. Even so, I was not able to find many participants which fitted my criteria. From a flyer I put up in a bar and a library in Madrid, I got no response at all. However, after the "snowball" had been going for a while, I was able to find 15 young people from Spain who were willing to talk to me about their mobility experiences. The following table gives an overview of the interviewees, whereby the names have been changed for anonymisation.

Table 1: List of Interviewees

Name	Age	Living in:	In UK lived in:	Time spent:
Denna	32	Elgoibar	Oxford	~ 4 years
Antontio	31	Elgoibar	Belfast, Oxford	3 months/ ~4 years
Nora	28	Vitoria	Plymouth	~2 years
Javier	29	Almería	London	~2 years
Ramona	26	Cádiz	London, (Belgium)	~6 months/~6 months
Manuel	32	Madrid	Belfast, Oxford	~1 year / ~2 years
Sandra	22	Madrid	Brighton, London	(~3 years) / 7 months
Mia	31	Madrid	Brighton	~3 years
Tara	30	Mérida	Belfast, Oxford	~1 year / ~3 years
Sergio	30	Mérida	Oxford	~2 years
Juan	30	Mérida	London	~1 ½ years
Leandro	27	Badajoz	Oxford	~4 years
Jessica	27	Badajoz	Oxford	~4 years
Tamara	30	Barcelona	Belfast, Luton	~4 months /~1 year
Patricia	32	Granada	Bournemouth	~1 ¼ years

In conclusion, the sample for my research consists of young people from Spain who have a university degree. They went to Great Britain after the financial crisis in 2008 and returned to Spain recently. Only four of my 15 interviewees did not return to the place they grew up in but instead either moved in with their partner or went to another city for a job opportunity. The average age of my interview-partners was 29, ranging between 22 and 32, and the duration of stay in the UK was between six months and four years.

Before moving on, I need to mention that a huge difference between the experiences of the people who returned to Spain and those who stayed in Great Britain is to be expected. The answers of those who are still there, those who have moved on and those who have returned most probably give very diverging insights into the mobility debate. However, as the scope of a master thesis did not allow such a broad study, I decided to only look at those who have returned. Those are also the ones that have received the least public and academic attention.

Nonetheless, for a more thorough understanding of youth mobility, those who have stayed or moved on would be interesting to consider as well.

5.4. The Episodic Interview

The main focus of the interviews was put on the mobilities experience of the participants. For the purpose of finding out about their experiences, the semi-structured episodic interview as discussed by Flick (2011) was used. It is a mix form between the narrative and the problem-centred interview (Mattissek, Pfaffenbach and Reuber, 2013: 130) and uses a combination of open questions and narratives. It differentiates between semantic and episodic knowledge. While the former is about terms and definitions, the latter is about memories and situations (Flick, 2011: 273). Therefore, this interview form targets focused answers and subjective definitions on the one hand, while it aspires to get some personal insights through the narration of situations, on the other hand (ibid.: 274). For the interview, a guideline is normally used. Such a guideline helps to give new stimuli when the conversation falters. The guideline is normally divided in blocks which can be adjusted depending on the interview situation (ibid.: 275). The whole interview guideline can be found in the Appendix. Here I am just introducing the blocks that were used for the interviews:

- Going abroad
- Living abroad
- Returning to Spain
- Mobility
- Belonging
- Images of the Future

While the focus in the interviews was on narrative questions, I tried to get an insight into the interviewees' semantic knowledge about the topic as well. For this purpose, I asked questions such as "How would you define mobilities?" or "How would you define home?". The different blocks were meant to let the interviewees talk about different aspects of their mobility experiences. Every interview started with the same open question: "I am interested in young people who spent time abroad. Please tell me your story from the very beginning when you first thought about going abroad until today." This allowed the interviewees to focus on the aspects of their mobility that has been most important to them. Not until the following, more clearly defined questions, the actual research interests were plainly addressed.

5.5. Data Collection and Data Processing

After having engaged with the topic by reading relevant literature and having finished the guideline, I went a first time to Spain for a pre-test. After a few changes, the interviewing process continued. All the interviews took place between December 2016 and February 2017. Some took place in the homes of the interviewees, some in a café and some were conducted via skype. The duration of the interviews varied between 35 and 65 minutes with an average of around 45 minutes. It needs to be mentioned here that among the interviewees were three

couples. I decided to interview them separately to get a more personal view on their mobility experience, without an interference by the partner and in case their perception of mobility varied. Furthermore, because I used the snowball sampling method, some of my interviewees are friends. It must be considered that this connection between some of my respondents could have had an influence in the way they talked about mobility.

All the interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed. The transcription was particularly difficult for the skype interviews because the quality of the records depended on the quality of the internet-connection during the interview as well. Fortunately, only very few sentences were incomprehensible because of this constraint. Furthermore, there was the problem of transcription in general. The transcription of an interview is already a first interpretation of the data because the spoken word is written down the way the interviewer understands it. Therefore, transcripts are selective constructions (Mattissek, Pfaffenbach and Reuber, 2013: 191). Another difficulty was the language. While the interviews were conducted in Spanish, this thesis is written in English. Because of that I had to translate all the suitable extracts. The translation into another language is another interpretation. Some statements cannot be translated word for word but have to be written down in a way that corresponds with the original assertion (Mattissek, Pfaffenbach and Reuber, 2013: 195). It is therefore recommended to write down the original quotation as well as the translation to increase the transparency of the translation process (ibid.) The original interview extracts can be found in the Appendix of this thesis.

5.6. Foucault and Discourse

For this research project, I decided to evaluate my data using discourse analysis. This method is strongly connected to Foucault. Foucault was a French philosopher and social theorist who was interested in the relationship between power and knowledge. However, for Foucault, the definition of power and knowledge itself was secondary. Rather, he wanted to address how power-knowledge-complexes define truths for a certain society, during a certain period of time and, in doing so, form discourses (Foucault, 1992: 32f, qtd. by Jäger and Jäger, 2007: 21). Prior to the work of Foucault, the role of discourses was widely overlooked. It was with the linguistic turn in social sciences that new perspectives on language as an element of shaping reality emerged. This influenced the construct of discourse theory where a key element is the power of language in the formation of truth. According to Waitt (2010: 217), Foucault did not accept a single truth. On the contrary, Waitt points out that Foucault saw the truth as variable, as an outcome of uneven social relationships and power relations that should never be overlooked because they produce and maintain ideas (ibid.). According to Foucault, the production of knowledge is bound to rules that determine what can be said and done in each society and what cannot (Waitt, 2010: 218). Foucault argued that each society has its own order of truth which accepts certain discourses while rejecting others. Such a distinction distinguishes between right and wrong answers and provides power to the ones who make that decision (Foucault, 1978: 51, qtd. by Jäger and Jäger, 2007: 7). In other words, discourse analyses provide insights into how knowledge or believes become naturalised, while at the same time silencing

other understandings of the world (Waitt, 2010: 217). The distinction between the "sayable" and "unsayable" is an important aspect of discourse (Jäger and Zimmermann, 2010: 107). But what are discourses concretely?

For some (e.g. Johnstone, 2002: 2), discourse can be put on a level with language, whereby language is not seen as an abstract system of rules but rather as what is being said and in what way. In other words, discourse can be considered as an equivalent to conversation on a specific topic. Other definitions of discourse are more far-reaching. Gee (2005: 14), for example, sees discourse as a combination of language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, and believing. This is a similar approach to discourse as used by Dittmer (2010) who argues that in an academic sense, discourse has many meanings. It can, for example, refer to the phrasing and word choice, to non-verbal expressions, and to body language. According to Dittmer, it is through the recognition of various discourses that meaning is created and power is conveyed (2010: 275). This means that discourses are not a display of how a society actually functions but of the power relations upon which the society is built (Jäger and Jäger, 2007: 20). By using discourse analysis to analyse data, such power structures can be revealed, criticised and deconstructed (ibid.). The aim of discourse analysis is therefore to disentangle discourses (Reuber and Pfaffenbach, 2005: 206). However, it is important to keep in mind that discourse analysis has clear political implications because it reveals the rules and norms upon which discourses are built, showing their arbitrariness (ibid.: 220). The problem thereby is that such rules and norms are then accepted as truths. To find out how young people from Spain talk about mobility within the scope of the whole mobility debate, a discourse analysis seemed to be the most appropriate approach because it allows me to approach the "natural" and the "obvious" critically.

5.7. Doing Discourse Analysis

Foucault wanted to find a method to question the obvious. Thereby he incited others with this idea to challenge taken for granted truths (Jäger and Jäger, 2007: 7). Jäger and Jäger (2007: 8) argue that this interdependence between discourse and power is the approach to a critical discourse analysis where the truth must always be seen as an interpretation. They suggest that discourse analysis therefore scrutinises taken-for-grantedness and allows to shake dominant discourses to the very foundations (ibid.). Such an approach required a reflection of the researcher's subjective positionality. Therefore, a scientist needs to be aware of the fact that his or her position is interwoven in the analysis itself (ibid.: 15). It is, for example, inevitable that researchers in an interview pursue certain topics while closing down others. This influences what is being said (Dittmer, 2010: 276) and should be kept in mind when doing discourse analysis.

According to Foucault, a discourse analysis optimally works with all existing statements concerning the object of investigation, in this case conceptions of mobility. However, writing a master thesis there is simply not enough time to consider all the work done on the mentioned topic. Therefore, I am focusing on my interview transcripts which I understand as a particular

form of discourse. The individual narratives of my interviewees are part of a larger discourse that reflects social reality. In other words, I need to capture the patters of how young people from Spain talk about mobility and try to fit it into the whole mobility debate.

According to Flick (2011: 392), there are various ways to evaluate the transcripts. The aim is to organise statements by using codes that are repeated throughout the text. A statement can be a short sentence or a whole paragraph by an interviewee. A cluster of consistent statements about a topic is called a discourse thread, whereby it is important to differentiate between arbitrary clusters and actual, reliable patterns (Jäger and Jäger, 2007: 26). Normally, open coding is used for discourse analysis, whereby typical questions are: What is mentioned? How is it mentioned? What aspects are left out? What is the context of the situation? (ibid.: 393) By looking for such patterns in the data, I was able to identify three discourse threads about how young people from Spain talk about their mobility experience:

- Mobility as an escape
- Mobility as something everyone should do at least once in life
- Mobility as a one-time thing

These three discourse threads are explained in the following three chapters. While finding and analysing these patterns, I always had in mind that in doing discourse analysis, it is important to become reflexive and to think critically about the social context of the data. When looking at the data, it is necessary to investigate how power structures and knowledge normalisation produce "truth" and to identify inconsistencies and "silences" in the texts (Waitt, 2010: 220). My aim was not to summarise all the things that were mentioned concerning mobility but to find discourse threads that were apparent in all the transcripts and might help to scrutinise the way mobility within the EU is often perceived as a voluntarily adventure, a chance. By talking to the interviewees, I wanted to unveil the discursive dynamics at work.

5.8. Interview Bias

Before proceeding to the results section, the influence of interview bias needs to be discussed. The social position of the researcher does always have an impact on the answers of the interviewees. In this case, it is my positionality as a young woman from Switzerland that had repercussions on the way the participants for this study talked about their mobility experience. Because I am neither an English nor a Spanish citizen, they were more open about their views on the situation in these countries. Respondents were less reluctant to criticise the situation in Spain, while at the same time trying to give me a good impression of their home. In many cases, I felt as if the interviewees wanted to defend their country of origin. This might be because I am from a country that is well-known for being economically stable whereas their country has had economic difficulties in the last decade. Furthermore, they did not hesitate to talk about problems, frustration or anger with the English and how they are "very close-minded people" or "not very nice". Had I been from either country, they probably would not have talked to me

with the same openness. Furthermore, having roughly the same age as the participants impinged on the way they talked about their experiences. In many instances, they expected me to automatically understand their situation better. They often included me by saying “us” or “we young”. I do not know how much my appearance and my status as a young Swiss woman influenced the answers of the interviewees. In any case, the possibility of having impacted the answers in this way needed to be kept in mind during data analysis.

6 Mobility as an escape

For the following chapters, I have elaborated three discourse treads that show how young people from Spain talk about mobilities: Mobility as an escape, mobility as something everyone should do, and mobility as a one-time experience. Each chapter includes some of the most diagnostically conclusive statements of the interviewees which all follow the same internal logic and build patterns. Those statements are then analysed and discussed, focusing on similarities, contradictions, silences, and power relations and how these factors influence the discourse about how mobilities are conceived.

This first chapter has the aim of showing how the interviewees from Spain talk about their frustration, either about the economic situation or about their personal circumstances before the migratory move, and how this frustration led them to perceive mobility as a way of escaping their home country. The chapter is divided into three sections. In the first part, it is discussed how some of the young people from Spain became mobile as a means to escape the economic situation. The second part then, is about a different kind of escape. Namely, how becoming mobile can also be a flight from feeling lost or unfulfilled. The last part is no longer about the reasons for escape but its duration. It shows how many youngsters wanted to break away from the situation with the aim of returning once this situation had changed. In these three sections, the way the young talk about how mobility can be an escape is demonstrated.

6.1. Escaping from the economic situation in Spain

In chapter two, the consequences of the financial meltdown in 2008 were described. I showed how the unemployment rates have risen drastically, especially amongst the young, and how the career opportunities have been practically non-existent. It was also briefly mentioned how the young people from Spain expressed their frustration with the government, the social institutions, and the system by teaming up in social organisations such as "Juventud sin futuro" and "Marea Granate". This activism, anger and resignation about the situation is one of the most distinguishable factors of the after-crisis emigration from Spain (Pumares and González-Martín, 2016: 285). Especially for the ones who have finished their career, not finding work is a huge disappointment. And the number of such highly-skilled young people without a job reached record numbers between 2012 and 2014 with more than 50% of them being unemployed (INE, 2017b). Having a degree and not being able to work can be very frustrating. Such sentiments of anger and frustration are expressed many times by the interviewees, here by Sergio:

> *I: It has become quite common for young people in Spain to be mobile. What do you think are the reasons for this?*
> *S: I think that for many people, it's the difficulty of finding a decent job. When I say decent, I mean... You have studied in university. You have dedicated yourself and you have invested your time and your money in getting a degree, in being edu-*

cated to get a job. But unfortunately, because of the political and economic situation we have in the country, the opportunities of finding work… They are not as well paid as they maybe should be.

When talking about the "difficulty of finding a decent job", Sergio also mentions the investments that were made by going to university and how those investments are not acknowledged. From this it could be deduced that having a university degree in Spain at the moment is considered to be a "bad investment", at least if one stays in the country. This I deduce from the way the interviewees talk about how, by having studied at university, they feel overqualified for the Spanish market. Because of the shortage of jobs, employers reduce the wages and prefer to hire people without a degree. They feel they "might as well not have studied at all" (Juan). This problematic of being overqualified for the Spanish marked is expressed by other interviewees as well. Jessica, for example, after asking her about the reasons for the emigration of the young, states:

One of the main reasons is the work sphere that now… Caused by the crisis and some other factors, there are no job offers. There are no job offers for the young ones, and especially for us young ones who are well-educated, who have a degree, who have studied because they consider us to be... That we have to many degrees or that we are too well-qualified. So, nobody wants to hire us because they have to pay you according to the degree you have. For example, to work in a child nursery... I am a teacher. They have to pay me like a teacher and they don't care because it's much more expensive than paying an assistant, which is like a person who helps. So, you don't feel appreciated.

Here again, it seems that having a university degree is almost considered to be something unfavourable for my respondents. From the way Jessica talks, it becomes clear that she does not feel appreciated for what she has studies, for what she is. By saying things like "nobody wants to hire you" or "there are no job offers" the frustration Jessica feels with the economic situation becomes almost tangible. In our conversation, she told me how this did not only happen to teachers but to most people with a university degree. She talks about being frustrated, about missing job opportunities, and about how such factors make people leave the country. Such thoughts are mirrored in the assertions of other emigrants like Patricia:

Mainly, the reasons for this, in my opinion, are that this country is making it like shit with the young. First, they don't give us options. If they give us the option, they give it under precarious conditions. There is no work. There are no incentives. There are very few options left. (…) The country is pushing you, the government is pushing you, the situation is pushing you. You leave because there is nothing here.

This feeling of being pushed away is mentioned by other interviewees as well. Statements such as "the journey is a necessity because there is no other option" (Javier) or "if you don' have anything you can do and you have to leave out of obligation, like it happens to most of us, it's

a necessity" (Juan) highlight a feeling of despair. So, instead of seeing moving away as something positive that is worth experiencing, it is perceived as an obligation. This stands in a big contrast to how the media and the government present the emigration of the young. As suggested in chapter 4.2., Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano (2017: 258) argue that by using euphemisms like "adventurous spirit", "search for new experiences", and "internationalized job mobility", the media denies the impact of such international movement. They also state that by never having made a serious effort to investigate the complexities of the phenomenon, there has emerged a big contrast between the narratives of the emigrants and the stories of the media (ibid.: 264f). This feeling of not being taken seriously, of their degrees not being appreciated, and of the government not standing up for its mistakes creates frustration. When asked about their opinion on adventurous spirit, the answers of almost all the interviewees were very similar. Here are some examples by Javier, Sergio and Tara when they were asked what they thought about the adventurous spirit often talked about in the media:

> *J: The adventurous spirit is a necessity. Travelling to another country out of necessity is not adventurous spirit. Adventurous spirit is: "I am happy in my country, I have work. Still, I want to go to another country because I want to work there, I want to meet people." But if you go to another country because you can't find work in yours, you can't grow professionally… That's not adventurous spirit!*
>
> *S: That's a way to sell… It's to cover their mistakes they have made with the organisation of the country and they are selling it in a beautiful way. They give it a very nice title, a headline and you say: "Oh, how nice! An adventurous spirit! People need that!" Why? Because they have been doing things badly here. There are no opportunities to work. It's not ideal. Unfortunately, many have to go abroad.*
>
> *T: Bullshit! The adventurous spirit they talk about in the news… Let's see… They want to disguise it as adventurous spirit which it is not, because it is not. In the end, it is an obligation you have if you want to be able to survive. It would be great if it was adventurous spirit. It would be nice to say: "I'm leaving because I want to." You would enjoy it differently. It's true that then you are there and you can enjoy it in certain moments. But in the end, the feeling that stays is: "I'm leaving because I have to."*

From these interview excerpts, it becomes clear that the interviewees see an adventure as something positive, something voluntary. Their reason for emigrating Spain does not fit with this perception of adventure. Their statements clearly show the discrepancy between the official discourse as presented by the media and the sentiments of the young people who felt they did not have another choice than leaving. This diversion between the media and the emigrants was analysed by Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano (2017) as well as Cogo and Olivera (2017) whose discourse analyses were introduced earlier in this thesis. Both papers suggest that there is a big contrast between the narratives of the emigrants and the stories of the media which inadequately meet the needs to better understand the mobility of the young (Cogo and

Olivera, 2017: 180; Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano, 2017: 264f). This feeling that the media and the government are not taking seriously their problems and their anger leads many young people to think that emigration is a way of escaping the situation, of "looking for an exit" (Leandro). The discrepancy in discourses makes clear that there are unequal power relations between the state and the interviewees. By downplaying their "necessity to leave" as "adventurous spirit", the interviewees feel like the state takes away the phenomenon's importance, belittling the power and the force of the resignation of the emigrants. In other words, it could be said that the government and the media have the power to give or take away the significance or the impact of the after-crisis emigration of young people from Spain. While they give the phenomenon "a nice title", my participants themselves feel deprived of other options than going abroad. They sense that they are forced to leave the country, not because of an adventurous spirit but because they feel forced to escape the country's economic situation. This attitude of feeling obliged to leave Spain is expressed by many of the interviewees. Juan, for example, states:

> *It's a necessity. I say necessity not in the sense of "I am hungry and I need to eat." No. I mean necessity as in "I have to do something with my life. I'm not doing anything at all." That's why people left, to not be without doing anything. I know many people who are like "what am I doing? Should I continue studying, spending money to not do anything at all? Because they are not going to employ me. I don't have experience. If I don't have experience, they are not going to hire me." Here, the snake bites its own tail. You can't do one thing without the other. So, what should I do? I go abroad.*

This feeling of "not doing anything at all" is expressed by many of the interviewees. The only option they see is to go abroad so they can "do something with their life". They ask themselves about their best options, their thoughts going in circles. The conclusion they extract from their thinking is often that they have no other choice than escaping the country. Juan feels forced to leave Spain and look for work opportunities elsewhere, whereby the aim is to be able to take home working experience from abroad. This feeling that emigration is forced is mirrored, for example, by Sandra:

> *What really annoys me is the fact that much is forced. It is not because "I want to see the world, learn a language and come back home." No! It is more "either I leave or I stay on the sofa and do absolutely nothing at all."*

"To stay on the sofa and do absolutely nothing at all" is another way of expressing frustration about inaction, about the situation in Spain. However, Sandra mentions the benefit of learning a language. Being frustrated and eager to learn at the same time goes hand in hand with the studies by Hauvette (2010) and Pessoa (2010) who both find that improving linguistic skills, acquiring knowledge and growing personally is a way of making the best of escaping the situation in the emigrants' home country because of the lack of opportunities there. In other words, the statements by Juan and Sandra show that doing nothing at all is considered to be a

huge problem which can only be solved by going abroad. And if they have to escape the economic situation, the least the emigrants can do is to acquire new skills and to improve their CV until the situation in Spain gets better (Pumares, 2017: 133). This means that even though there is disappointment about the situation, there is also hope for a better life abroad and better chances after such an experience (Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano, 2017: 245). O'Reilly and Benson argue that such a search for the "good life" is coupled to an escape from redundancy and uncertainty about the economic future (2015: 4). They suggest that migration is often perceived as a trajectory away from something negative towards a more meaningful way of life (ibid.). This mixture of feeling obliged but somehow still hopeful is expressed as well by Tara:

> *I: It has become quite common for young people in Spain to be mobile. What do you think are the reasons for this?*
> *T: Well, the reasons are obligation. Here in Spain it's very difficult to find a job. You finish your studies and there is no way to… I mean, you can find some job but normally it has nothing to do with what you had in mind when you studied. So, right now it is like this. It has become very difficult. If you don't speak English, it's impossible. Therefore, the only option that is left for us, the young ones, is saying: "Well, I leave so at least I learn English which gives me the remote hope of finding a good job in the future, when I'm back here in Spain."*

This desire that an emigration could help them to find something better upon return, whereby returning was a very important factor for almost all the interviewees, is expressed by most of the young people spoken to for this thesis. While not exactly being a contradiction, it definitely lies between the two poles of seeing mobility as an obligation and seeing it as beneficial, whereby the benefit most often named was the language: "When we return we'll always have more opportunities than others who do not speak the language" (Denna). So even though many emigrants feel forced to leave, they hope that by going abroad they can become independent, find a job, and learn a language (Pumares and González-Martín, 2016: 285). But even though most of my participants are able to see the positive side of a migratory move, the fact remains that most of them did not want to leave their home country. They felt like the situation and the government were pushing them away. In the English Dictionary, to escape is defined as "to get away or break free from (confinements, restraints, etc.); to manage to avoid (Collins English Dictionary, 2012). In the case of the emigrants who left Spain because they felt forced to do so, the confinement they broke free from was the missing job opportunities. Synonyms for the word escape are to break away from, to avoid, and to leave, among others (Roget's 21st Century Thesaurus, 2013). This second approach to the word "escape" is again very fitting for the interviewees because they avoided the situation of "staying on the sofa and doing absolutely nothing at all" and their form of escaping was leaving the country. Concluding this part, it can be said that mobility is often considered to be a forced act, a necessity, a way of escaping difficult economic conditions and unemployment (Montanari and Staniscia, 2017: 51) while at the same time offering hope for a better future after the mobility experience.

6.2. Escaping from feeling lost

In the first section of this chapter, it was demonstrated how emigration was an escape from an unpromising situation. This part is about another form of escape: getting away from feeling lost and unfulfilled. Earlier in this thesis, the concept of "becoming an adult" was introduced. It was explained how the economic and cultural context makes the youth in Spain dependent on their parents, delaying an autonomous life-course (Moreno, 2012: 42). So, to become independent Domínguez-Mujica et al. argue that going abroad can be an important step for the young (2016: 218). This process of becoming autonomous, of developing, is the key factor of youth (King et al., 2016: 9). The implementation of "not wanting to depend on their parents" (Patricia) was expressed by some of the interviewees. Jessica, for instance, said:

> *After having finished my studies and not finding a job, I decided that I wanted to be something more and I wanted something new. I needed to get out of my city a bit. I wanted to improve my English. (…) It was a time when I didn't know what to do, I didn't know whether to keep on studying, to look for work in my city, to leave my city and go somewhere else in Spain, or to leave the country. Leaving the country wasn't my first choice either. It was like the last solution. (…) In the beginning, it wasn't bad being separated from my family and my friends because I needed that change a bit. I had never left my home. I had never lived outside of Spain. I had never lived alone. I needed to live that experience.*

While Jessica, in line with the ones who exclusively left the country out of a feeling of obligation, felt pushed by the economic situation, there was another important factor for her: a need for something new. By saying "I wanted to be something more", she implies that she was not enough before, that she felt like she did not live up to her potential. Jessica wanted to experience a change in life and the crisis pushed her to dare the step of becoming mobile. She says that she had never lived apart from her family and friends and that she had never lived alone. This suggests that she felt dependent and that by leaving she hoped to be able to break away from her family and friends because she "needed that change a bit". This matches up nicely with the wish for independence described by Domínguez-Mujica et al. (2016). King et al. even argue that it is the youth unemployment, the temporary or no contracts, and the low wages that make it impossible to establish an independent life in the country of origin (King et al., 2016: 38). It is exactly this wish to be independent, connected to a feeling of "I didn't know what to do", that makes many young people from Spain leaving the country. From Jessica's statement, it can be extracted that the need for living something different could also be connected to such a feeling of being adrift, as confirmed by Mia:

> *I agreed with my boss that he would not renew my contract, so I could become unemployed to see what I wanted to do because I was a little lost. I had finished my career, I was working but I needed to do other things. So, I became unemployed and I decided to leave. (…) Here I had work and everything but I had a feeling that I needed to live this experience that many people have when they are still studying*

at the university. They go with Erasmus or they leave to learn a language. I had never done that. I wanted to do it, even though… Maybe I was late with wanting it.

In contrast to Jessica, Mia had had a job, some kind of independence already when she decided to leave. However, Mia also expressed a "need" for such an experience. The fact that she had a job when she decided to leave and the way she talks implies that she might have emigrated regardless of the crisis (2017: 140f). Mia couples this urge to leave with age, arguing that she felt that she had left rather late in life. With her statements, she confirms that mobility could be considered as a step towards adulthood. To become an adult, young people have to gain physical and social maturity and realise the possibilities of individualisation. Therefore, the transition to adulthood includes the establishment of a self-confident, independent and free personality (Geisen, 2012: 17). Statements such as "I am not that dependent anymore" (Sergio), "living away from home… You realise that you are able to fend for yourself" (Leandro) and "I'm more independent now" (Antonio) show that by going abroad such a step towards adulthood might actually take place. It could be argued that many of the interviewees are therefore transducers. They want to make the transition from study to work, from dependence to independence and from youth to adulthood (Pumares, 2017: 144f). However, leaving the country was not only seen as a way to become independent, as stated above. Feeling lost was also a big factor for leaving for many. This notion of feeling adrift was mirrored by some other interviewees as well. Tamara, for example, also mentions this:

I: Before you went to Belfast, which was the first time you left for a longer period of time, what had been your future plans back then?
T: The truth is that I was a bit lost. I had lost the sense of… Of course, being a vet, you can choose to be a vet in a small clinic or you can specialise yourself. (…) Back then I wasn't even sure whether I wanted to be a vet. For that reason, I guess I wanted to go to England to see other worlds, to say it somehow, and decide what way I wanted to take.

Tamara describes how she hoped to find her way in England: "I wanted to go to England (…) and decide what way I wanted to take." Her statement is a perfect example of how becoming mobile can be viewed as an escape from feeling lost or uncertain about one's future. Such sentiments of feeling lost, of not knowing what to do with one's life, is a typical aspect of becoming an adult (Moreno, 2012: 20) and apparently the reason for many young people from Spain to become mobile. This feeling of not knowing what to do, this urge to have an experience in a foreign country, is mentioned by other interviewees, stating that they had "a will to disconnect a bit and to go and live an experience outside of Spain" (Antonio) or that they "needed the change" (Sergio). Bringing it all together, it can be observed that there is a connection between feeling lost, wanting to become independent, and an urge to experience something new. Not being independent, never having lived away from home is a form of missing something, which can lead to feeling lost, leaving one with the urge for a change. Coming back to the definition of escape, it can be argued that the restraints the young emigrants were breaking away from

in these cases were the dependence on their parents, routine, and a feeling of being adrift. Escaping from the economic situation and escaping from feeling lost are both ways of avoiding an unsatisfactory situation. Or, as O'Reilly and Benson argued, lifestyle migration is about escape from somewhere or something. Escaping then, leads to a recreation or rediscovery of oneself, of personal potential or one's desires (2015: 3).

6.3. Leaving for a short period of time

So far, it has been demonstrated how mobility is used to escape an unpleasant situation, be it for economic reasons or personal ones. In the first section of this chapter, it was already mentioned how returning was an important part of the mobility experience for almost all the interviewees. This goes in line with Pumares' study which shows that most young Spaniards who go abroad have a short-term migration in mind (2017: 133) or with the findings by Ritzen, Kahanec and Haas (2017: 2) who see European mobility as less about permanent settlement and more about learning something abroad and then returning to the country of origin. In fact, as mentioned earlier in this thesis, around a third of migrants leave their host country again in their first five years abroad, most of them still in their twenties (McKenzie 2007, qtd. by González-Ferrer, 2013: 13). Richter (2011: 221) argues that such a feeling of being attached to the country of origin is normally combined with the expectation that the stay in the guest country is only for a certain time period. Such a mindset about returning was also observed with the interviewees for this thesis, here expressed by Denna:

> *It is also true that we left being fairly certain that we were going to return. So, you always have in your mind: "Well, it's for a certain period of time. In a few years, we're going back." So, it was a bit easier for us for that reason, because we knew we were going to go back.*

Even though Denna mentions no defined amount of time, she knew that they "were going to return". In fact, by saying that "it was a bit easier for us for that reason, because we knew we were going to go back", she suggests that returning was a condition for their escape in the first place. Knowing that the experience was going to be short term was a requirement for leaving for many of the interviewees. The reason why they had left - the economic situation, to become independent, to experience something new - did not matter for the fact that most of them had a temporary mobility in mind when they left Spain. A good example of this is Leandro who said:

> *As I've told you before, in my head I always had the thought of coming back. For me, going to England was something temporary. Actually, I would have gone only months, but it became almost four years. My goal was always to return. Once I had learned the language, which was my main goal, I wanted to return to Spain, trying to find a job as my profession as a teacher."*

"The thought of coming back" was important not only for Leandro, but was mentioned by others as well. In fact, in an online survey that was conducted among language students to find

out about their motivation of language acquisition and possible linkages to mobility intentions, Glorius (2017: 120) found that one in four emigrants thinks about returning after one to three years and every second person who left had not thought about the duration of the mobility experience before the actual move but still had expected it to be temporary. From the conversations I had with the young emigrants, this temporality seems to be a key factor to their moving away. Once their goal of becoming independent, having grown personally, having more working experience, or having learnt the language – thereby improving the situation they had escaped from – their goal was to return to Spain. This coincides with the study by Cassarino (2004: 264) who argues that return takes place once enough financial or informational resources have been gathered. So even though leaving the country was often a way to escape the situation, the benefits of their time abroad were advantageous for the young people I interviewed. Especially the acquisition of language skills was often mentioned as their first priority. After having achieved this goal of learning English, many started to look for a job in Spain while still being in the United Kingdom, such as Patricia:

> *When I left I thought that I was going to stay two years maybe, a year and a half, but things turned out differently and I returned earlier. But my idea was to go a year, two, live an experience with the hope of meanwhile looking for a job here or something to come back home, to my country. My plan was to go for a short time.*

"To come back home, to my country" was something mentioned by many of the emigrants. This could come from the fact that strong ties depend on occasional co-presence as suggested by Larsen, Urry and Axhausen (2006: 80). They argue that if one wants to keep the strong ties, the solution is either to return or frequent visits. So even though they had escaped the bad working conditions or their dependence in Spain, they still wanted to return, drawn by their origins and their strong ties. "But your homeland pulls at you, the people who are like you pull at you" (Juan), "it's true that my real home, my mind, my real home is my house in my city" (Leandro) or "I think that the origins pull a person in. The origins are the origins no matter what. So, returning to them... For me it has been happiness" (Patrica) are examples of such a "pull" many of the interviewees felt towards their home country. This shows how the UK, in most cases, did not fulfil their aspirations of a home away from Spain: "I didn't feel like belonging there. It was a place to live, sure, but I didn't feel like at home, I felt like being borrowed. I was a bit lost" (Jessica). This pull towards home expressed by most interviewees, while agreeing with the studies by Pumares, among others, stands in contrast to a lot of literature about Spanish emigrants, especially from recent years, where it is argued that returning is not considered to be an option. Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano (2017), for example, used a survey of young Spanish emigrants to investigate about their migration experience, their reasons for leaving, and their future expectation. Thereby they found that most Spanish emigrants feel that their current situation in their host countries is better than what they expect to have in case they returned. They argue that the participants gave the impression of being happy abroad and that they did not see returning to Spain as an option (Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano, 2017: 254f). Bygnes and Erdal (2017), as pointed out earlier in this thesis, came to similar findings by analysing young people from Spain and Poland who had settled in

Norway. They claim that the big majority of their participants described "the door back to Spain as entirely closed" (Bygnes and Erdal, 2017: 109). Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark (2015: 159) even go as far as defining lifestyle mobility as not being about returning but about an intention to keep on being mobile. It can, of course, not be excluded that most of the ones who wanted to return, had returned by the time those studies took place. After all, the wave of young emigrants has been decreasing lately. But even in my sample there were those who did not fit with this pattern of wanting to return from the very beginning. Sergio, for example, while not being averse to returning to Spain in the future, went with an open mind:

> *I didn't go with a deadline. I went to live the experience and see how it turned out. Depending on what happened, I would decide whether to come back or not. Or, I even went with an open mind, thinking that something could happen there, that my future may not be in Spain, that it may be somewhere else, in England or perhaps in another foreign country.*

But even those who went with an open mind, who did not know whether they would return to Spain, arrived at a point where they did not want to stay abroad any longer. After having lived and worked in the United Kingdom, all of them wanted to return and started looking for a job in Spain, even cases like Sergio:

> *I tried to get this job and finally I got it. There was no doubt. There was no doubt because... I did not have it bad there. But I did not have that same open mind I told you about that I had had in the beginning.*

So, whatever the reasons for escaping Spain, it seems that for many interviewees the idea of staying abroad was unimaginable. Even the ones who did not have a time limit wanted to return when offered the chance. Whether they emigrated with the clear goal of returning or with an uncertainty concerning their mobility, many of my participants wanted to go back to their home country in the end. Juan summarises this suitably:

> *I knew that that didn't have a future. Most people who were there return in the end. They are there for two, three years. (…) I think most people go through the same things I went through. You are working as something you don't like, knowing that you, after studying five, six years, are now working as something with a much, much lower level. In the end, this effects your spirit. You're depressed because you go "Dear God! I am making a mountain of sandwiches and I am an engineer. (…) And one day you say: "Look, I'm leaving and I'm trying my luck in Spain." (…) And many times, I have the sensation of having lost one and a half years of my life.*

Returning can be viewed from different perspectives. Cassarino (2004) analyses such different approaches to return migration. He argues that a neoclassical approach to international migration comes from wage differentials between receiving and sending countries (Todaro 1969: 140, qtd. by Cassarino, 2004: 255). From this perspective, return migration could be

argued to be an outcome of a failed mobility experience which did not bring the expected benefits (ibid.) This notion seems to fit with Juan's statement. By saying that "most people who were there return in the end", he highlights the fact that he was not an exception. This assertion could be seen as a vindication. It almost seems like Juan wants to justify his return as if he himself considered it secretly to be something bad. Furthermore, the fact that he feels like "having lost one and a half years of his life" shows that maybe his mobility could be considered as such a "failed escape". I have argued above that many of the respondents considered their mobility to be an obligation as well as a possibility for future benefits. If there is a feeling of having lost time abroad as suggested by Juan, the expectations were not reached. However, returning does not have to be a failure. Another approach to return migration by Cassarino is about the new economics of labour migration (NELM) which considers return migration to be the logical outcome of a strategy where goals and targets were achieved. NELM sees return as the outcome of a successful experience abroad (Cassarino, 2004: 255). Apart from Juan, for whom the mobility seems to have been a failure, most of the interviewees seem to fit better with the second model even if their reason for leaving was a necessity. Even the experience abroad by Sergio, who had not planned to return, helped him to get the job he had always wanted which means his mobility was a success rather than a failure. However, there seems to be a silence in the discourse about mobility when talking about returning. The ones who went back to Spain with a job or a job idea there (Sergio, Tara, Nora, Sandra, Leandro, Jessica) saw their return generally as more of a success. The ones who returned for other reasons such as missing the family, a separation from their partner, or other non-economic reasons did not seem to like talking about their reasons for returning. Many were eager to mention that they had wanted to return from the beginning. From my small data base, I cannot draw a general conclusion as to whether return is considered to be a failure or a success.

But what does all this mean concerning the mobilities discourse? This chapter has demonstrated how many of my participants seem to view mobility as an escape, either from the fruitless economic situation or from feeling lost. I specifically chose the term escape because leaving the country was often perceived as a necessity rather than an adventure, as often argued by the media. By using this negatively connotated term, I wanted to highlight the discrepancy (see Cogo and Olivera, 2017; Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano, 2017) between the "official" situation as presented by the state and the actual experiences by the young people interviewed for this thesis. Even though not all of my interviewees left because of the economic situation, none of them saw his or her emigration as a completely voluntary act. The young mobile from Spain are not Eurostars that roam from one cosmopolitan city to the next (see Favell, 2008) and therefore they do not fit the image of the hypermobile youth that is often referred to in the public debate. On the contrary, the interviewees talked about feeling forced to leave their country, seeing mobility as an obligation. For them being mobile, living in the United Kingdom, was a way of doing something useful while they hoped the situation in Spain would change for them. In the meantime, they hoped to become independent and to realise what they wanted to do with their future. This displays how mobility lies between the two poles of obligation and benefit. It comes as no surprise then, that only few of them did not have

the clear goal of returning after a short time, a few years at most. However, it must not be forgotten that for this thesis, I only interviewed young people who have returned. It is very well possible that the ones who stayed abroad have a very different view on mobility and returning to the country of origin. Concluding this chapter, it can be said that the interviewees talk about mobility as an obligation, an exit, and an escape from either the economic situation, independence or feeling lost. However, they also consider it to be something beneficial which can improve their CVs. Furthermore, for the young people I interviewed, returning plays a big role in their mobility experience and was planned by many from the moment they escaped their economic or personal situation in Spain.

7 Mobility as something everyone should experience

In the last chapter, it was demonstrated how the interviewees talked about mobility as an escape while aspiring benefits from their mobility experience. In this three-fold chapter, I want to take a closer look at these benefits and how they are the reason mobility is not just perceived as an escape but also as something very positive. The first part is about how mobility causes confrontation with difference and the beneficial effects of this encounter. In the second part, I am going to show how young people from Spain talk about their changes in personality due to their mobility experience. The third part is about the interviewees' general recommendations to be mobile. The aim of this chapter is to show how young people from Spain talk about mobility as something that everyone should experience at least once in life.

7.1. Confrontation with Difference

Hauvette (2010: 50f) argues that the need for young Europeans to be mobile is not only because of a desire to escape but also because of the benefits they anticipate. In her article, she takes a closer look at the benefits mentioned by her interviewees and identifies two categories form the narratives: firstly, how daily confrontation with difference can have useful effects, and secondly, how it can enhance one's personality. Both are benefits that were also mentioned by my participants. Before I look at how the interviewees' experiences have changed their personality, I take a closer look at their confrontation with difference. When I asked Tara about the benefits of her mobility experience, this was her answer:

> *There are many benefits. Firstly, the opening of the mind you experience. In the end, you... When you stay in the same place all your life you see things in a certain way because the way you see them is the way it is lived in the place you're from, and that's it. Even though you travel to see other cities or to visit other places, putting yourself in a new city, putting yourself in a different community, makes you see that maybe you are not right. Not that you are not right but that maybe there are other viewpoints that are equally valid as the one you have, right?*

With this statement, Tara gets to the heart of this confrontation with difference. She talks about the "opening of the mind", about "other viewpoints" and how those are important benefits of being mobile. She suggests that staying always in the same place makes you see things from only one perspective and that becoming mobile, "putting yourself in a new city" or "a different community" helps to question that one perspective. By her querying "right?" in the end, she wanted me to agree with her opinion on the matter. In fact, she expected me to have the same sentiments about how mobility can make you more open-minded towards difference. This suggests that this mind-opening confrontation with difference is generally perceived as something positive by society. It seems to be an accepted truth that mobility "makes you more open-minded towards others", as confirmed by Nora:

To live through such an experience and take the chance to get to know people that here in your surroundings… In the end, you are with people you already know and you are not open to the rest.

This statement mirrors the one made by Tara. Nora argues that staying in one place makes you reluctant to accept other people because "you are not open to the rest". This "taking a chance to get to know people" matches with the study by Hauvette (2010). She finds that being in an unfamiliar environment leads people to confront different places, people, lifestyles and cultures. Her interviewees - like the people I talked to - learnt how to deal with difference by acknowledging, accepting, and understanding these differences and by reflecting on their own habits (Hauvette, 2010: 51).

Because living abroad, getting to know other cultures, getting to know other people is always enriching. You always learn something from all the places you pass through.

This statement by Manuel again reflects a positive view on confrontation with difference, on "learning something from all the places you pass through". He states that "getting to know other cultures, getting to know other people is always enriching". This throughout positive perspective on difference is surprising from a conservative point of view. Strüver (2005) looks at cross-border migration between Germany and the Netherlands. She found that it is very difficult to tear down borders' persistence in people's minds and points out that perceptions of nations and their stereotyped imaginations might formally disappear but still act as thresholds in people's perspectives of "the other" (ibid.: 324). This suggestion is very interesting concerning my conversations with the interviewees because even though most of them considered it to be "very important to leave and to get to know new forms of living" (Tara) they also clearly kept their stereotypes on the British. Here a few examples by Sergio, Javier, Manuel and Antonio:

S: The English culture is the opposite of the Spanish one. It's not different. It is totally the opposite in many aspects. So, I don't identify with it. They have better things, they have worse things, but it's not my way of seeing nor of doing things.

J: The English don't know how to cook. I mean, they don't know how to cook anything!

M: There are things we Spanish make much better. We are more sociable than them. We are more open-minded.

A: They are quite racist and they don't want, from my point of view, to mix with people that are not English or from the United Kingdom.

This contrast between considering difference to be something enriching and seeing is at a clear border between "them" and "us" is interesting. Anthias (2008: 9) argues that such construction

of difference is made through factors such as class, gender, or religion and homogenises those within a group. Therefore, such seemingly fixed boundaries are constructed and often taken up by the subjects who cross it (ibid.). This is particularly meaningful because - even though many of the interviewees promoted confrontation with difference - for most of my participants, the own way of doing things was still considered to be better, and, more importantly, distinct from the English way. This could come from the fact that, as mentioned before, to see confrontation with difference as something positive is a "fixed truth", the "normal" way of talking about mobility. The statements in the accessory sentences that highlight this difference suggest that there is also an alternative "truth": that the foreign perspectives and life-styles are – to a certain point - rejected by most of my interviewees. It needs to be mentioned, however, that the interview bias plays an important role here. Had I been English myself, they most probably would not have mentioned the same critiques. Furthermore, it also needs to be considered that all the interviewees had returned because they had missed their country of origin, among other reasons. Had the same interviews been conducted with people who had stayed abroad they might not have mentioned such stereotypes quite as much. However, in general, the confrontation with difference was conceived as a very constructive aspect of mobility. Especially because of the empathy one gains by better understanding other cultures and people. Therefore, statements such as "mobility has served me to empathise much more" (Javier) or "it makes you empathise more with people and being more open-minded" (Mia) were not a rarity. Ramona brings all that neatly together:

> *I think it is something good, the migration and mobilities thing. I think it is something very good for everyone because I think that this way we understand different cultures better. And now, in this society where xenophobia is the order of the day, I think it is important to be empathetic with other cultures, with other countries. And for that it is very necessary to get to know those cultures and those people and their way of seeing the world. If we understand them I don't think we'll be scared that they'll come to invade us or to take our jobs or things like that. I think it is fundamental. I always recommend to everyone that they have to travel, that they have to get to know places and have experiences. I consider it to be super positive and that it opens your mind and it makes you more empathetic with other countries, people and cultures.*

It is evident that Ramona sees mobility and getting to know other cultures as something good. She also mentions the importance of being empathetic and how this is only possible when confronted with difference. Interestingly, she also indicates that not knowing other cultures is the reason for xenophobia and that it fuels fear. It is for this reason that she argues that after a mobility experience she does not "think we'll be scared that they'll come (…) to take our jobs". Even if this conclusion does not seem to be a coherent one, "mobile subjects taking our jobs" is one of the fears most often mentioned when talking about free movement within the European Union. Therefore, this confrontation with difference can also be viewed as something that disposes of fear of the foreign. As a result, Ramona recommends to everyone "that

they have to travel, that they have to get to know places and have experiences". For her, mobility is something that everyone should experience.

Summing up this part, it could be said that the young people from Spain I talked to see the confrontation with difference as a very important benefit of being mobile. Even though they do seem to keep some of their prejudices and still prefer the Spanish way of life, they promote mobility. This was also a finding by Navarette Moreno et al. (2014: 172) who learned that most of their participants think that living in different places during life is an enriching experience. Therefore, Hauvette's (2010) first category of benefits – the positive effects of confrontation with difference – can also be applied for my participants.

7.2. Personal Enhancement

I showed how the confrontation with difference is perceived to be useful by the interviewees. This part is about the second category of benefits defined by Hauvette (2010): personality enhancement. It has been demonstrated in various studies that looking for a job abroad is a good option for the young because it allows acquisition of new knowledge, the accumulation of interesting experience and the ability to master a language (Ermólieva and Kudeyrova, 2014: 52f). It is such benefits as well as changes in personality itself that I want to highlight in this part because it was mentioned by many of the interviewees. Manuel, for example, stated:

> *Everyone has shown me something. Generally, those things are good. It's always good things... And how to act in certain circumstances and how not to act in other circumstances and how to be able to… It's always about how to get to be a better person. All the experiences that I have experienced abroad have helped me to be the person I am now.*

It becomes clear from his statement that Manuel perceives the things he has learnt abroad as helpful. He sees mobility as a chance "to get to be a better person". With such a notion of mobility he stands not alone. "I think it helped me to be a better person, to value things differently, to not have prejudices" (Javier) is another assertion that describes growth towards personal enhancement. Such personal enhancement through mobility was analysed by Zimmermann and Neyer (2013: 525) who examined how mobility changed young adults concerning the "big five personality traits": Openness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism. They found that those who have experiences mobility showed a strong increase of Agreeableness[9] and a steep decline of Neuroticism[10]. Furthermore, they argue that mobility leads to stronger emotional stability and personality maturation (ibid.). This personality maturation was also an important factor for Sergio. When I asked him in what ways he had changed since he had become a mobile person, his answer was:

9 Agreeableness is the tendency to be compassionate and cooperative (Zimmermann and Neyer, 2013: 525)

10 Neuroticism is an increased chance of a person to be anxious, worried, angry, or depressed (Zimmermann and Neyer, 2013: 525).

My mindset, my values. I think that by learning about another way of life, another way of seeing things, I have improved. I erased a lot of prejudices from my mind, many prejudices you can have about other cultures, other people. I think they have left my head, the majority. (…) My autonomy as a person has also changed quite a bit. I'm not as dependent anymore, dependent and insecure. I was much more insecure. I had to think a lot about things or maybe wait until someone would take the decision for me. Having this experience, I think I have improved quite a bit.

The first part of Sergio's answer is about how he changed his values and how the confrontation with difference has made him a better person, how it has enhanced his personality. The second part is about a different form of personal enhancement. He talks about his autonomy, his way towards independency and self-confidence. This is again closely linked to the concept of becoming an adult as discussed in the introduction and again in the last chapter about mobility as an escape. I pointed out earlier in this thesis, how Moreno (2012: 23) suggests that in Southern European societies the norms of belonging, autonomy and dependence are higher. Because the young adults feel vulnerable in the unstable economic environment, they delay an autonomous life-course by depending on their parents much longer (ibid.: 42). It is for that reason that Domínguez-Mujica et al. (2016: 218) see emigration as a valuable step to become independent and no longer rely on their families. The following statement by Leandro shows how this desire to become more autonomous can be reached through mobility:

I think you do things that never… You are able to do things you never thought you were able to do. I think that I gained confidence, more maturity. Living away from home… Because I had never lived away from my parents' house… You realise that - even though you miss your parents, your family - you are able to fend for yourself. Furthermore, you realise that you have capabilities, attitudes that were hidden and that there, forced by the circumstances, come out. That was very positive for me personally, mentally.

Leandro talks about hidden capabilities that "forced by the circumstances" came out. Thereby he implies that if he had stayed in Spain, he would not have realised he had those capabilities. As examples of his personality improvement he names more confidence and maturity by living away from his parents' house. He argues that by moving abroad "you realise that (…) you are able to fend for yourself". This suggests that the claim of becoming independent by becoming mobile might ring true. As explained in the chapter about becoming an adult, King et al. (2016) examine youth transitions. They look at the steps from being a student or unemployed to having a job. Because the young people from Spain have difficulties finding a job after university, they move abroad where work is to be found. Thereby, they take an important step towards adulthood. Leaving the parental home is also a traditional marker often used to describe the transition into adulthood (Skelton, 2002: 101). And even though such markers have lost much of their significance, they still seem to be fitting for some of my interviewees for whom this transition away from home towards more independence seems to be very important:

> *I have always been quite insecure but before I was so much more. Moving abroad, moving away from my parents above all, away from my surroundings, helped me a lot to wake up a bit, to know how to act in certain situations, right? To control a bit more… To know how to control different situations, different problems, to know where to go. Well, going abroad you always learn.*

This statement by Tara shows how moving away from the parental home can help to "wake up a bit". By becoming mobile, she learned how to deal with different situations and problems. Furthermore, she points out that by "going abroad you always learn". Learning how to handle certain circumstances is also an important step of becoming an adult, of becoming independent. This aspect of learning how to deal with difficult situations was also expressed by Denna when I asked her in what ways she had changed since she had become a mobile person:

> *I have changed. It's one experience more you have in your life. It opens your eyes. It makes you more mature because you have to go through certain experiences and problems which you have to solve by yourself.*

It is interesting how Denna talks about her experience as something that "opens your eyes" which is a very similar description to Tara's explanation of "waking up a bit". Both statements suggest that before their mobility experience they had been figuratively blind or asleep. This usage of the same metaphor could be linked to the discourse of growing up. Even the popular fairy tale of "sleeping beauty" used sleep as a metaphor of becoming an adult where the princess falls asleep as a girl and wakes up as a woman[11]. Therefore, the fact that their experience "opens your eyes" or makes you "waking up a bit" could be understood as a metaphor for becoming an adult. Going abroad helped Denna and Tara not only to shake off their dependence but also their ignorance of other possibilities. Arnett (2006: 114) argues that this transition is the "age of identity exploration" where different possible futures are considered. It is exactly this confrontation with an "experience more you have in your life" that made the interviewees more mature, more certain about what path to take. Maturity as a benefit was also mentioned various times by the interviewees. Jessica said:

> *I think that I also matured quite a bit as a person, to be stronger. When you have problems at work or when you have problems with the language, you know to use your resources and get out, however, and do it with motivation and courage.*

Being more mature and stronger are also attributes often connected to adulthood (King et al., 2016: 9). It is meaningful how many of the participants mentioned dealing with problems. This capability to solve difficult situations was an improvement for almost all the young people from Spain I talked to. It suggests that in the past they had felt overwhelmed by their problems, be it economic or personal ones. Mobility has helped them to overcome those complications. Furthermore, Jessica's optimism of doing things "with motivation and courage" is typical for

11 For more information about the usage of metaphors in fairy tales, and specifically on the metaphors in sleeping beauty, see book by Max Lüthi, Es war einmal: Vom Wesen des Volksmärchens.

the "age of possibilities" as defined by Arnett (2006: 114). The age of possibilities implies that a person is very optimistic about future prospects.

It has been shown how the second category by Hauvette (2010) – personal enhancement – is an outstanding benefit of mobility for the respondents as well. Losing prejudices, becoming more autonomous and independent, taking responsibility, dealing with problems, and becoming more mature were the benefits most often named by the interviewees when they talked about their own changes that took place because of their mobility experience. In general, the young people from Spain I talked to felt as if their mobility experience has helped them to become a better person.

7.3. Everyone should do it

The last part of this chapter focuses on the interviewees' recommendation for everyone to have a mobility experience at least once in life. Earlier in this thesis, it was illustrated how freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the European Union is according to the Eurobarometer considered to be the biggest advantage of being a European citizen (Recchi, 2015: 1). The conversations I had with some young people from Spain highlighted the reasons to view freedom of movement as the biggest advantage. Montanari and Staniscia (2017: 51) argue that being mobile is a way to gain new experiences, to explore the world, to acquire new skills and competences, to favour personal growth, to boost one's own career, and to improve one's own life. Earlier in this chapter, I illustrated how the interviewees saw some of their main benefits in their confrontation with difference and in their personal enhancement, especially in becoming more mature and independent. Most of the interviewees mentioned that they thought that everyone should go abroad at least once. Here two short statements by Mia and Nora that boil it to the essence:

> *M: I think that the experience is something you have to do no matter what. I mean, I recommend it to everyone.*

> *N: Everyone should take out that adventurous spirit and at least try to go to other places, at least once in life. It's important, it's essential, necessary.*

Mia and Nora argue that being mobile is "something you have to do no matter what", that it is "necessary". For both women, this was the last sentence of the conversation. It was the answer they gave me when I asked them whether there was something left they wanted to say. This suggests that the final image they wanted to give me about their experience was a good one. Furthermore, it could be argued that they felt they had not talked positively enough about their experience and that is why they wanted to add those specific sentences. Maybe they wanted to emphasise again that the positive aspects of their mobility were greater than the negative ones they had mentioned during the conversation. Whatever the case, for Mia and Nora it was important to mention that they recommend a mobility experience to everyone. This is backed up by Manuel who said:

> *Everyone should live the experience to go abroad. Everyone should know what it feels like to go to a place and not know how to make a phone call or how to pay a taxi. Everyone should know how to move in other places that are outside of your comfort zone. If you don't know how to move outside your comfort zone you are going to be forever held up.*

Manuel also promotes mobility as something necessary. However, instead of focusing on the beautiful aspects of an experience abroad, he sees the main reason why everyone should leave at least once in the confrontation with difficult situations. He argues that you have to leave "your comfort zone" if you do not want to be "forever held up". Therefore, it seems that he sees the benefits of mobility in learning "how to move in other places" and not in the pleasure of the experience. This view on learning how to handle problems is the reason why it is necessary to become mobile can also be found in Jessica's statement:

> *Even if it hadn't been necessary to go abroad because of a shortage of jobs, I think that everyone should do it, should leave his or her country, his or her comfort zone and try somewhere else, somewhere away from home and try living that experience. (…) I encourage people to try, to not be afraid to leave and go to another country to fend for yourself because it can be very beneficial. Maybe not, maybe you're going to have a bad experience. But it's important to have bad experiences to mature and learn from mistakes and keep on fighting for your dreams and for what you want to do with your future.*

Jessica talks about how everyone should "try living that experience". It is meaningful how she does not just say "live that experience". By using the word "try", she suggests that the experience itself it not just an easy one and that being successful is not self-evident. She reinforces this gloomy prospect of mobility by saying that "maybe you're going to have a bad experience". Nonetheless, even if she does not paint the sunniest picture of mobility, she suggests that it is something beneficial because you can learn from it. She promotes mobility for everyone even if she - as well as Manuel – sees the benefits more in learning than in enjoying. Another encouragement comes from Sergio:

> *I recommend, and I think it is a vital experience, to leave outside your country, outside of what you know. I support this adventurous spirit, especially… The younger you are, the better. I mean, when I say young, I mean once you are an adult but still in your youth, so your mind can open, expand, so you can get to know other types of things, so your ideas can change.*

Unlike Manuel and Jessica, he does not focus on the learning process but on age. This is again closely linked to the adulthood debate. While he thinks that living outside one's country is in general "a vital experience" he especially promotes mobility for the young. He argues that when you are still in your youth "your mind can open, expand". Furthermore, he implies that when you are older it is more difficult to change your ideas and to get to know "other types of

things". This assertion by Sergio shows again why becoming an adult is a fitting category to look at the mobilities of young people from Spain. He embeds the mobility experience in a certain life phase. For him, mobility is most beneficial when you are still in that stage of "emerging adulthood". A last interview extract for this chapter comes from the conversation with Tara. When I asked her at the end of the interview whether there was an anything she wanted to add she responded:

> *Well, I think that it is important and I recommend it for everyone who asks me to leave, to see the world a bit, wherever. But he/she should leave his/her surroundings and his/her zone of comfort to see what you can achieve, what you can be as a person. In the end, we always think that our own it the best. Going abroad makes you see that yours is good, of course, but that there are other things that are good as well. It also enriches you as a person. (…) What you can learn outside of Spain is different and important. In spite of my negative experiences, of saying that I wouldn't leave again, that I would not do it, I don't regret having left at all. I think everyone should do it. But I hope it'll be voluntarily with that adventurous spirit we've talked about and not as an obligation.*

This statement by Tara brings all the different parts of this chapter together. She argues that by leaving your surroundings, by learning about other perspectives, you can benefit a lot because you see that "there are other things that are good as well" and that "what you can learn outside of Spain is different and important". This sums up the first part of this chapter where it was shown how confrontation with difference has positive effects such as becoming more open-minded and more understanding of different viewpoints. Nonetheless, even though their experience in a foreign country helped my interviewees to reflect on their own habits it was still difficult to tear down the borders between "them" and "us" in their minds. So, even though prejudices cannot be discarded completely by confronting difference it is at least easier to reconsider them and become more empathetic. The second part of this chapter focused on the personal enhancement through mobility. This was also mentioned by Tara. She suggests that becoming mobile "enriches you as a person". Becoming more autonomous and independent were some of the factors most often mentioned about such personal enhancement. Another important aspect many interviewees mentioned was that they learnt how to deal with difficult situations. This is supported by Zimmermann and Neyer (2013: 252) who found that mobility can help to improve emotional stability, to mature as a person, to become more compassionate and less anxious. In general, the interviewees saw their mobility experience as something positive which they would recommend to everyone, especially the young. This was also a finding by Moreno et al. (2014: 171) who stated that the young people from Spain generally see emigration as a good strategy to escape the situation in Spain and on the way become a better person.

8 Mobility as a one-time thing

So far, it has been shown how mobility was conceived as an escape as well as something everyone should experience at least once in life. This chapter is going to introduce a last discourse thread: mobility as a one-time thing. I am going to demonstrate how the interviewees talk about their expectations and views on future mobility. In their study about returnees, Pumares and Gónzales Martín (2016: 285) found that many are open for other experiences abroad if it means that they can keep growing professionally. Others do not want to leave but still keep it as a last option in case the situation in Spain does not improve. A last group of their interviewees are the ones who have found a job they like, those who knew that they wanted to stay in Spain, and those who most wanted to be with their family (ibid.). I want to find out whether my interviewees also fit within this categorisation by Pumares and Gónzales Martín. Generally, it was found that there were two different perceptions on future mobility that I am going to illustrate in this chapter. First, I am going to show how some of my interviewees clearly stated that they did not want to move abroad again. In a second part, the view of the ones who could imagine being mobile in the future but only for a good opportunity is analysed. In a last part, I am going to connect this reluctance for future mobility with a sense of belonging and home that for many was the reason to return and to stay afterwards. The general aim of this chapter is to reveal how the interviewees talk about mobility as a one-time thing.

8.1. No willingness for future mobility

In the last chapter, I illustrated how many of the participants for this study promoted mobility, how they thought that it was a very positive experience in accordance with the "normal" conception of youth mobility in Europe. The interviewees talked about how everyone should have such a mobility experience at least once in life because it is "enriching" and because it makes you "more open-minded" and independent. Nonetheless, when we started talking about their personal future mobility many could not imagine living abroad again. This was stated most drastically by Denna who said:

> *I don't want to move anymore. I don't want to leave Spain anymore, now not anymore. I want to stay here. I don't want to go abroad again. I don't know. I don't feel like it. I don't want to. I want to be here, close to my people. I don't want to miss this. I don't know. I am a family person. I want to be close to my people. I want to live a quiet life. I don't want to move abroad again. I don't like it.*

Denna repeats herself many times to emphasise that she really does not want to go abroad again. In fact, talking to her I almost got the impression that imagining further mobility actually scared or at least disquieted her. By saying "I don't want to leave Spain anymore, now not anymore" her aversion towards future mobility becomes clear. As her reasons, she mentions that she is "a family person" and that she wants "to be close to her people". This fits with the last category by Pumares and Gónzales-Martín (2016: 285) of those who most wanted to be with their family. This wish to be with family members is closely connected to Moreno's (2012:

22) notion of familism which was explained earlier in this thesis as a form of solidarity towards the family typical for people from Southern European countries. It was this familism that pulled many of the interviewees back to Spain and often to their city or town of origin. And even though it was argued how many of my interviewees have become more independent and autonomous because of their mobility experience, going back to the family they had wanted to become independent from was often mentioned as a reason to return and the reason for Denna to say "I don't like it", even though she shared many positive experiences about her mobility with me during our conversation. For her, future mobility is no option under no circumstances. Similar feelings towards being mobile again come from Sergio:

> *If everything goes well, my mobility will only be for tourism. If everything goes well, I think my future will be here. I will try to grow as a person but without having the necessity to leave here, without leaving my city.*

Even though he does not show as much reluctance for future mobility as Denna, he still states that he hopes that he will not have "the necessity to leave" and that he wants his future to be in his city. His goal is to be able to stay in Mérida but he argues that this would only be possible "if everything goes well". Thereby Sergio implies that if something goes wrong future mobility might be an option after all, even if just because of a lack of other options. This is again closely linked to the findings by Pumares and Gónzales-Martín (2016: 285) who argued that there are some who think of mobility as last option in case things went wrong. Nonetheless, Sergio wants to be mobile for holidays. This statement reveals the blurring between migration and mobilities as suggested by King et al. (2016: 9). If mobility is conceived as every form of movement, future mobility is desirable. Sheller and Urry (2004: 3) even argue that tourism is the biggest industry in the world and therefore one of the most influential mobilities of all, shaping places, bringing together movement and stillness as well as realities and fantasies (ibid.: 1). However, if mobility is defined as intra-European migration, as suggested by Ritzen, Kahanec and Haas (2017: 2) or Recchi (2015: 1), it is not an option for many. Such different understandings of mobility show the difficulty of using a concept which is so broad that it includes every possible form of movement, making it difficult to narrow it down and define it. Sergio was not the only interviewee who stated that he wanted to be mobile in the sense of tourism. When I asked Tara about her future mobility plans, she answered:

> *If mobilities is what I defined before as travelling a lot, I hope that I'll be mobile. But not to stay in a place to live there, just to travel, explore the world. But short travels, or well, long ones but just travels. In the end holidays, not… I hope I don't have to move again for work or out of obligation.*

Tara also feels the urge "to travel, explore the world", emphasising the gap between mobility as movement and mobility as migration. While she would like to be mobile in the sense of travelling, working abroad is not an option for her. By saying "I hope I don't have to move again (…) out of obligation" she brings up again the topic of forced mobility that was discussed in

earlier chapters. It is exactly this difference between voluntary and forced mobility that Cresswell (2010: 20) sees as the key to various mobility experiences. So, despite having praised mobility as something positive which can help you "to wake up a bit" Tara still views her past emigration as an obligation. It could be argued that this means that living through such an experience is educational but still not voluntary. This means that being mobile once is perceived as something difficult but beneficial while a second mobility trajectory is seen as an ordeal which hopefully can be avoided. This gap between seeing mobility as something positive and seeing it as a one-time experience also emerges in the following statement by Leandro:

> *I don't think I'll… Well, never say never, but I don't think that I am going to have another experience like this, at least not for that much time. I don't think I'll go to another country to stay there for years. I think it's a very positive experience and it's also true that for me it was very hard. So, my goal now is here, in this city. I would like to… If I must move again, I hope it's to enjoy, to travel around and see the world and not to stay and live in another place.*

He mentions this divergence in mobility: "it's a very positive experience and (…) it was very hard". He hopes that he does not have "to stay and live in another place". He, as well as Sergio and Tara, makes the distinction between mobility as tourism and mobility as work and obligation. Because this distinction was mentioned by so many participants it becomes clear how much depends on the definition of mobility. In any case, for many of the interviewees mobility as intra-European short-term migration is a one-time experience. Another interesting statement was made by Mia. Just after returning, she was not as opposed to future mobility as she is now. For her, tourism is also the only exception:

> *My job offered the option to relocate to South America. This would mean I would not be starting again doing whatever job I could find but going with a cool job. I thought about it but then I didn't go due to family matters. And now it's been a while since I don't feel like it. I feel like travelling a lot but right now I don't feel like going to live somewhere else, not even for a cool job.*

Mia also mentions that she "feels like travelling a lot" in accordance with the statements above. However, she talks about another interesting topic when talking about future mobility. Directly after returning, Mia thought about re-emigration. During our conversation, she talked about how difficult it was for her to go back to Madrid and how she did not feel like belonging in her own city in the beginning. Those are problems mentioned by Ralph and Staehli (2011: 523) who argue that after having lived in another country for some time, going back does not necessarily mean going home. Now that Mia has found her place again, she does not "feel like it", "not even for a cool job". Constant and Zimmermann suggest that once a person has moved to another country, he or she is more prone to move again (2011: 498). While this might be true for people who have just returned, the respondents for this study felt more like staying in the country of origin, especially after having spent some time to re-integrate. Even Antonio

who would have stayed longer if his wife had not wanted to move back did not want to move abroad again:

> *I: How do you imagine your future concerning future mobilites?*
> *A: I hope my wife passes the exams and that we move to a different place in Spain and there we stay.*
> *I: So, the important thing is to stay in Spain?*
> *A: There is no other place like here, yes.*

While not explicitly discarding future mobility to another country, he argues that "there is no other place like here". The only future mobility he wants to conduct is to move "to a different place in Spain and there we stay". Unlike Sergio, Tara, Leandro, and Mia, Antonio does not make a distinction between mobility as tourism and mobility as intra-European migration but between international and national mobility. While the former does not seem to be an option for Antonio, he sees the latter as a goal, even if he wants it to be a last move. A last statement that shows the reluctance for future mobility was made by Patricia:

> *P: I am trying many things to make it possible to stay here at home, in Spain. But I have a small part in my heart that says: "You have to go back. The situation here won't change and you have to go back."*
> *I: But if you find a job here in Spain you'll stay?*
> *P: Man. Of course! If I find a job in Spain with conditions or characteristics I like, yes.*

Her case differs from the ones presented so far. She does not discard future international mobility. However, such mobility would not be a choice but a last option, a necessity because "the situation here won't change". She already tries "to make it possible to stay here at home" and if there was a chance to stay, she would. More than all the other statements in this part, this shows how mobility is kept as a last solution, as suggested by Pumares and Gónzales-Martín (2016: 285).

This part of the chapter has shown that many participants do not feel like going to live abroad again. Some put a strong emphasis on no future mobility at all (Denna), others see mobility as a last option in case something goes wrong (Sergio) or if things – meant is probably the economic and labour situation - do not change (Nora), some only want to move within the country (Antonio), and many only want to be mobile if mobility is understood as tourism (see Sheller and Urry, 2004). In sum, if mobility is defined as intra-European short-term migration, many of my interviewees perceive it as a positive if difficult experience but, and this is the main thing, they see mobility as a one-time event, unless they do not have another choice.

8.2. For future mobility, the conditions must be right

The first part in this chapter was about the participants of this study who did not want to move abroad again. However, there were other participants who did not completely discard future

mobility. In fact, some considered or even liked the possibility of future mobility. Still, as suggested by Pumares and González-Martín (2016: 285), such a future move would only be an option if it offered good opportunities as expressed, for example, by Juan:

> *If I had to leave, move, emigrate, it wouldn't be that much of a blow, you know? I already know what I have and what is waiting for me. So, if I leave now, it's not to be a dish-washer. If I leave now, it's to work as an engineer or else I'm not leaving. I want to feel at ease. I want to feel fulfilled with what I do.*

For him, further emigration "wouldn't be that much of a blow". This is more compatible with the aforementioned assertion by Constant and Zimmermann (2011: 498) who argue that after a first move, a second one is more probable. Because Juan has already experienced mobility, he knows "what is waiting". Furthermore, it seems that he now better knows what he wants. While before he went abroad without an actual plan, for a second move it would have to be for the opportunity of working as an engineer. The main issue for him is to "feel at ease" and to "feel fulfilled", whereby the country of residence does not matter much. A similar statement was made by Tamara:

> *If I saw that the conditions didn't work out, that I really found better conditions somewhere else, maybe at the coast in England, well, I would go back in that sense. There is no problem. I always look for the place where I feel good and happy, where I can make the most of my time.*

She argues that if she "found better conditions somewhere else", there would be "no problem" in leaving Spain again. As well as Juan, she just wants to "feel good and happy". Such a calculated perspective on future mobility can be connected to the findings by Favell (2008). He sees the young professionals from the South of Europe as the most rational of the European mobile subjects. He argues that they grew up where advancement was blocked by hierarchical career paths so they went abroad for an alternative route. They discounted family, friends and their life-style against a career move to enhance their human capital (Favell, 2008: 63). Such a rational movement can be initiated by the emergence of an opportunity that coincides with not having other constraints (ibid.: 65). While Favell's statement was made to describe mobilities in general and not specifically related to a second move, it still matches with the situations of many of the interviewees. Statements like "I mean, I like moving. But I won't do it if it's not for a tremendous opportunity and short-term" (Sandra) show that If they get an opportunity to work as something they liked or something that offered them favourable circumstances, they would take the step and move a second time, even if it might only be for another short-term experience. However, Favell also mentions constraints that can hold someone back. Manuel, for example, told me:

> *There was a moment when I thought in taking my suitcase and going to another place, another country – England, Germany, Switzerland, Timbuktu. I didn't care. But in the end, I started studying here, I started to carry out things that I had*

> *always wanted to do: a photography course, a master in graphic design… And I met my current girlfriend and started to work. And I didn't see the urge to leave anymore. If they offered me a job abroad, I would take it. But I would take it with many more conditions.*

Similar to Mia, directly after returning, Manuel felt like leaving again to another country. However, then he started to study and he met his girlfriend. Those are such constraints as suggested by Favell (2008) that bind him to Madrid now and make him much more reluctant to have another mobility experience. However, if a job was offered to him, he argues: "I would take it. But I would take it with many more conditions". While during his first two mobility experiences in Belfast and Oxford he worked as a dish-washer, a waiter, and in a car salon, future mobility would have to include work as a graphic designer. Later in the conversation Manuel also said:

> *Well… When I find economic, personal, labour stability, that's where I'll be. As I've said before, if in a week they offer me a job in Timbuktu and I see that it is feasible, I'll leave. If I have to move, I'll move. I don't have a problem with that. If they offer me or if they… Right now, I'm fine as I am. But if I had to move, I wouldn't have a problem with that. I would be a migrant, a mover, a shifter, however you want to call it. (…) I would think about economic terms. If the offer is worthwhile I'll go. There would be no problem at all. If not, well, I'll stay as I am.*

In this statement, he mentions again his openness towards another mobility experience. While he is satisfied with his situation in Spain, he declares various times that he does not have a problem with moving as long as the mobility is "feasible". In other words, for him to become mobile again, the "economic terms" would have to be right. In fact, they would have to be better than the ones he has now. However, it is important here to consider a possible interview bias. I met Manuel in a bar and he asked me about my interest in the matter. I told him about my own mobility experiences abroad. The way he talked to me afterwards during the interview made me wonder whether he wanted me to see him as an open, mobile person because he thought that I could sympathise more with such a "mobile spirit". Furthermore, I suggest that there is a public discourse that promotes mobility. It is widely known that experiences abroad are helpful in finding a job, doing a "gap year" after high school is ever more common, travelling blogs are increasingly widespread and successful, and you never hear people talk about mobility in a negative way. In our society, it is an accepted truth that mobility is something positive, something enriching. An alternative truth, connecting mobility with difficulties or unwillingness, is perceived as odd. This could be another reason why Manuel presented himself as open towards mobility. Especially his many repetitions of how he "would not have a problem with that" might indicate that it could mean a worriment for him. Whether he actually sees future mobility as a possibility or not, without the right terms, he is going to "stay as he is". Another person who, under the condition that it offered a good opportunity, was not opposed to future mobility, was Javier:

If tomorrow they offer me a chance to improve, I would certainly be open to it if they offer me good conditions. It would be completely different from last time. Whatever they had offered me in London, it would have been good. Now I'd only go if they offered me something that really is worth it. (…) The truth is that in that case it would be more out of what we've been talking before, out of adventurous spirit. It would be once you have your specific place like "listen, I got my house, I have a house that is waiting for me but I want to grow professionally in another place.

As well as Juan and Manuel, Javier makes a clear distinction between his last mobility experience, where he experienced dequalification, and a possible future mobility which could only take place if it "really is worth it". Interestingly, all of the presented statements suggest that the interviewees do not take the initiative by looking for a job abroad. For them to consider re-emigration, a job with better conditions than the one they have now would have to be offered to them. In other words, while future mobility may not be a no-go, many still do not actively look for an opportunity to leave. This might again indicate an interview bias. Maybe they want to be seen as open to future mobility. If they actually wanted to become mobile again, would they not start looking for a job abroad or in another city themselves? Another meaningful part of Javier's statement is when he argues that it the case of future mobility "it would be more out of (…) adventurous spirit". Thereby he states again that his first move to London was a necessity, an obligation because he did not see any other options. However, in case of a second movement it would be voluntary and out of adventurous spirit. Moreover, by talking about having a house which is waiting for him, he suggests that such a movement "to grow professionally" would just be short-term and that he would want to return to the same place afterwards. This personal growth is exactly what Pumares and Gónzales-Martín (2016: 285) mentioned as a condition for the consideration of future mobility. A person who did not only not discard future mobility but who was actively planning it is Ramona:

I can imagine going to another country in the future. Actually, I am planning… When the examination as a teacher here in Spain is over, I can ask for a leave of absence. I don't know whether you're familiar with the term? It's like a gap year they give you to go to a foreign country or to another part of Spain to teach there.

Ramona has a fixed job now in Spain as a teacher. Nonetheless, she is planning to leave again to work as a teacher abroad. In general, Ramona was probably the respondent who was most uncertain about a future in Spain. While she did like to live and work in her country of origin, she was open towards other destinations, also outside of Europe. Later in the conversation she was, for example, talking about going to Canada for a few years. However, even she always mentioned the condition of having to be able to work as a teacher. Just moving blindly somewhere else to work as something she would be over-qualified for was no option for her either. Still, her willingness to emigrate again fits with the presented study by Pessoa (2010) who argued that her interviewees all expressed a strong desire to re-emigrate and who did not see their return to Portugal as final, even though they considered Portugal to be their primary

point of reference (Pessoa, 2010: 29). The wish to live somewhere else for a foreseeable amount of time was also an issue for Jessica:

> *I want to keep on working in my business and keep on growing. (…) But it's true that I would like to try to live in another place. I don't know whether for three years or maybe a shorter period of time. But it's true that I would like to get to know other places, other cultures and other forms of living. I think it would help me to grow as a person, to continue growing.*

Her assertion is very closely connected to personal enhancement and confrontation with difference as introduced in the last chapter. For her, mobility helps to "grow as a person" and "to get to know other places, other cultures and other forms of living". Even though she has started her own child nursery with her boyfriend, she still "would like to try to live in another place". However, she later talks about why such a move is not realistic because of the mentioned project of the nursery. This again supports the argument by Favell (2008: 65) that future mobility is often coupled to having no constrains. Because of her constraints, for Jessica, future mobility is more like an idea or an illusion. And even if it was realistic, Jessica would only want to move for a certain amount of time before returning to Badajoz.

This part was about how some of the interviewees are not opposed to future mobility if such a move offers a tremendous opportunity. They see a second emigration as easier because it is "not as much of a blow" (Juan). Furthermore, all the participants for this study distinguished between their first mobility experience and a potential further move abroad. While the first time they went abroad with the opinion that "whatever job (…) would have been good (Javier)" for another mobility experience the conditions must be better, the economic terms right. Moreover, it is important to mention how even though they were not opposed to going abroad, except for Ramona, none of them actively looked for a job in another country. This might come from an interview bias where they wanted me to see them as open towards mobility. It could also be because they wanted to see themselves as open-minded and adventurous by not discarding future mobility. It could be argued that not looking for a job abroad while tendentially it "would not be a Problem" (Manuel) is a silence in this discourse. As mentioned before, mobility seems to be generally viewed positively by society. It is a "common truth" that mobility is good. And while the participants in the first part did not want to leave Spain to live and work somewhere else, the statements in this part indicate that only if there was a feasible offer, they would consider moving again. But still, the question remains whether they would actually take the step because most of them have shown no incentive to do so by themselves.

8.3. Mobility and Belonging (Belong or be long gone?)

It has been shown how the interviewees are either opposed to future mobility or how they would only consider it for a tremendous opportunity and only if it was offered to them. This section connects this reluctance for further moves with the feeling of belonging and being at home. Hannam, Sheller and Urry (2006: 2) suggest that through mobility the human body and the home are transformed, and proximity and connectivity are imagined in a new fashion.

While some mobility theorists argue that by being mobile one belongs anywhere, Butcher (2010: 23f) found that this transformation of body and home often changes the way home is understood from being a physical place to the place of origin. When I asked Sergio in what ways he felt like he belonged after returning, his answer was:

> *In many ways. (…) I feel I belong in the end… I mean it was returning to the origins. It was no just returning to Spain. It was returning to the city I had grown up in.* (…) *This culture, this way of living we have here, makes me feel like being at home. I appreciate it. I like it a lot.*

Returning for Sergio was coming home. Interesting in this context is that returning to the origins for him was not just about Spain but about "returning to the city I had grown up in". And he was not the only interviewee who moved back to the city of origin. Most of the participants for this study returned to the town or city they originally came from. From this is could be argued that returning is linked more closely to local belonging than national attachment. According to Butcher (2010: 24), such local belonging is closely linked to a home which consists of cultural ideals and relationships that connect feelings of safety, familiarity, and comfort. When he returned, Sergio felt like he belonged "in many ways". Those feelings emerged when he arrived at this city of origin where he plans to stay from now on because of "this culture, this way of living". For Sergio, future mobility is not an option because of this attachment to his culture, because he "likes it a lot". Another person who talked about this feeling of belonging was Denna:

> *You know this, these are your traditions, your people are here, and the roots are the roots. You never stop feeling Spanish.*

She talks about "traditions" and her "roots" as fixed entities of "feeling Spanish". While this could be considered as naturalising the nation state, it is still a very real feeling Denna has. This is an interesting aspect of this debate. While in scientific research it is problematic to perceive national belonging as the most important framework because nation-states resulted out of power relations (Amelina and Faist: 1713), being Spanish is still something many of my interviewees identify themselves with. And while the researcher should try to think outside the box of methodological nationalism, the participants seemed to see their nationality as relevant. In fact, almost all my interviewees mentioned "feeling Spanish", "being from Spain", or similar ties to their country of origin various times during our conversations. However, their identification criteria often resemble more local affiliation than national one. Whether "feeling Spanish" is more closely linked to local or national attachment, for Denna it was something she missed when she was in the United Kingdom. Indeed, some of the participants even had the feeling that in the United Kingdom "they respect you but it is as if in their minds they always see you as the foreigner" (Antonio). Such assertions highlight the difference between "we-ness" and "otherness" as suggested by Anthias (2008: 8) who further argues that this distinction between "them" and "us" is the key factor of belonging. Maybe it is because of this wish to feel like belonging somewhere that Butcher (2010:25) as well as Ralph and Staehli

(2011: 522) found that to manage the displacement of their mobility, migrants often have an especially strong attachment to a home. Some of my interviewees even had strategies to build themselves surroundings that enabled a feeling of belonging. For example, when I asked Tara what other people from Spain meant, she said:

> *Well, everything. In the end, the only refuge I had was this, the other people from Spain. In the end, we formed our little group, we got together to eat, for barbecues, to go out, for everything. Because in the end, you go with an open mind… At least I went with an open mind of saying: "I don't want to group with other Spanish people because I want to learn English." But once you are there, this way of being Spanish pulls at you. So, in the end, you end up with a circle of people from Spain because we like the same things, we have the same ways of seeing everything, of acting, of thinking.*

She talks about the group they formed as her "refuge". By doing everything together, they built a "we-ness", thereby constructing a feeling of belonging, of being home. Tara argues that "once you are there, this way of being Spanish pulls at you". For her, this distinction between "them" and "us" becomes apparent, especially when later in the conversation she calls the English "gilipollas" – "jerks", distancing herself even more from "the others". This urge to build a home away from home seems to be very important for her. She needs people who "like the same things" and who "have the same ways of seeing everything, of acting, of thinking". This mirrors the assertions by Anthias (2008: 8) who suggests that to belong means to be accepted as part of a community. It also fits with the study by Butcher (2010: 24) who argues that "here" and "there" are not just two places that are apart but also cultural spaces separated by difference. To not feel this difference, Tara surrounded herself with other people from Spain. This is also one of the main reasons why Tara, as well as many others of my respondents decided to return and stay put afterwards. Leandro supports this by saying:

> *We thought that our goal there, that we had accomplished it. We had arrived at our top and we decided to think about returning home. Because it is always true that you miss your family, that you miss your friends, that you miss your culture as well.*

For Leandro, mobility had always been something temporary. Once they had reached their goals abroad, they returned. Being away, he missed his family, his friends and his culture. He spent almost four years in Oxford. Nonetheless, he had never felt like he belonged there and he had always missed home. For him there is no future mobility because of this feeling of belonging, his attachment to his home. Another person who is very attached to his origins is Juan:

> *I feel very attached to my country, to Spain, to Extremadura, to Mérida. It's not something that you lose and later recover. (…) Home is where my family is and where I feel at ease. Maybe that's way I never considered that (England) to be my home.*

While Juan sees Spain as his home, his province and his city are more important still. For him, "home is where my family is". This is reminiscent of the statement by Pumares and Gónzalez-Martíns (2016: 285) that there are some who most want to be with their family and therefore discard future mobility. Furthermore, Juan "never considered (England) to be his home". This stands in contrast to the findings by Marcu (2014: 332) who suggested that through EU-mobility people can establish "second homes" abroad. However, there were some who did manage to establish such a "second home". Nora, for example, argued:

> *I think that before going to England, I always associated home with the place where you were born. But after my experience in England… There I felt like at home, I felt that de people around me were people I was at ease with. So, in the end, I think that right now I have two homes.*

This means that for certain people a "second home" can actually be established through mobility experiences. Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark (2015: 159) connect this to lifestyle mobility which pre-supposes an intention to keep on being mobile. They argue that instead of thinking about one home back in the country of origin, many homes may emerge (ibid.). However, when I asked her about future mobility, Nora said: "now I don't have in mind leaving again". Furthermore, when I specifically asked her, where she felt at home, she answered "here, in Spain", without mentioning Plymouth. So even though Nora felt at home in England, she considers Spain to be her home which she does not want to leave anymore. Maybe this comes from the fact that the sense of home abroad is different from the sense of home in the place of origin, as suggested by Easthope (2009: 74). This difference between the constructed home in England and the familiar home in Spain, where Nora feels that she belongs, might be the reason for her unwillingness to move again. Whatever the case, feeling at home in England does not have seemed to be enough to keep Nora from returning to her country of origin. A different understanding of home was mentioned by Tamara:

> *I feel more like at home or more welcome or less different when I am abroad, when I'm in England, for example, than when I am in Barcelona. The fact that I am a mixed-raced person gives me that "handicap" because the people here really always ask me: "Where are you from?" (…) There are moments when you really see yourself alone, you see yourself quite alone. And even though you know people from the new country it's not the same. Those are not the friendships you've had all your life, they're not your parents, your siblings.*

Because of her skin colour, Tamara has always been treated like a foreigner in Barcelona where she is originally from. She argues that she has always had that "handicap" that people did not consider her to be one of them but asking her where she was from. Because of this she often felt "more like at home or more welcome or less different" when she was abroad because there are more mixed-raced people in the United Kingdom. Here again the matter of "feeling different" is interesting. Belonging means feeling like a part of a group, feeling different is the

opposite. This again supports the findings by Anthias (2008: 8) that belonging is closely connected to being part of a community. Nonetheless, Tamara does not actively look for opportunities abroad. A reason for this reluctance to leave could be that in another country "it's not the same" because "those are not the friendships you've had all your life, they're not your parents, your siblings". In other words, Nora and Ramona both mention feeling at home somewhere else for different reasons. In spite of this, they still do not plan to move abroad again, wanting to stay in the place they are originally from. Something interesting happened, when I talked to Manuel about his conception of home:

> *I think that home is where you live your everyday life. You work, you go out, you have your partner, you have your animal…. From my point of view, I think that home is… (…) You cannot say that your home is… If you live abroad you cannot say that Spain is your home. No. Your home is where you pay your bills, where you work, where you have your life.*

For him, home is not bound to a specific place but the location "where you live your everyday life". Right now, he considers Madrid to be his home because he works and lives there. If he moved somewhere else, he argues that his home would be at the new place. Such a conception of home would also be shared by Favell's (2008) "Eurostars" who move from city to city to find a place where they can integrate, seeing Europe as their home. In other words, they attempt to combine their mobility with a functional integration, whereby each place could become their home. Nonetheless, later in our conversation Manuel made the following statement:

> *When I was in England, both times that was my home. I returned to Spain? Well, my home changed. The nucleus of my relations and my family and my everything is in Spain. But I returned to Spain. I didn't return… In my holidays, I didn't go partying or visiting places or going to beaches. In my holidays, I went to visit my family, I went to see my friends, spending time with them, enjoy. When I had the option to choose, I always felt like… I am home-loving. When I came here on holidays, Spain was my home because I knew that my things, I had them here… My family, my friends, my life.*

This second assertion by Manuel is very interesting, especially in relation to the one above. While in the first statement he argues that home is wherever you live your everyday life, he mentions in the second assertion how he always went to Madrid in his holidays because he is "home-loving". Furthermore, in the first statement he argues that "you cannot say Spain is your home" if you live abroad. In spite of this, he points out that when he went to visit his family in his holidays, "Spain was my home". These divergent assertions could be considered a contradiction. However, I suspect that here again an interview bias could be the reason for these different presentations of home. As suggested above, I assume that Manuel wants to be seen as an open-minded, adventurous young man. He presents himself as a bold person whose life is all up in the air. Nonetheless, at the end of the day, he sees Spain as his home saying: "I knew that my things, I had them here… My family, my friends, my life". Therefore, his conception of

home is similar to the ones by Nora and Ramona. All three, in theory, suggest that home could be anywhere. Nonetheless, they still have very strong attachments to their city or their country of origin. Interestingly, they are also the ones who were, in theory, open to future mobility but did not actively plan to go abroad. Thus, I argue that mobility and home are closely connected for my interviewees. Those who least wanted to go abroad again mentioned the strongest attachment to their home in their city or country. Those who hypothetically were not opposed to future mobility (while not actively planning to leave) had less fixed conceptions of home (having returned to the place they were originally from and wanting to stay there). Following this explanation, it is unsurprising that when I asked Ramona how she would define home she responded:

> *Home… Well, I would define home as the place where you want to go to at the end of the day to get comfortable and to enjoy the small pleasures of life. It doesn't matter where. It doesn't matter if it's in your house, in your place of origin or abroad. In my case it's where I feel comfortable and where I can relax completely. I don't have a strong attachment to my home or Spain. I was where I was and I tried to make that place my home as well as I could.*

For Ramona, home is not bound to a specific location. In contrast to all other interviewees, she never talked about Cádiz or Spain as her home. In fact, she never much talked about physical places. "It doesn't matter if it's in your house, in your place of origin or abroad", for Ramona, home is "the place where you want to go to at the end of the day to get comfortable". She does not feel strongly attached to Spain. Of all my interviewees, she probably would be the only "Eurostar", moving from city to city, whereby the focus is never on places but on mobility itself. As illustrated in chapter 3.4., there are generally two main streams of research on the matter of home. On the one hand, there are the ones who argue that the moving subjects can feel at home in various places with an intention to keep on moving. On the other hand, there are those who suggest that mobility increases a sense of belonging and a requirement of a home, whereby most often this home is the place of origin. In the case of the participants for this study, it is interesting to notice how those who do not want to move abroad again, in most cases, are the ones who understand home to be their city or country of origin. The ones who do not discard future moves have a more open understanding of the concept.

Concluding this chapter, it can be said that even though the interviewees talked about mobility as something everyone should experience at least once in life, many of them did not want to move abroad again. For most of them, future mobility was only a possibility if one of three scenarios took place. Firstly, future moves are an option if mobility is conceived as tourism (see Cheller and Urry, 2004), blurring the mobilities concept, making it difficult to narrow it down and to understand the connection between migration and mobility (King et al., 2016: 9). Secondly, future mobility might be the only solution if there are no other options left, making such a second move very similar to the interviewees first mobility experience which they mostly perceived as an obligation. Thirdly, moving abroad again was considered as an option if such a move offered very good conditions and better economic terms and only if it was short-

term, and if there are no constraints holding them back. Furthermore, except for Ramona, none of the respondents took the self-initiative of looking for a job abroad, making mobility only an option if work with exceptional conditions was offered to them. There, it could be argued that many might want to be seen as open-minded towards mobility because it is commonly perceived as something positive. In other words, it could be argued that seeing mobility as an important and positive aspect of life, especially for the young, seems to be an accepted truth by society. The public discourse is that mobility is something everyone should experience at least once in life, connecting this part with the discourse thread of the last chapter. This public discourse goes even further, making mobility the norm, denigrating immobility and those not willing to move somewhere else. This could imply a distortion of the answers, explaining why those who would have "no problem" with future mobility, did not actively look for possibilities outside of their city and less out of Spain. Pooling these three scenarios, I argue that for the interviewees, mobility was a one-time thing. This is in stark contrast to the findings by Constant and Zimmermann (2011: 498) who argue that a second move is more likely after a first one. Furthermore, it also shows inconsistency with the research on hyper-mobility, lifestyle mobility and Favell's "Eurostars". Ramona was the only one of the interviewees who could fit within those studies. For all others, their mobility experience was something positive that they do not want to repeat however. One of the reasons for this reluctance to leave again could most probably be found in the concept of belonging. While for some home was connected to the place of origin, for others it could (at least in theory) be anywhere as long as there is a feeling of being at ease. Whatever the case, they all wanted to be part of a community as suggested by Anthias (2008: 8) and not feeling like a foreigner which, for almost all the participants for this study, meant that future mobility was at most a fancy illusion and more often a dreadful idea, making mobility a one-time event.

9 Mobility – blessing or curse? A concluding discussion

The aim of this master thesis has been to investigate how mobility is perceived by young adults from Spain who have moved to Great Britain and back. By talking to 15 young people from all over the country, I hoped to get a picture of how they understand their mobility experiences and whether they have perceived their movements as choice or necessity. The theoretical framework for this study has been the new mobilities paradigm by Sheller and Urry (2006), especially in contrast to the more often used notion of migration. By using the transformation from youth to adulthood as a lens, the focus has been on a specific sample group. I wanted to discover what personal changes the young people from Spain I talked to have gone through. The purpose of this chapter is to synthesise and discuss the findings of this study and put it into perspective.

9.1. Talking about mobility

This study is based on qualitative interviews I conducted with young people between the age of 22 and 32 who have a university degree and come from different parts of Spain. The analysis of their statements revealed three discourse threads that are linked to the research question of this thesis of how young adults from Spain, who went to Great Britain and back, perceive mobility. The first discourse thread which could be identified is that the interviewees see mobility as an escape – either from difficult economic conditions and unemployment or from feeling lost or dependent on their parents. Their conception of emigration as a necessity was coupled to the hope that their time abroad would help them for a better future upon return, whereby the plan to only go temporary was an important aspect of their mobility experience.

A second discourse thread uncovers how the young people from Spain I talked to perceive mobility as something everyone should experience at least once in life. The two main reasons for this promotion of mobility are the confrontation with difference and the enhancement of one's personality. Especially becoming more open-minded, empathetic, mature, independent, and better in dealing with problems are factors that are mentioned by the participants. Even though they see their mobility as an obligation and – in many cases – a difficult experience, they agree upon the fact that going to live abroad for some time is something vital for everyone.

A detailed analysis of the data revealed a third discourse thread which indicated that the majority of the interviewees see mobility as a one-time event. While some openly discard future mobility, others are less opposed to the idea of moving abroad again if such a move offers tremendous opportunities. However, except for one interviewee, even the ones who theoretically are open towards future mobility do not actively look for work abroad. Only if there are no constraints holding them back and only if such a move is short-term, they might consider moving again. This turns future mobility into a rather unrealistic prospect and an illusion. The reluctance to move abroad again seems to be coupled to a feeling of belonging to the origins. Those who do not want to become mobile again mention the strongest attachment to their home and to Spain. The ones who hypothetically are not opposed to moving abroad a second

time have less place-fixed conceptions of home, even though they are – at the time – not planning to leave again.

These three discourse threads partly answer the research question of this master thesis of how young people from Spain, who have moved to Great Britain and back, perceive mobility. I say partly because there are many other aspects that could be taken into account, since the mobilities discourse is very complex and composed of uncountable images and varying understandings. Nonetheless, the three discourse threads revealed in this study give promising insights into the perceptions young people from Spain have of mobility. In short, they see mobility as an escape, as something everyone should experience at least once in life, but as a one-time event for themselves.

9.2. Turning away from hyper-mobility

In the last decade, thousands of articles and books covering the topic of mobilities have been published. The question is, where are the findings of this thesis situated in this research field? The reasons for emigration in the case of young people from Spain is not a new area of research. And while others have found that many leave the country either because of the crisis, because of a wish to experience something new, or to become independent (e.g. Domínguez-Mujica, Díaz-Hernández, and Parreño-Castellano, 2017; Pumares and Gónzales Martín, 2016), using the term "escape" to describe the perception of mobility offers new viewpoints. I chose this negatively connotated term deliberately to highlight the fact that the young people interviewed for this study were not satisfied with the economic or their personal situation in Spain and went abroad in search of better opportunities and not – as often suggested by the media and the government – to go on an adventure. This finding corresponds with the argument of O'Reilly and Benson (2015) who also point out that young emigrants often move away from something negative towards a more meaningful way of life. It emphasises the connection between mobilities and escape. The interviewees did not feel acknowledged in Spain, but often overqualified. Particularly the findings about escaping for personal reasons – which are often closely linked to the economic situation – such as the longing to become autonomous, because of feeling lost, or to get away from the well-known surroundings offer new insights into the mobilities debate as it has been sparse on the scientific agenda so far.

Many of the interviewees mention the intention to return after the experience in Great Britain as an important aspect of their experience. Studies so far have been inconclusive about the matter of intended return. On the one hand, Richter (2011) or Pumares (2017) suggest that many emigrants have a short-time mobility in mind and leave to do something useful during economically difficult times. On the other hand, this pull towards home contrasts strongly with much literature about the Spanish emigration where it is often suggested that returning is not considered to be an option (e.g. Bygnes and Erdal, 2017; Domínguez-Mujica, Díaz-Hernández, and Parreño-Castellano, 2016). The findings of this research project agree with the former suggestions. In fact, many of the participants for this study mentioned being pulled by the origins or being drawn towards home, even the ones who did not have a time limit when they

left Spain. It has to be mentioned, however, that these results emerged most probably because I only talked to people who have returned and not to the ones who still live abroad. Of the ones I talked to, some arguably see their return as a failure where the goals abroad were not reached. Others perceive their return as the logical outcome when targets were met (see Cassarino, 2004) or sometimes return itself was the goal which they wanted to achieve. Whatever the case, return has not been studied much in the context of intra-European mobility and this first discourse thread sheds light on the conjunction between mobility and return.

The second discourse thread which was defined for this study is about how the interviewees see mobility as something everyone should do at least once in life. It unveils the benefits of mobility as apprehended by the participants for this thesis. There have been various studies on the positive aspects of international mobility. Zimmermann and Neyer (2013) and Montanari and Staniscia (2017) suggest that through mobility people can gain new experiences, explore the world, acquire new skills, mature as a person, become less anxious, and boost one's career. Particularly the findings by Hauvette (2010) were inspiring for this study. She mentions confrontation with difference and personal growth as the two main positive aspects of mobility. These are also the two aspects that, according to the interviewees, are the most beneficial ones. In general, there is an abundance of research on the benefits of mobility, agreeing with the benefits mentioned by the participants for the thesis which extends and refines the existing studies.

The third and last discourse thread revealed that most of the interviewees perceive mobility as a one-time event, unless a tremendous opportunity is offered to them. This is a finding that contrasts with most previous research on the matter. Pessoa (2010) suggests that returnees do often not see their return as final but as a stop-over, Constant and Zimmermann (2011: 498) point out that once a person has moved to another country, that person is more prone to move again, and Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark (2015: 159) argue that mobility is not about return but about an intention to keep on moving. Furthermore, the study by Bygnes and Erdal (2017) shows how many of the Spanish interviewees in their projects see return as "out of the question" and Domínguez-Mujica, Díaz-Hernández, and Parreño-Castellano (2016) point out how the majority of the participants from Spain consider a return to Spain unlikely. Bearing in mind that all the participants in this study were returnees, the findings do correspond with the study by Pumares and Gónzales Martín (2016) who found that another experience abroad is often only a possibility if there is a chance to grow professionally. Many of their participants – very similar to mine – would only consider moving again if there is no other option, mostly because they want to stay with their family. In other words, perceiving mobility as a one-time event is an unusual result which offers new understandings of the mobilities concept.

This reluctance for future mobility seems to be connected to a feeling of belonging. For many of the interviewees, going back to Spain was returning to the origins. This goes in line with the study by Butcher (2010) who points out that a sense of belonging might be increased through a mobility experience. It is inconsistent with findings by Marcu (2014) or Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark (2015) who argue that through mobility second homes can emerge, whereby the

country of origin loses some of its central meaning. Moreover, the participants in this study do not coincide with Favell's Eurostars. While Favell's interviewees see Europe as their home, whereby the country or city does not matter, the young people I talked to do not want to move again because of their sense of belonging to Spain or their city. In other words, this master thesis shows inconsistency with the research on hyper-mobility and Favell's Eurostars. Except for one interviewee, the mobility experience is perceived as something positive which hopefully does not have to be repeated.

9.3. The dichotomy of choice and necessity – the distribution of power

I had expected to find that many of the interviewees had left Spain because of the economic situation in the country and it did not surprise me that another reason for leaving was a wish to experience something new or to become independent. The praise and promotion of mobility was also unsurprising even though I did not expect so much unison on the matter. However, it was completely unexpected that the majority of the interviewees did not consider re-emigration. And while all three discourse threads give interesting insights – either agreeing, conflicting, or extending previous findings – it is particularly the connection between these three discourse threads which is auspicious. Originally, they did not want to leave Spain but did not see other options. Their movement was perceived as an obligation and a necessity which was planned to be short-termed. Nonetheless, the participants for this study praise the confrontation with difference and the personal growth, arguing that everyone should have a mobility experience at least once in life. In spite of this – and this is the most astonishing part – they themselves do not want to move again. For them, mobility was a one-time event which they do not want to repeat. Therefore, I argue that the three discourse threads are intertwined with each other and at the same time antithetic. This indicates that they are part of a much bigger discourse which compromises different approaches.

The mentioned three discourse threads are the main findings of this thesis, the answers to the research question. Nonetheless, the secondary findings are even more startling, connecting the three main results in a larger discourse about mobility. Overall, the results of this study confirm that the public discourse praises mobility as something positive and worth experiencing. An internship or a year with the Erasmus program abroad can help to get a job. If you tell someone about a workshop or a language stay in another country, it is always received favourably. According to the media and the government in Spain (see Cogo and Oliviera, 2017; Díaz-Hernández and Parreño-Castellano, 2017), mobility is "an adventure" and "a cause for optimism". Therefore, I argue that it is a taken for granted truth that moving within the European Union is something beneficial which makes you more open-minded and independent. In other words, talking about mobility in a positive way is "sayable" while negative comments remain largely "unsayable" (Jäger and Jäger 2007: 26).

The conversations I had with the young people from Spain revealed this divergence between the "accepted truth" of mobility as a choice and chance to improve and an "alternative truth" of mobility as a necessity and obligation which hopefully does not have to be repeated. When

asking the participants of this study about their opinion on "the adventurous spirit" that entices young people to go abroad, the answers are homogenous. They see an adventure as something positive and voluntary – something that clearly does not coincide with their mobility experiences. There is a discrepancy between the public discourse and the perception of the young people who did not see another choice but to leave. Moreover, it is not just mobility itself that is highly praised in society but also the mobile subjects themselves. The majority of the interviewees fluctuate between these different truths. On the one hand, they want to be seen – by society as well as by themselves – as open-minded, mature beings who have grown through their mobility experience. On the other hand, most of them felt pushed away by the country and they struggled abroad. As a result, I argue that some of the interviewees have highly ambivalent feelings towards mobility.

This divergence between the two poles became evident in various instances during the analysis. For example, confrontation with difference is generally perceived as something positive by the interviewees. However, foreign perspectives and life-styles are in part rejected by the majority of the participants. In other words, while the interviewees promote mobility and the benefits of confrontation with difference they themselves have kept a lot of their prejudices, preferring their own way of doing things. In another instance, it was found that the interviewees mention the benefits of learning how to deal with difficulties. This might be another indication of this discrepancy between choice and coercion, adventure and obligation. They talk positively about mobility by mentioning how difficult many things were. And while learning how to manage problems is something vital in life, the experience itself is often described as a rather unpleasant one by the interviewees. These two different "truths" also clash when the interviewees talk about their perceptions of home. While on the one hand, some of them presented themselves as completely detached from their origins, arguing that theoretically home could be anywhere, on the other hand, they mention the connection to the place they are from. Because in our society mobility is perceived as something worth experiencing, the participants for this study want to be apprehended as open-minded mobile subjects. However, at the same time they are attached to their roots.

Because some of the interviewees seem to withhold their more negative perceptions of mobility, I argue that there are unequal power relations between the public and the young people from Spain I talked to. As stated by Cresswell (2010: 20), mobility is always political and embedded in the production of power and relations of domination. The state and the media trivialise the exodus of the young, belittling the force of the resignation the emigrants feel. It could even be argued that the media and the governments use a "nice headline", beautiful images, and placating numbers as political weapons to steer the opinion of the public about mobility. As a consequence, mobility has become the norm, denigrating immobility and those not willing to move somewhere else. Putting it differently, how mobility is represented is highly relevant. It can express chance or coercion, adventure or obligation, curse or blessing. However mobility is perceived, fact seems to be that the official discourse differs from the personal stories of the interviewees. Even though they do perceive mobility to be beneficial, they also see it as a necessity. On the choice-coercion scale they would put themselves at the coercion end. They are

not hyper-mobile, roaming from one city to the next. On the contrary, they felt forced to leave and now that they are back, they do not want to become mobile again. It could almost be argued that the young people I talked to are legal "intra-European refugees" which gives the chosen word of "escape" a slightly different, more extreme meaning.

9.4. The question of nationality, belonging and youth

In scientific studies, the researcher should always be careful not to naturalise nation states because they are constructed through power relations. However, for the interviewees, their nationality seems to be an important part of their self-understanding. They talk about "traditions", "roots", and "origins" as fixed aspects of themselves. While the researcher should be careful not to fall into the trap of methodological nationalism, the participants perceive themselves as Spanish, making a clear distinction between "them" and "us". This distinction is a key factor of belonging, whereby some are included in a group while others are excluded. This differentiation is clearly mentioned by many of the interviewees. Even though they argue that they have diminished their prejudices, it seems to be very hard for them to tear down the borders in their minds, making a clear distinction between "the English" who – according to the participants – cannot cook, are racist, distant, and less open-minded, and "the Spanish" who are sociable, agreeable, and familiar. Put differently, the interviewees promote confrontation with difference but still consider their own way of doing things to be better and – more importantly – very different from the English way. This goes in line with a study by Strüver (2005). She argues that imagined doors between groups, in this case nationalities, often remain closed. According to her, prejudices are thresholds in people's minds which are hard to burst (ibid.: 338). While I tried to evade focusing on their nationality, the interviewees emphasise its relevance, especially in the connection to their return and their sense of belonging. However, it must be considered that their understanding of "feeling Spanish" might be more an affiliation to their cities or provinces than to Spain as a country. It could also be connected to the concept of familism as suggested by Moreno (2012). Nonetheless, local belonging and familism can only partly explain the interviewees descriptions of "being from Spain" or "feeling Spanish" because, while international mobility was out of the question, moving within the country was not considered to be a problem by many of the participants for this study. Therefore, I argue that the interviewees make their nationality relevant by contrasting it to the English way of life and by connecting it to a feeling of belonging to their city or their country of origin.

The other category which is fascinating in the analysis of the interviews is the transition from youth to adulthood. Many mention never having lived apart from their families before their mobility experience and that they had hoped to become more independent by moving away. Some of the interviewees point out that leaving is better when still young, no longer an adolescent but not yet fully an adult. In other words, they perceive mobility as a step towards adulthood through which many became indeed less dependent and better able to fend for themselves. According to recent research, the transition to adulthood implies exactly such an establishment of a self-confident and autonomous personality (Geisen, 2017: 17). It could

therefore be argued that many of the participants for this study are "drifters" (Trevena, 2013) or "searchers" (Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2007) who left without clear plans for the future and who – through their mobility – wanted to make the transition from youth to adulthood. Regarding this aspect, it cannot be excluded that their reluctance for future mobility is connected to their age. When they left to the United Kingdom they were exactly in this in-between phase, no longer adolescents, not yet adults. Now many of them are around 30 years old and have gained the independence and self-confidence they had been looking for. And while mobility is by no means experienced just by the young, the numbers indicate that youth and mobility indeed are connected. I therefore argue that youth is an appropriate category to use when looking at mobility in Europe and that in fact, it is an important indicator for the probability of such a mobility experience.

9.5. Mobility redefined?

The new mobilities paradigm had the aim of distancing itself from the more place-fixed migration term. While migration is about people who move across national or regional borders from one place to another, mobilities include every form of movement, from the small-scale body movements to large-scale migration to imaginary travel. Such a broad understanding of a term has its drawbacks. As Adey (2008) argues: "If mobility is everything, then it is nothing." King et al. (2016) also mention the questionability of using a term for every form of movement. Different researchers use different definitions to describe mobilities, making it difficult to pin down what mobility actually means. The intricacy in understanding what mobility compromises became clear when the interviewees talked about movement in the future. If they comprehend mobility as every form of movement – and particularly as tourism – future mobility is desirable. However, if mobility is understood as intra-European migration (e.g. Recchi, 2015; Ritzen, Kahanec and Haas, 2017) it is not an option for the majority of the interviewees.

Mobilities research has tried to distance itself from migration studies which was arguably more about places than about movement (see Cresswell, 2010). This master thesis unveils the fact that places still are relevant in the mobility experiences of young people from Spain. If mobility is no longer about places, why do the mobile subjects stop at specific locations, making their local or national belonging relevant? Consequently, I argue that mobility is still about places and all that is associated with them. Therefore, mobility as intra-European migration is not just about movement but also about the specific places that are connected through such mobility patterns.

Varying understandings of the mobility term and the complications of separating them from the notion of migration show the problematic nature of using a concept which includes every possible form of movement. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind the warning by Adey (2006). He states that academic scholarship should be aware of the relations and differences between movements. According to him, by using the term for all different forms of movement, there might be a tendency for mobility to become everything, spreading through academic disciplines (ibid.: 91). He therefore suggests that if scientists fail to examine the differences

and relations between mobilities, there is the possibility that the world is mobilised into a transient homogeneity (ibid.). In other words, mobility is at the same time a part of migration studies as it embeds it. It is at the same time more and less than migration. In spite, or maybe because of this, mobilities research has increased rapidly in the last decade. It could be argued that the popularity of the term comes from the fact that it is much less clearly defined than the migration term which is often negatively connotated. Maybe the mobilities term is used to abscond from the whole migration discourse? Whatever the case, I agree with the argument that the distinction between mobilities and migration is problematic.

I therefore suggest that the clear demarcation between migration and mobilities as it is imposed by many mobilities scientists blurs, particularly when mobility is understood as intra-European migration. It is without doubt useful to focus on different aspects of movement, considering different meanings that can be ascribed to it, and putting it in contrast to stillness, "moorings", or immobility. Nonetheless, in many instances, the raw material of migration and mobilities is the same. By using a new term, a new mobilities paradigm, scientists tried to become more precise, including all forms of movement within one notion. The question is, can more precision be achieved through changing a term? When looking at definitions, is mobility understood as intra-European movement and migration from outside of Europe not the same? In the case of my interviewees, migration and mobility cannot clearly be differentiated. They could both be understood as cross-border movement from one place to another and back. Nonetheless, they understand mobility more broadly, including tourism and movement within the country. Therefore, it might make more sense to talk about "temporary migration" which does not presuppose that the emigrants have no intention to return. Another possibility would be to simply use the term "intra-European migration" to indicate which form of movement is meant. Whatever term is used, my research suggests that the blurring between migration and mobilities, as well as the tendency of mobilities research to include every form of movement, makes the usage of the mobilities term problematic.

9.6. Significance, Limitations and Outlook

The findings in this this master thesis offer interesting insights into the mobilities debate. Instead of focussing on the reasons for movement, the mobility experience as a whole was at the centre of attraction. The results help to close the research gap of how young people from Spain experience mobility by analysing personal experiences instead of quantitative questionnaires, looking at the recent emigration since 2008. The results can be useful to better understand mobility patterns in the European Union and to start seeing mobility not only as a positive adventure but also as an obligation. The findings show that mobility is often perceived much more sceptically by the interviewees than often presumed when believing the public discourse. We have to bear in mind, however, that the resignation towards mobility and reluctance for future moves stems from a specific group of interviewees.

Perspectives on a topic – in this case mobility – always have to be apprehended in their specific context. The participants for this research study are all young, they have all graduated from

university, and most importantly, they all returned from their stay abroad. And even though the typical emigrant from Spain is young and highly qualified, there are others who are older or who do not have a university degree and are therefore not represented in this thesis. More importantly, the findings in this study can only be applied to people who have returned. A huge difference is to be expected when talking to people who have stayed abroad. The answers of those who are still there, those who have moved on and those who have returned most probably give very diverging insights into the mobility debate. If one wants to have a more thorough understanding of the Spanish emigration of the young, those who still are abroad need to be taken into account as well. On top of this, the findings of this master thesis cannot be applied to young people in general. The economic situation in Spain and concepts such as familism makes results specific for the Spanish context.

This study analyses the perceptions young people from Spain, who have moved to the UK and back, have about mobility. Thereby it reveals the discrepancy between the public discourse of mobility as something positive and mobility as an obligation. From the conversations I had with the participants emerged many more aspects which would have been interesting to pursue but which were not possible to explore in the scope of this thesis. Future research could, for example, investigate how the changing dynamics towards European freedom of movement, and the Brexit in particular, influenced return decisions. After all, some of the interviewees mentioned the Brexit and their sentiments about it even though it was not possible to detect a full discourse thread. For future research, it would therefore be fascinating to focus on the connection between Great Britain's exit from the European Union and the return of the Spanish (or maybe Polish) people who had gone to live there. It would be interesting to connect it to the discourse about a faltering Europe.

Moreover, future studies on people who are still in the United Kingdom could offer insights in how their perceptions of mobility differ from the ones by my interviewees. A study which includes the opinions of those who have returned as well as of those who still are abroad would give a much broader insight into the mobilities discourse, making it possible to make much more general assertions about the perceptions of mobility.

There is still much research to be done on the topic of intra-European migration. This thesis has given a brief insight into different conceptions of mobility, showing a wide discourse, which still needs much exploring. Nonetheless, the findings in this master thesis provide interesting knowledge to build upon, suggesting answers to the question how young people from Spain, who have gone to Great Britain and back, perceive mobility.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Interview Guide Spanish

Como ya sabes, estoy interesada en adultos jóvenes que vivieron fuera de España durante un tiempo. Por favor, cuéntame tu historia desde el principio cuando pensaste en ir al extranjero por primera vez hasta ahora.

Yendo al extranjero

- ¿Qué te hizo ir al extranjero?
- En aquél tiempo, ¿cuáles fueron tus planes para el futuro?
- ¿Cómo te sentiste cuando mudaste?
- ¿ Irse fuera se ha convertido en algo muy común para los jóvenes de España. Tú cuáles crees que son las razones por ese traslado?

Vivir en el extranjero

- ¿Por qué escogiste el Reino Unido como tu destino?
- ¿Cómo experimentaste tu tiempo en el extranjero?
- ¿En qué sentidos te sentiste perteneciente al lugar?
- ¿Qué significaron otras personas de España para ti durante tu tiempo en el Reino Unido?

Retornar

- ¿Qué te hizo retornar a España?
- ¿Qué sentiste cuando volviste a España?
- ¿Cómo pasaste el tiempo después de volver?
- Después de retornar, ¿en qué sentidos te sentiste perteneciente a tus orígenes?
- En los últimos años mucha gente ha vuelto a España. En tu opinión, ¿cuáles son las razones?

Movilidad

- ¿Qué asocias con el término “movilidad”?
- ¿En qué sentido has cambiado tú desde que te convertiste en una persona móvil?
- ¿Qué han sido los beneficios de tu movilidad?
- ¿Qué han sido los aspectos negativos de tu movilidad?
- ¿Cómo definirías “migración”?
- ¿En qué sentidos te ves como un migrante?

Pertenencia

- ¿Cómo definirías “hogar”?
- ¿Dónde te sientes en casa?
- ¿En qué sentido te identificas con los lugares donde has vivido?

Futuro

- ¿Cómo imaginas tu futuro acerca de movilidad?
- Hay gente que asevera que el movimiento libre de personas en la UE no va a existir mucho más tiempo. ¿Qué opinas tú?
- Si eso pasa, ¿cómo te influenciaría a ti?

Appendix B: Interview Guide English

I am interested in young people who spent time abroad. Please tell me your story from the very beginning when you first though about going abroad until today.

Going abroad:

- What led you to going abroad?
- What were your plans for the future at that time?
- How did you feel when you moved?
- It has become quite common for young people in Spain to be mobile. What do you think are the reasons for this?

Living abroad:

- How come you chose the UK as your destination?
- How did you experience your time abroad?
- In what ways did you feel you belonged in the UK?
- What did other people from Spain mean to you during your time in Great Britain?

Returning

- What led you to come back?
- How did you feel when you moved back?
- How did you experience the time after returning?
- After returning to Spain, in what ways did you feel you belonged?
- Quite a few people move back these days. What do you think are the reasons for this?

Mobility

- What do you associate with the term mobilities?
- In what ways have you changed since you became mobile?
- What have been the benefits of that mobility?
- What have been the downsides of being mobile?
- How would you define migration?
- In what ways do you see yourself as a migrant?

Belonging

- How would you define home?
- Where is home for you?
- In what ways do you identify with the places you lived?

Future

- How do you picture your future with regards to mobility?
- There are people arguing that the free movement of persons in the EU will not exist much longer. What do you think about that?
- How would that influence you personally?

Appendix C: Original Spanish Version of the quotations

Page	Inter-viewee	Original Quotation
38, 39	Sergio	I: Irse fuera se ha convertido en algo muy común para los jóvenes de España. ¿Tú cuáles crees que son las razones para ese traslado? S: Creo que para muchas personas es la dificultad de encontrar un empleo digno. Cuando digo digno es... Tú has estudiado en la universidad. Tú has dedicado y has invertido tu tiempo y tu dinero en sacarte una titulación en formarte para conseguir un trabajo. Pero desgraciadamente, por la situación que tenemos a nivel político y a nivel económico en el país, las oportunidades de trabajo que hay... No están remuneradas o pagadas como a lo mejor deberían ser.
39	Juan	Da igual si he estudiado o no.
39	Jessica	Una de las razones es el ámbito laboral que ahora mismo... Provocado por la crisis o por algunos otros motivos, no hay oferta de trabajo. No hay oferta laboral para los jóvenes, y especialmente para los jóvenes que estamos bien formados, que tenemos una carrera, que tenemos estudios, porque nos consideran que estamos... Que tenemos demasiada titulación o demasiados estudios. Entonces nadie te quiere contratar, porque te tienen que pagar según el título que tu tengas. Por ejemplo, para trabajar en una guardería... Yo soy maestra. Me deben pagar como maestra, y eso a ellos nos les interesa, porque sale muchísimo más caro que pagar a una auxiliar, que es como una ayudante. Entonces no te sientes valorado.
39	Patricia	Las razones básicamente, en mi opinión, son que este pais lo está haciendo como el culo de mal con los jóvenes. Primero no nos da oportunidades. Y si nos dan la oportunidad, se nos dan bajo unas condiciones precarias. No hay trabajo. No hay incentivos. No hay estudios. Quedan como muy pocas opciones (...) Pero es un poco que te empuja este país, te empuja el gobierno, te empuja la situación. Te mueves de aquí porque aquí no hay nada.
39	Javier	El viaje es una necesidad porque no hay otra opción.
39	Juan	Pero cuando no tienes nada y te tienes que ir de forma obligada, como nos pasa a la moyoría de los casos, es una necesidad.
40	Javier	El espíritu aventurero es la necesidad. Y viajar a otro país por necesidad no es espíritu aventurero. Espíritu aventurero es: “Estoy muy a gusto en mi país, tengo trabajo, pero aun así me quiero ir a otro, porque quiero trabjar allí, quiero conocer a gente.” Pero si te vas a otro

		país porque en el tuyo no tienes trabajo, no puedes crecer profesionalmente... Eso no es espíritu aventurero.
40	Sergio	Eso es una manera de vender... Eso es como tapar los fallos que tienen ellos en cuanto a la organización del país y lo van vendiendo de una manera bonita. Lo van a poner un título muy bonito, un "headline", que dices: "Qué bonito! Es un espíritu aventurero! La gente necesita eso." ¿Por qué? Porque se están haciendo mal las cosas aquí. No hay oportunidades para trabajar. No es lo ideal. Desgraciadamente mucha gente tiene que salir.
40	Tara	"Bullshit." El espíritu aventurero de que hablan en las noticias... Porque vamos... Es que quieren disfrazarlo de espíritu aventurero lo que no es, porque no lo es. Al final es una obligación que tienes para poder sobrevivir. Sería genial que fuese espíritu aventurero, sería bonito decir: "Me voy porque quiero." Lo disfrutarías de otra manera. Es verdad que luego estás ahí y lo disfrutas en ciertos momentos. Pero al final el sentimiento que te queda es que "me voy porque me tengo que ir."
41	Leandro	Buscar una salida
41	Juan	Es una necesidad. A necesidad me refiero no porque "estoy pasando hambre y necesito comer". No. Necesidad en plan de "tengo que hacer algo con mi vida. Estoy sin hacer nada." Por eso se iba la gente, por no estar sin hacer nada. Yo conozco mucha gente que es en plan de "¿qué hago? ¿Sigo estudiando, gastándome dinero para no hacer nada? Porque no me van a contratar. Es que no tengo experiencia. Si no tengo experiencia, no me contratan." Aquí la pescadilla se muerde la cola. No se puede hacer una cosa sin la otra. ¿Así que hago? Me voy fuera.
41	Sandra	A mí lo que me da mucha rabia es que mucho es forzado. No es por "quiero conocer el mundo, aprender un idioma y regresar a casa." No! Es más "o me voy, o me tumbo en el sofá y no hago absolutamete nada."
42	Tara	I: Irse fuera se ha convertido en algo muy común para los jóvenes de España. ¿Tú cuáles crees que son las razones para ese traslado? T: Pues, las razones son obligación. Porque aquí en España es muy complicado encontrar trabajo. Tú terminas la carrera y no hay manera de... Vamos, puedes encontrar algún trabajo, pero normalmente es bastante lejos a algo parecido a lo que tú puedes tener en mente cuando haces una carrera. Entonces, ahora mismo las cosas están así. Se ha puesto muy complicado. Si no tienes inglés es imposible. Con lo cual la única opción que nos queda a los jóvenes es decir: "Bueno, pues por lo menos me voy, aprendo inglés y puedo tener la op-ción

		remota de encontar un buen trabajo aquí en España en un futuro."
42	Denna	A la vuelta siempre vamos a tener más oportunidades que otro que no sepa el idioma.
43	Jessica	Después de haber terminado la carrera y no poder encontrar un trabajo, decidí que quería estar algo más y quería cambiar de aires, necesitaba salir un poco de mi ciudad y quería mejorar mi inglés. (...) Estaba en un momento en el que no sabía que camino tomar, no sabía si seguir estudiando, si buscarme un trabajo en mi ciudad, si salirme fuera de mi ciudad, si probar suerte en otra parte de España o salir fuera al extranjero. Salir fuera no era mi primera opción tampoco. Era como la última solución. (...) La verdad que no lo llevé mal el estar separado de mi familia y de mis amigos al princi-pio, porque necesitaba un poco ese cambio. Nunca había salido de mi casa. Nunca había vivido fuera, ni había vivido sola. Necesitaba vivir esa experiencia.
43, 44	Mia	Acordé con mi jefe que no me renovase el contrato para poder acogerme al paro y ver qué hacía, porque estaba un poco perdida. Había terminado la carrera, estaba trabajando, pero me faltaban hacer otras cosas. Así que fui al paro y decidí irme. (...) Aquí tenía trabajo y todo, pero sentía que me faltaba esa experiencia que mucha gente si la tiene cuando estudian en la Universidad, se van de Erasmus, o van fuera aprendiendo el idioma y eso nunca lo había hecho. Me apetecía, aunque... Me apetecía tarde a lo mejor.
44	Sergio	Ya no soy tan dependiente.
44	Leandro	Viviendo fuera de casa... Te das cuenta de que eres capáz de manejarte solo.
44	Antonio	Ahora soy más independiente.
44	Tamara	I: Antes de irte a Belfast, que fue la primera vez que te fuiste durante más tiempo, ¿cuáles fueron tus planes para el futuro? T: La verdad estaba un poco perdida. Perdida en el sentido de que, claro, dentro de la veterinaria puedes escoger ser un veterinario de una clínica pequeña, o te puedes especializar. (...) En aquel entonces no tenía ni claro si quería realmente ser veterinaria. Por eso imagi-no que me gustaba irme a Inglaterra para ver otros mundos, por así decirlo, y decidir entonces que camino tomar.
44	Antonio	Quería desconectar un poco del trabajo que tenía aquí e ir a vivir una experiencia fuera de España.

44	Sergio	Necesitaba el cambio.
45	Denna	También es verdad que nosotros nos fuimos teniendo bastante claro que íbamos a volver. Entonces siempre tienes en la cabeza: "Bueno, es un periodo de tiempo. En un par de años volveremos." Entonces se nos hizo un poco mas fácil por eso. Porque sabíamos que íbamos a volver.
45	Leandro	Como te he dicho antes también, en mi cabeza siempre tuve la idea de volver. Para mí, irme a Inglaterra siem- pre fue algo temporal. De hecho yo hubiera estado meses, pero se lo convirtieron en casi cuatro años. Siem- pre mi objetivo estuvo el volver. Una vez que yo estuvie- se suelto con el idioma, que era mi principal objcetivo, quería volver a España, intentar encontrar un trabajo de mi profesión de maestro.
46	Patricia	Cuando me fui, tenía pensado que quizás dos años, un año y medio, pero las cosas fueron de otra manera y me he venido antes. Pero mi idea era irme un año, dos años, vivir una experiencia con la esperanza de mientras buscando aquí un trabajo o algo para volverme a mi casa, a mi país. Mi idea era irme un corto periodo de tiempo.
46	Juan	Pero te tira tu tierra, te tira la gente que es como tú.
46	Leandro	Es verdad que siempre realmente mi hogar real, mi mente, mi verdadero hogar es mi casa en mi ciudad.
46	Patricia	Creo que los orígenes tiran a la persona. Los orígenes son los orígenes pase lo que pase en la vida. Entonces volver a ellos, para mí ha sido alegría.
46	Jessica	No me sentía de allí. Tenía una habitación para vivir sí, pero sentía que no estaba en mi casa, que estaba de prestado, estaba un poco descolocada.
47	Sergio	Intenté conseguir ese trabajo y finalmente lo conseguí. Así que no hubo duda. No hubo duda, porque no estaba mal allí. Pero sí que ya no tenía la misma mentalidad tan abierta, que te comentaba que tenía al principio.
47	Sergio	Yo no me iba con una fecha límite. Me iba a vivir la experiencia y a ver cómo evolucionaba. En función de mi nivel como estuviera, ya decidiría si volver o no. O, incluso iba con la mente abierta, pensando que podría surgir allí algo y a lo mejor mi futuro no estaba en España, estaba más allá, en Inglaterra o a lo mejor en otro país del extranjero.
47	Juan	Sabía que eso no tenía futuro. La mayoría de la gente que estaba allí al final se vuelve. Están allí dos años, tres años. (...) Yo creo que a la mayoría de gente le pasa lo mismo que me pasó a mí. Estás trabajando de algo que no te

		gusta, sabiendo que tú, después de estudiar cinco, seis años una cosa para acabar trabajando de otra con un nivel muchísimo, muchísimo inferior. Al final eso repercute en tu estado de ánimo. Estás desanimado en plan de "Dios mío! Estoy haciendo un montonazo de bocadillos y soy ingeniero. (...) Y un día dices: "Mira, me voy y pruebo otra vez suerte en España." (...) Y muchas veces tengo la sensación de que perdí un año y medio de mi vida.
50	Tara	Los beneficios son muchos. Primero, la apertura de mente que tienes. Al final tú... Cuando estás en el mismo sitio toda tu vida, ves las cosas de una manera, porque la manera en la que las ves, es la que se viven en el sitio donde estás y punto. Por mucho que viajes para visitar ciudades o para visitar otros lugares, el meterte dentro de una ciudad nueva, meterte dentro de una comunidad diferente, te hace ver que a lo mejor tú no tienes razón. No que no tengas razón, pero que a lo mejor hay otros puntos de vista que también son tan válidos como el tuyo, ¿no?
51	Nora	Te hace más abierto con otra gente.
51	Nora	Probar esa experiencia y dar la oportunidad de conocer a gente que igual aquí en tu entorno no... Estás al final con la gente que conoces y no te abres al resto.
51	Manuel	Porque vivir fuera, conocer otras culturas, conocer otra gente siempre te enriquece. Siempre aprendes algo de todos los sitos por los que pases.
51	Tara	Es muy importante salir y conocer nuevas formas de vivir.
51	Sergio	La cultura inglesa es opuesta a la española. No es diferente. Es totalmente lo contrario en muchos aspectos. Entonces yo no me identifico. Tienen cosas mejores, tienen cosas peores, pero no es mi manera de ver las cosas, ni de hacerlas.
51	Javier	Los Ingleses no saben cocinar. Es que no saben cocinar nada!
51	Manuel	Hay cosas que los españoles lo hacemos mucho mejor. Somos más sociables que ellos, somos más abiertos.
51	Antonio	Son bastante racistas y no se quieren, desde mi punto de vista, mezclar mucho con gente que no sea inglesa o del Reino Unido.
52	Javier	Movilidad me ha servido para empatizar mucho más.
52	Mia	Te hace empatizar más con gente y a ser más abierto.

52	Ramona	Creo que es algo bueno, lo de la migración y de mobilities. Creo que es algo muy bueno para todo el mundo, porque yo creo que de esa forma entendemos mejor las diferentes culturas. Y ahora, en esta sociedad donde la xenofobia es a la orden del día, creo que es importante ser empáticos con otras culturas, con otros países. Y para ello es muy necesario conocer a esas culturas y a esas personas y la forma de ver el mundo de esos países. Si lo entendemos, creo que no tenemos miedo de que nos vengan a invadir o que vengan a quitar los trabajos o cosas así. Creo que es fundamental. Siempre recomiendo a todo el mundo que tienen que viajar, que tienen que conocer sitios y tener experiencias y pedir becas y Erasmus. Considero que es algo súper positivo que te abre mucho la mente y que te hace ser más empático con otros países, con personas de otras culturas.
53	Manuel	Todo el mundo me ha enseñado algo. Son cosas buenas por lo general. Siempre son cosas muy buenas... Y cómo actuar en ciertas circunstancias, cómo no actuar en otras circunstancias y cómo poder... Siempre cómo lle-gar a ser mejor persona. Todas las experiencias que he vivido fuera, han sido para poder para ser la persona que soy ahora.
53	Javier	Yo creo que me ha ayudado a ser mejor persona, a valorar las cosas de otro modo, a no tener prejuicios.
53	Sergio	En mentalidad, en valores. Creo que al aprender otro estilo de vida, otra manera de ver las cosas he mejorado. Me he quitado de la cabeza un montón de prejuicios. Un montón de prejuicios que puedes tener de otras culturas, de otra gente. Creo que se me han ido de la cabeza, la mayoría. (...) Mi autonomía como persona también ha cambiado bastante. Ya no soy tan dependiente a lo mejor, dependiente e inseguro. Era mucho más inseguro. Tenía que pensar mucho más las cosas. O a lo mejor esperar que alguien tomara las decisiones por mí. Al tener esa experiencia, creo que he mejorado bastante.
54	Leandro	Creo que haces cosas que nunca... O logras las cosas que nunca piensas que podrías lograr. Creo que adquirí más confianza, más madurez. El vivir fuera de casa... Porque yo antes nunca había vivido fuera de casa de mis padres... Te das cuenta de que - aunque eches de menos a tus padres, a tu familia - eres capaz de manejarte solo. Además te das cuenta de que tienes unas capacidades, aptitudes que parecen ocultas y que allí, a la fuerza a veces salen. Eso fue muy positivo para mí personalmente, mentalmente.
55	Tara	Yo siempre he sido bastante insegura, pero antes lo era mucho más. El mudarme fuera, sobre todo fuera de mi casa, fuera de mi ambiente, me ayudó mucho a desper-

		tar un poco, a saber también cómo actuar en ciertas situaciones, ¿no? A controlar un poquito más... A saber controlar diferentes situaciones, distintos problemas, saber por dónde tirar. Bueno, yéndote fuera siempre aprendes.
55	Denna	Me he cambiado. Es una experiencia que tienes más en la vida. Te espabila. Te hace madurar porque como tie-nes que pasar por ciertas experiencias y problemas que tienes que solucionar solo...
55	Jessica	Y creo que también maduré bastante como persona, ser más fuerte. Cuando tienes problemas en el trabajo o cuando tienes problemas de idioma, sabes buscar tus recursos y salir, sea como sea, y echarle ganas y coraje.
56	Mia	Creo que la experiencia así es algo que hay que hacer sí o sí. O sea, se lo recomiendo a todos. Aunque sea solo por Erasmus, es algo que hay que hacer.
56	Nora	Todo el mundo debería sacar ese espíritu aventurero y al menos probar a irse a otros sitios, al menos una vez en la vida. Es importante, es esencial, necesario.
57	Manuel	Todo el mundo tendría que vivir la experiencia de irte fuera. Todo el mundo tendría que saber lo que es irte a un sitio y no saber cómo hacer una llamada por teléfono para poder pagar el taxi. Todo el mundo tendría que saber moverse en otros sitios que están fuera de tu zona de confort. Si no te sabes mover fuera de tu zona de confort, vas a estar atascado para siempre.
57	Jessica	Aunque si no hubiera hecho falta salir por falta de trabajo, yo creo que todo el mundo debería hacerlo, debería salir fuera de su país, de su zona de confort y probar en otro sitio, que no sea su casa y probar esa experiencia y vivirla. (...) Animo a la gente a que pruebe, a que no tenga miedo a salir a otro país y a buscarse la vida, porque puede ser muy beneficioso. A lo mejor no, a lo mejor vives una mala experiencia. Pero hay que vivir malas experiencias para igualmente madurar y aprender de los errores y seguir luchando por lo que al final sueñes y lo que al final quieras hacer con tu futuro.
57	Sergio	Desgraciadamente mucha gente tiene que salir. Yo creo que es bueno. Yo creo que... Aunque hubiera esa oportunidad de trabajar y aunque fuera más sencillo conseguir trabajo aquí, yo recomiendo, y creo que es una experiencia vital, vivir fuera de tu país, vivir fuera de lo que tu conoces. Si que apoyo ese espíritu aventure-ro, sobre todo... Cuanto más joven, mejor. O sea, joven me refiero a una vez que eres adulto, pero dentro de esa juventud, para que tu mente se abra, se expanda, para

		que conozcas otro tipo de cosas y para que tus ideas cambien.
58	Tara	Pues, yo creo que es importante y se lo recomendaría a cualquier persona que me pregunte que saliese, que viese un poco el mundo, sea donde sea. Pero que salga de su entorno y su zona de confort para ver primero qué puedes llegar a hacer, qué puedes llegar a ser como persona. Al final siempre pensamos que lo nuestro es lo mejor. El salir fuera te puede hacer ver que sí, que lo tuyo es bueno, por supuesto, pero que hay otras cosas que también lo son. También te enriquece como perso-na. (...) Lo que puedes aprender fuera de España es diferente y es importante. A pesar de mis malas expe-riencias, de decir que no volvería a irme, que no lo haría, no me arrepiento para nada de haberme ido. Creo que todo el mundo debería hacerlo. Pero ojalá aquí eso sea voluntaría y sea con ese espíritu aventurero que hablamos antes, no por obligación.
59	Denna	Ya no me quiero mover. Ya no quiero irme de España. Ahora ya no. Me quiero quedar aquí. No quiero volver a irme fuera. No sé. Ahora no me apetece. No quiero. Quiero estar aquí, cerca de los míos. No quiero echar de menos esto. No sé. Es que soy familiar. Quiero estar cerca de los míos. Quiero vivir una vida tranquila. No quiero moverme fuera otra vez. No me gusta.
60	Sergio	Si todo va bien, mi movilidad será de turismo solamente. Si todo va bien, creo que mi futuro está aquí. Seguiré intentando crecer como persona, pero sin tener esa necesidad de salir de aquí, sin salir de mi ciudad en cuanto a vivir.
60	Tara	Si movilidad es lo que yo he definido antes como viajar muchísimo, pues espero que sea móvil. Pero no para quedarme a vivir en otro sitio, sino para viajar, explorar el mundo. Pero viajecitos cortos o bueno, largos, pero viajes. Al final vacaciones no... Ojalá no tenga que volver a mudarme por trabajo o por obligación la verdad.
61	Leandro	No creo que vuelva... Bueno, nunca digas nunca, pero no creo que vuelva a tener otra experiencia como esta, al menos que dure tanto. No creo que vuelva a viajar a otro país para quedarme durante años. Considero que es una experiencia muy positiva, pero es verdad también que para mi fue muy dura. Entonces, mi objetivo ahora está aquí en mi ciudad. Me gustaría, si tengo que moverme, que sea por disfrutar, por viajar y por ver el mundo, más que por quedar a vivirme en otro lugar.
61	Mia	Mi trabajo tenía opción de poder trasladarme a Sudamé-rica. Y no sería volver empezar lo que fuese, si no irme con un trabajo guay. Lo pensé, pero luego, por temas más

		familiares, no lo hice. Y ahora ya llevo tiempo que no me apetece. Me apetece viajar un montón, pero ahora mismo no me apetece volver a irme a otro lado, incluso con trabajo guay.
62	Antonio	I: ¿Cómo imaginas tu futuro acerca de movilidad? A: Espero que mi mujer aprueba sus oposiciones y nos mudemos a un sitio diferente de España y allí nos quedemos. I: ¿Entonces lo importante es quedaros en España? A: Como acá no hay ningún lado, sí.
62	Patricia	P: Estoy haciendo muchas cosas para intentar quedarme aquí en casa, en España y tal. Pero tengo una pequeña parte en mi corazón que me dice: "Tienes que volver. Aquí la situación no va a cambiar y tienes que volver. I: ¿Pero si encuentras un trabajo aquí en España, te quedas? P: Hombre. Pues claro. Si encuentro un trabajo en España que me da condiciones o características que me gusten y tal, sí.
62	Juan	Si me tuviese que desplazar, mover, emigrar, ya no sería un golpe tan drástico, ¿sabes? Ya sé lo que tengo y lo que me espera. Ahora si me voy no va a ser para trabajar de fragar platos. Ahora si me voy es para trabajar de ingeniero, sino, no me voy. Quiero sentirme a gusto, quiero sentirme realizado por lo que hago.
63	Tamara	Si viese que las condiciones no funcionan, que realmente encuentro mejores condiciones en otro lugar, a lo mejor en la costa de Inglaterra, pues, me volvería a ir en este aspecto. No hay ningún problema. Siempre busco aquel lugar, en el que me sienta bien, feliz y que pueda aprovechar el tiempo.
63	Sandra	O sea, me gustaría moverme. Pero no lo voy a hacer si no es por una oportunidad tremenda y a corto plazo.
63, 64	Manuel	Hubo un momento en el que pensé en coger la maleta e irme a otro sitio, a otro país - Inglaterra, Alemania, Suiza o Tombuctú. Me daba igual. Pero al final empecé a estudiar aquí, empecé a volver a realizar cosas que siempre he querido hacer – un curso de fotografía, el máster de diseño gráfico... Y conocí a mi pareja actual y empecé a trabajar. Y ya no veía la necesidad de irme. Ahora si me ofrecen un trabajo fuera, lo cogería. Pero ya lo cogería con muchas más condiciones.
64	Manuel	Bueno... Cuando encuentre una estabilidad económica, personal, laboral, allí es donde estaré. Como he dicho

		antes, si dentro de una semana me ofrecen un trabajo en Tombuctú y veo que es factible, me voy. Si me tengo que mover, me muevo. No tengo ningún problema. Si me ofrecen o si no... De momento estoy muy bien como estoy. Pero si me tuviera que mover, yo no tendría un problema. Sería migrante, movilizador, moviente o como lo quieras llamar (...) Yo ya pensaría en términos económicos. Si la oferta sale rentable, me voy. No tendría ningún problema. Si no, pues sigo como estoy.
65	Javier	Y el día de mañana, si me ofrecen mejorar, por supuesto estaría abierto a ello, siempre que me ofrezcan unas condiciones. Sería totalmente diferente a como fue la anterior vez. Cualquier cosa que me hubieran ofrecido en Londres, hubiera sido buena. Ahora ya sería a condi-ción de si me ofrecen algo que realmente merezca la pena, iré. La verdad que, en ese aspecto, si que sería más lo que me habías comentado anteriormente, por espíri-tu aventurero. Sería una vez que ya tienes tu lugar específico de "Oye, tengo mi casa, tengo una casa que me está esperando, pero quiero crecer profesionalmente en o-tro sitio.
65	Ramona	Me puedo imaginar irme a otro país en el futuro. De hecho estoy planeando... Cuando ya pase mi periodo de pruebas como profesora titulada aquí en España, puedo pedirme una excedencia. No sé si eres familiar con el término, pero es como un año sabático entre comillas, que te dejan para irte a dar clases a un país extranjero o a otra parte de España.
66	Jessica	Quiero seguir trabajando en mi negocio y seguir creciendo. (...) Pero es verdad que me gustaría probar a vivir en otro sitio. No sé si por tres años, a lo mejor para un periodo de tiempo más corto. Pero es verdad que me gustaría conocer otro sitio y conocer otras culturas y otras maneras de vivir. Creo que ayudaría mucho a mi persona para crecer, para seguir creciendo.
67	Sergio	En muchos. (...) Me siento perteneciente al fin y al cabo... Es que era volver a los orígenes. Ya no era simplemente a España. Era volver a la ciudad en la que me he criado desde pequeño. (...) Esa cultura, esa manera de vivir que hay aquí, me hace sentir en mi hogar, en mi casa. Lo valoro. Me gusta mucho.
67	Denna	Tu conoces esto, tus tradiciones son estas, tu gente está aquí, y las raíces son las raíces. Nunca creo que te dejas de sentir español.
67	Antonio	Así que te respetan pero es como si siempre tuvieran en la mente que tú eres el extranjero.

68	Tara	Pues todo. Al final el único refugio que tenía entonces era eso, las otras personas españolas. Al final hicimos nuestro grupito, nos juntábamos para comer, para hacer barbacoa, para salir, para todo. Porque al final eso, tu vas con la mente abierta, por lo menos yo iba con la mente abierta de decir "no me quiero juntar con españo-les, porque quiero aprender inglés." Pero una vez que estas allí, te tira esa forma de ser española. Entonces, al final terminas en un círculo con gente española porque nos gustan las mismas cosas, tenemos las mismas mane- ras de ver todo, de actuar, de pensar.
68	Leandro	Ya pensamos que nuestro objetivo ahí, lo habíamos cumplido, habíamos llegado a nuestro tope y decidimos pensar en volver a casa. Porque siempre es verdad que echas de menos a la familia, que echas de menos a tus amigos, que echas de menos tu cultura también.
68	Juan	Me siento muy apegado a mi tierra, a España, a Extrema-dura, a Mérida. No es algo que llegas a perder para luego volver a recuperarlo. Hogar es donde esté mi familia y donde esté a gusto. Quizás por eso nunca llegué a consi-derar mi hogar aquello.
69	Nora	Yo creo que antes de irme a Inglaterra, yo siempre asociaría hogar con el sitio donde has nacido. Pero después de mi experiencia en Inglaterra, yo allí sentí que era mi hogar, sentí que la gente de mi alrededor era gente con la que yo me encontraba muy a gusto. Enton-ces, yo al final considero que tengo ahora mismo dos hogares.
69	Nora	Ahora no tengo en mente volver a irme.
69	Tamara	Me siento más como en casa o mejor acogida o menos diferente cuando estoy en el extranjero, cuando estoy en Inglaterra, por ejemplo, que cuando estoy en Barce-lona. El hecho de ser mulata, imagino que es lo que me hace tener este "handicap", porque realmente la gente de aquí siempre me pregunta: "¿De dónde eres?" (...) Pero después hay momentos, en los que realmente te ves solo, te ves bastante solo. Y aunque conoces a gente del nuevo país, no es lo mismo. No son tus amistades de toda la vida, no son tus padres, no son tus hermanos.
70	Manuel	Yo creo que el hogar es donde haces tu vida cotidiana. Te vas a trabajar, sales, tienes tu pareja, tienes tu ani- mal... Desde mi punto de vista, yo creo que hogar es... No puedes decir que tu hogar está... Si vives fuera no pue-des decir que tu hogar es España. No. Tu hogar es donde pagas tus facturas, donde trabajas, donde tienes tu vida.
70	Manuel	Cuando estuve en Inglaterra, las dos veces, ese era mi hogar. ¿Me volví a España? Pues, mi hogar cambió. Lo que sigue siendo el núcleo duro de mis relaciones y mi familia

		y mi todo, está en España. Pero yo me venía a España. Yo no venía... Mis vacaciones no eran irme de fiesta o irme a visitar cosas o irme a playas. Mis vaca- ciones eran ir a ver a mi familia, ir a ver a mis amigos, pasar tiempo con ellos, disfrutar. En el momento en el que podía elegir entre comillas, yo me sentía siempre... Me sentía hogareño. Cuando venía de vacaciones a España estaba en mi hogar, porque yo sabía que mis cosas las tenía aquí, mi familia, mis amigos, mi vida.
71	Ramona	Hogar... Pues yo definiría hogar como el sitio, donde al final del día quieres llegar, ponerte cómoda y disfrutar de los pequeños placeres de la vida. Da igual donde sea. Da igual que sea en tu casa, en el sitio de origen, o fuera. En mi caso me siento cómoda y puedo estar relajada totalmente. Yo no tengo un apego a mi hogar de España grande ni nada. Yo era de donde iba, yo hacía de ese sitio mi hogar como podía.

Appendix D: Personal declaration

I hereby declare that the submitted thesis is the result of my own, independent work. All external sources are explicitly acknowledged in the thesis.

Zürich, 25. September 2017

Selina Herzog