



Return and Development

**Increasing the developmental impact of return migration in
South Serbia**

**UN Joint Programme
Peacebuilding and Inclusive Local Development (PBILD)**

Manuela Ernst, M.A.
ernst_manuela@hotmail.com

December 2011

Abstract

For several years, Serbia has been faced with considerable flows of return migration. Even though empirical evidence from other countries indicates that returnees can have a positive impact on their home countries' development due to their working experience, skills, ideas and savings acquired abroad, return migrants to Serbia are presently rather perceived as a burden for the country and its welfare system, since many of them lack employment, and some of them face problems in the field of social integration, housing, health and language.

Based on the results of a survey conducted in 2011 with 131 return migrants in Jablanica and Pčinja districts, including not only people who went abroad recently but also returnees who emigrated during the nineties, this paper suggests that return migrants to South Serbia have a considerable developmental potential for their home region, since they bring back valuable skills and resources from abroad. This potential is, however, under-utilised, seen that the majority of the returnees do not have any opportunities to use the gained skills after their return. Given that apart from an enabling economic environment, sustainable reintegration of return migrants is a precondition for them to make the most out of their skills, the paper examines the difficulties and needs of return migrants with regard to their economic situation, housing, personal documents, recognition of foreign diplomas and school certificates, schooling, social integration and health. In addition, their re-emigration potential is explored. Based on the findings, recommendations for reintegration measures are made, accounting for the specific needs of different groups of returnees.

The paper finds that in Serbia a shift is needed from seeing return migrants as mainly problematic to potentially beneficial. However, since reintegration of returnees is a complex and multifaceted process, coordinated efforts by all concerned stakeholders at the national and local level are essential.

The opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of PBILD programme or the United Nations in Serbia.

Contents

1	Introduction	3
2	The Return-Development Nexus	5
2.1	Return migrants' impact on economic development	5
2.2	Return migrants' impact on other aspects of development	6
2.3	Conditions under which returnees can have a developmental impact	7
3	Return migrants in South Serbia: Evidence from the Survey	10
3.1	Research Methodology	10
3.2	Results	11
3.2.1	Sample composition	11
3.2.2	Potentials of return migrants	14
3.2.3	Current situation of return migrants	22
a)	Overall situation	22
b)	Economic situation	28
c)	Housing situation	36
d)	Personal documents	38
e)	Recognition of foreign diplomas and school certificates	40
f)	Schooling	41
g)	Social integration	44
h)	Health	47
i)	Additional services and assistance	50
j)	Potential of re-emigration	51
3.3	Summary of the results	54
4	Discussion and recommendations	56
5	Best Practise Examples	65
5.1	Best Practise Example No. 1: Roma Resource Centre in Novi Sad	65
5.2	Best Practise Example No. 2: Migrant Service Centres	67
5.3	Best Practise Example No. 3: The Albanian Savings and Credit Union	68
5.4	Best Practise Example No. 4: Bilingual Education in Burkina Faso and the Swiss Canton of Grisons	69
5.5	Best Practise Example No. 5: "Sport Builds Bridges" in Ethiopia	72
5.6	Best Practise Example No. 6: Modern Psychiatric Treatment in Bosnia and Herzegovina	73
6	Conclusion	75
7	References	76

1 Introduction

There is still no reliable information about the real numbers of returnees to Serbia or about potential returnees: According to the European Commission's Analytical Report on Serbia's application for membership of the European Union (EU) published on 12 October 2011, some 3'979 Serbian citizens were returned to Serbia in 2010 (European Commission 2011: 106). An evaluation of the Commissariat for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia has shown that so far approximately 40'000 citizens of Serbia have come back after losing the right to reside in the EU member states. At the same time, it is estimated that several thousands of Serbian citizens will be returned based on the Agreement between the Republic of Serbia and the European Community on the Readmission of Persons Residing without Authorisation (Readmission Agreement) signed by Serbia and the EU in 2007 (Group 484 2011: 70, 81). According to estimates by the Council of Europe, between 50 and 100'000 people will be returned to Serbia from EU countries (PBILD 2010: 35).

Due to the wide public and media discussion about the high numbers of asylum applications by Serbian citizens in Western European countries in recent times, return migrants currently are mainly seen as rejected asylum seekers who left Serbia after the abolition of the visa regime with the EU in 2009 and are then deported based on the Readmission Agreement. Their reputation is tarnished for abusing the asylum system of Western European countries and jeopardising the visa free regime. In general, the return of migrants is widely considered as a big burden for Serbia and its already strained social welfare system, since most of them lack employment, and some of them face bad social integration as well as housing, health and language problems (Group 484 2008: 3). As one of Serbia's least developed regions, experiencing significant migration flows and with substantial proportions of the population belonging to national minorities, the South Serbian districts of Jablanica and Pčinja are regarded as particularly affected by return migration and the problems involved.

However, several research studies from other countries show evidence that returnees can have a significant positive impact on their countries of origin's development, since many of them return with valuable working experience, education, skills and a broadened mindset (see e.g. Black/Castaldo 2008; Kilić et al. 2009, Chappell et al. 2010). This nexus between return and development has so far been widely neglected in Serbia and the return migrants' potential was under-utilised, even though many of the returnees spent several years abroad and often gained considerable skills. In order to have developmental impacts, return migrants, however, need to be able to use their skills upon return, which requires efficient measures of reintegration¹ into their home community. Even though with the adoption of the Strategy for the reintegration of returnees under the Readmission Agreement and the respective Action Plan serious efforts were made in recent years to tackle the issue, reintegration of returnees is still in its infancy stage, with only a small number of organisations dealing with problems of return migrants

¹ According to UNHCR's 2008 policy on return and reintegration, the term "reintegration of returnees" is defined as "a process which involves the progressive establishment of conditions which enable returnees and their communities to exercise their social, economic, civil, political and cultural rights, and on that basis to enjoy peaceful, productive and dignified lives [...]. The notion of reintegration also entails the erosion (and ultimately the disappearance) of any differentials that set returnees apart from other members of their community, in terms of both their legal and socio-economic status. More broadly, reintegration is an important component of the reconciliation and peacebuilding process, and is thus closely linked to the progressive reduction of political and social violence, as well as the establishment of effective and equitable judicial procedures and of the rule of law" (UNHCR 2010: 9).

(Sadiković 2010: 25). In addition, there is still no reliable data about the demographic characteristics and the needs of returnees and potential returnees (Group 484 2011: 70; Group 484 2008: 4; Sadiković 2010: 25), which makes planning and implementation of such reintegration measures difficult. Moreover, due to the close interrelation with the issues of (re-) emigration and of vulnerable minorities (in particular the Roma), the topic of return migration is multifaceted and requires coordination between different stakeholders.

The aim of this paper is, therefore, not only to depict the nexus between return and development in a general way, but also to assess the current situation and the most urgent needs of return migrants living in South Serbia as well as their potentials which could be beneficial for the region. The study rests upon a survey with 131 return migrants of different nationalities and social levels, who used to live abroad for a certain period between 1990 and 2011, including not only returnees based on the readmission agreements, but also people who returned on their own after losing the right to stay abroad as well as people who came back voluntarily. Based on the results of the survey, recommendations on measures shall be made through which reintegration of return migrants can be fostered and their development impact can be increased. In addition, six best practise examples of other regions and countries will be presented, which could – adapted to the local context – serve as a model for measures and projects to improve the situation of return migrants in South Serbia.

It needs to be emphasised that the paper in hand does not address topics such as the promotion of the return of the diaspora or knowledge transfer through expatriate nationals, but the focus is only on the reintegration of migrants who – voluntarily or involuntarily – have returned to Serbia. Even though the aforementioned issues are related to each other, they imply completely different research approaches and methods of resolution. Moreover, even if it is widely recognised that the host countries can contribute significantly to the successful reintegration of returnees in their home countries, this study only focuses on measures which could be taken in Serbia in order to improve the living conditions of return migrants.

In addition, in this paper, the situation and needs of return migrants in South Serbia are just assessed from the point of view of the returnees themselves, not including other stakeholders such as representatives of the authorities and civil society organisations. While interviews with this kind of stakeholders have already been part of other research studies (see e.g. PBILD 2010), the focus of this paper is deliberately on the opinion of the concerned persons themselves. This has, however, to be kept in mind when interpreting the results, since the opinion of the returnees does not necessarily cover the overall picture with regard to their current situation.

The paper is structured as follows: The next chapter gives an overview of the empirical evidence of the return development nexus, examining the positive effects return migration might have on development and highlighting the conditions for successful integration of returnees. Chapter three presents the research methodology as well as the results of the survey conducted with return migrants in South Serbia. Chapter four makes recommendations for futures reintegration measures, whereas in chapter five, best practise examples and their implications for Jablanica and Pčinja districts shall be presented. Finally, concluding remarks appear in chapter six.

2 The Return-Development Nexus

The impact of migration on development has been the subject of a growing body of research and literature in recent years. Whereas for a long time the focus was on the negative aspects of migration, especially because of concerns about the “brain drain” of skilled workers, there is a much greater recognition today that migration can contribute to development, and that developmental benefits can be increased where policy makers manage migration effectively (World Migration Report 2010: 45ff.; Black/King 2004: 76ff.). While a considerable amount of attention is being paid to the impacts of remittances and of investments by diaspora associations on development, less research has been dedicated to the developmental potential of return migration (Black/King 2004: 80). Still, several studies have examined the nexus between return and development, with most of them focusing on the macro-level economic impacts and some others on the socio-cultural and political impacts of return (Ammassari 2004: 133). The empirical evidence is ambiguous, but the results of most of these research studies seem promising, suggesting significant positive influence of returnees on different aspects of their home countries’ development. In particular, the investment of savings and the utilisation of human capital acquired abroad upon return are mentioned as factors that may have positive development impacts. Furthermore, social networks gained abroad as well as entrepreneurial knowledge, new ideas and values can also positively influence development in the home country of return migrants (Kilić et al. 2009: 591).

2.1 Return migrants’ impact on economic development

Since empirical evidence suggests that small and medium enterprises can be significant contributors to economic growth and can play a role in poverty alleviation for households, many research studies actually concentrate on the impact of return migration on entrepreneurial activity (Black/Castaldo 2008: 45). Several empirical studies have yielded consensus on the positive relationship between return migration and *non-farm self-employment*. For instance, in their paper “Investing Back Home”, Kilić et al. (2009) assess the impact of past migration experience of Albanian households on non-farm business ownership. Their findings are indicative of a strong, positive relation between past (return) migration and *business ownership*: Compared to having not migrated, return migrants are significantly more likely to be entrepreneurs (Kilić et al. 2009: 618). Similar results were shown in a research study by Piracha and Vadean on the impact of return migration on the Albanian economy (2010: 1141-1143) as well as by the major global research project “Development on the Move” (Chappell et al. 2010; Nikolovski et al. 2009; Tchaidze/Torosyan 2009), which examined a wide range of migration’s impacts on development in Colombia, Fiji, Georgia, Ghana, Jamaica, Vietnam and Macedonia. A very high rate of self-employment among returnees was also observed by Castaño for Colombia (1988, quoted by Black/Castaldo 2008: 47; Kilić et al. 2009: 592), and by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in Afghanistan (2006: 93-94). In most of the cases, this was due to skills and working experience gained abroad, new business ideas and market approaches the return migrants brought with, and accumulation of capital.

Furthermore, there is evidence that migration experience has a significant positive effect on *household's incomes, expenditure and living standards* (Nikolovski et al. 2009: 27; Tchaidze/Torosyan 2009: 33; Chappell et al. 2010: 59-64). According to other research studies, return migration can lead to *improved employment and increased investment* by the respective persons (Thomas-Hope 1999: 188-189), to a *boom in specific sectors of industry* (Chacko 2007), or to *economic diversification in the rural sector* (Murphy 1999).

2.2 Return migrants' impact on other aspects of development

In addition, and closely related to these economic impacts of return migrants, their influence on other aspects of development was also considered in recent research, even if the positive effects of return migration appear to be less strong in that field than on economic development. For example, according to an empirical study conducted by ILO and the UNHCR in Afghanistan (2006: 20, 70), a significant portion of the interviewed returnees declared that during their stay abroad they had gained *new skills* (46% of the interviewed returnees), *education* (23%) as well as *friends and connections* (20%). Also, the survey showed that returnees came back with a *broader professional experience*, a better understanding of their jobs, and, in some cases, marketable English *language skills* (ILO/UNHCR 2006: 93). Similarly, Thomas-Hope (1999) as well as Chappell et al. (2010) examined the educational impacts of migration, and the findings suggest that a substantial proportion of the migrants from each of the countries examined gained additional qualifications – mainly vocational or academic – abroad. Maybe even more significant, however, is the evidence on *informal skills development* and the *broadening of mindset* that many return migrants report: About half of the interviewed returnees stated that while abroad they had gained new language abilities, professional skills, life skills as well as a broader understanding of social values and norms of other cultures and new ways of viewing the world (Chappell et al. 2010: 72-81, Nikolovski et al. 2009: 59).

Moreover, several research studies reported *socio-cultural and political impacts* of the human capital brought back by return migrants: According to Thomas-Hope (1999: 196), returnees invariably play a leadership role in their community, since some of the attitudes and behaviours in the areas of work and social interaction adopted by the migrants abroad contribute to changes in society which can be beneficial for the development of the respective country of origin. Furthermore, the study by Ammassari (2004) showed that especially old-generation migrants from Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire had mainly gone back to the public sector and played an important role in nation-building: Some of the returnees went to work in key positions of responsibility and authority in various government departments and other public institutions and were able to use the knowledge and skills they had acquired overseas to influence policy-making and the implementation of new policy measures. In addition, the research showed that many older-generation returnees decided to use the education sector for *knowledge transfers* and to teach students what they had learned abroad. Beside this, their work at universities enabled them to pursue political activities and campaign for a plural system (Ammassari 2004: 146-147).

Finally, Chappell et al. found in their study that exposure to migration can quite significantly change the emphasis placed on *health* by households: There is some strong evidence to

suggest that households with absent or return migrants increase their expenditure on health as a result of effects that are not related to remittances (Chappell et al. 2010: 84).

In summary, empirical evidence suggests that return migration can have important impacts on the development of migrants' home countries. Olesen (2002: 138) even sees return migration as an important external parameter for the rapid economic and social development of least developed countries.

2.3 Conditions under which returnees can have a developmental impact

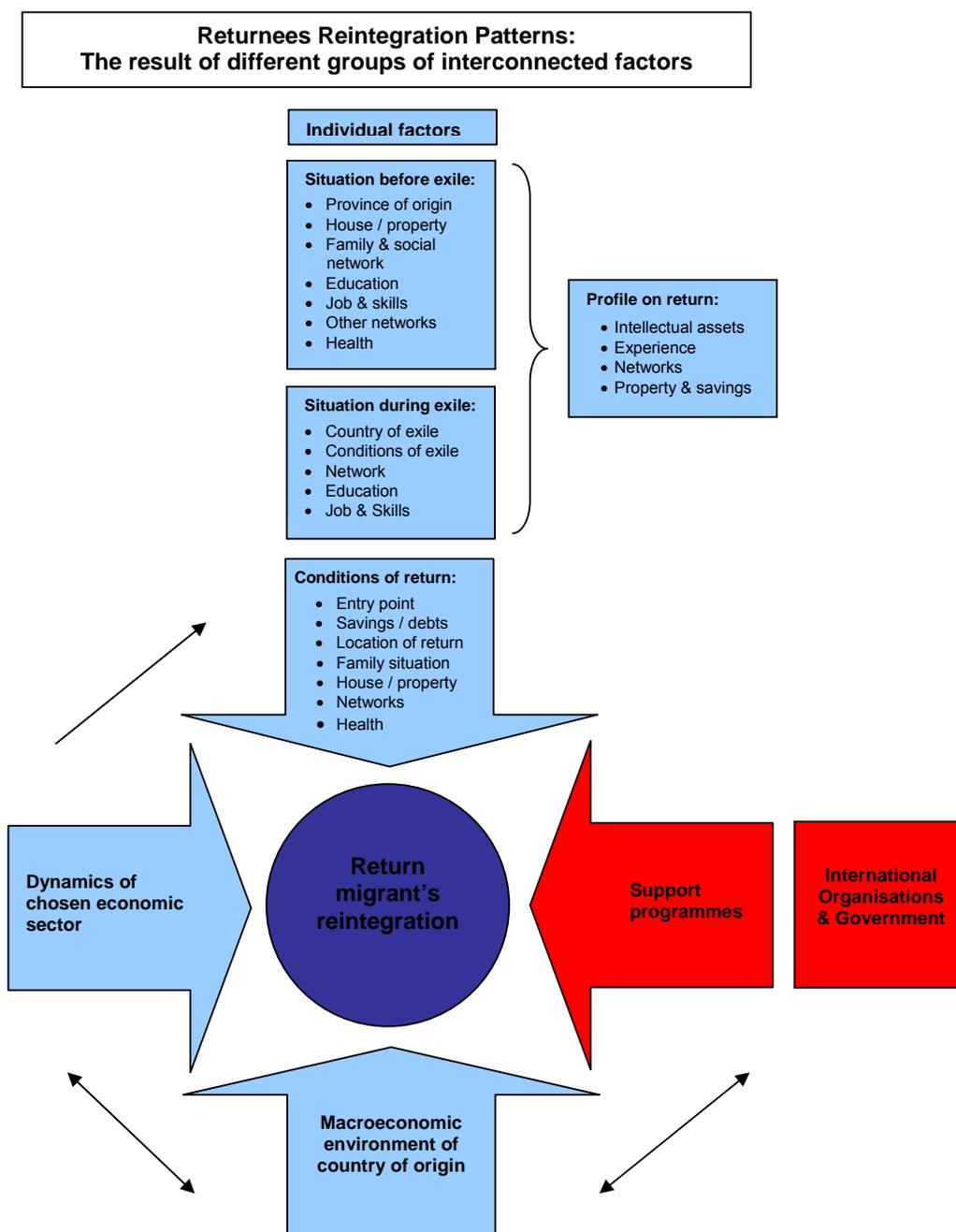
Seen that available empirical evidence indicates that there might be a positive impact of return on development, the question that arises is under which circumstances returnees are more likely to stimulate development in their home countries. It seems obvious that *successful reintegration* in the home country is crucial for return migrants to utilise their potentials. As chart 1 suggests, a lot of different factors such as individual characteristics, the macroeconomic environment of the home country, integration support programmes and the dynamics of the economic sector chosen by the return migrants, impact the successful reintegration of returnees.

Similarly, it is stressed in the migration literature that the most important factors for the return-development nexus are the migrant's own characteristics and activities and the characteristics and policies of the country of origin (Chappell et al. 2010: 96ff.; Athukorala 1990: 332, quoted by Ammassari 2004: 141).

Furthermore, several studies suggest that highly skilled élite migrants generally have a greater development potential than unskilled worker migrants, since the former return better equipped with different forms of capital, they are more willing to consider change, and go back to work in key positions in the public and private sector, from where they can significantly affect the course of events due to their high level of responsibility and power (Ammassari 2004: 134; Olesen 2002; Chacko 2007). On the other hand, some empirical studies indicate that for illiterate returnees also there is an increased probability of opening an enterprise upon return, provided that they have accumulated some savings abroad (McCormick/Wahba 2001: 164ff.). In addition, informal skills development and the broadening of mindset during the stay abroad do not seem to be limited to highly skilled élite migrants only (Chappell et al. 2010: 72-81; Nikolovski et al. 2009: 59), indicating that returnees with low education also bring back new skills which are valuable for development.

When it comes to the returnees' *personal characteristics* determining their development potential, the empirical evidence is ambiguous. A number of factors have been cited in the research literature as facilitating entrepreneurial activities among returning migrant workers, including capacity to save while abroad, work experience abroad, length of time spent abroad, gender, marital status, number of dependents, circumstances of return, education, and the availability of a transnational social network, amongst others (IOM 2010a: 53; McCormick/Wahba 2001: 164ff.; Black/Castaldo 2008: 44-48, 52; Ammassari 2004: 145; Thomas-Hope 1999: 189; Chappell 2010: 60, 99-100; Piracha/Vadean 2010: 1153).

Chart 1: Factors influencing returnees' development potential and reintegration process



Source: own graphic, adapted from ILO/UNHCR 2006: 68.

On the other hand, many research studies underline that the impact of migration on development depends not only on the characteristics of the migrants themselves, but also on the *potential of the respective society to absorb new money and ideas* as well as its openness to such flows. The *economic, social and political environment* largely conditions the extent to which skills, talent and financial capital are effectively utilised and influences the willingness and ability of return migrants to embark on lasting development initiatives (Black/King 2004: 80; Thomas-Hope 1999: 1; Ammassari 2004: 151). Furthermore, reintegration of return migrants

can play a big part in linking migration-generated benefits to development (GFMD 2009: 2). Therefore, the *circumstances the returnees face upon return* seem to be crucial for their impact on development. Of special importance is the *economic climate* in the country of origin: It influences the likelihood of return migrants starting businesses, as well as returnees' reintegration into the labour market. According to Chappell et al., in order to get the most out of return migrants, policymakers need to create an enabling business environment and labour markets that recognise the skills and experiences migrants have gained abroad (Chappell et al. 2010: 100-101).

In addition, according to several research studies, in many countries to which migrants are returning, the main obstacles to enterprise development among returnees are the *constraining and restricting national policies, laws and regulations*, for example concerning permits to build premises or employ workers (World Migration Report 2010: 53; see also Black/Castaldo 2008: 54/55; Ammassari 2004: 146; Nikolovski et al. 2009: 67). Furthermore, research on returnees to Albania showed that the availability of *infrastructure* (i.e. piped water) significantly increases the odds of being an entrepreneur in the case of return migrants (Piracha/Vadean 2010: 1152).

In summary, the individual characteristics of return migrants on the one hand and the socio-economic environment and policies in the country of origin on the other hand, combine to determine the extent to which the potential for development of returnees is maximised (Thomas-Hope 1999: 1). While individual factors of returnees can hardly be influenced by policy-makers of their country of origin, *measures can be taken in order to facilitate reintegration of returnees and to tap their full development potential*. It is, therefore, highly desirable that governments and development agencies contribute to better reintegration of returnees and better economic, social and political conditions for return. But despite its importance, the reintegration of return migrants is one of the most overlooked policy interventions in the field of migration, with conditions and policies often not being conducive to returnees utilising their enhanced skills, ideas, capital and other assets for developmental benefits in many countries of origin (World Migration Report 2010: 25; Kilić et al. 2009: 618; Ammassari 2004: 151; GFMD 2009: 2). In addition, capacity-building in the field of reintegration would not only enhance the positive outcomes of return for development, but also reduce outmigration, since fewer re-adjustment problems, such as those due to bad governance, poor management and to the difficulties connected with the way facilities and services operate, would also prevent returnees from leaving again (Ammassari 2004: 151).

3 Return migrants in South Serbia: Evidence from the Survey

Based on the empirical evidence outlined in the previous chapter, the following section aims at examining the current situation of return migrants living in Southern Serbia, assessing their potentials as well as their main needs immediately after the return on the one hand and in a long term integration perspective on the other hand. These findings shall then help to identify the most urgent reintegration measures to be taken in order to foster return migrants' positive impact on the development of Jablanica and Pčinja districts.

3.1 Research Methodology

The survey was conducted in August and September 2011 in the Southern Serbian municipalities of Bujanovac, Preševo, Vladičin Han, Surdulica, Medveđa and Bosilegrad as well as in the two cities of Vranje and Leskovac² and included a total sample of 131 respondents. A questionnaire – available in Serbian and Albanian – was used containing 81 questions about the respondents' situation abroad and after the return, considering in particular their economic situation, housing, personal documents, recognition of diplomas, schooling, social integration, health and potential of re-emigration. A special focus was placed on the working experience, education and skills the respondents have gained abroad, and on services and assistance which would have been useful for them after their return. Thanks to the relatively small sample of 131 interviewees, it was possible to use a very detailed questionnaire³ including several open-ended questions.

The precondition for participation in the survey was that the respondents' current place of residence was in Jablanica or Pčinja district, that between 1990 and 2011 they lived abroad for at least two months at a stretch, that they were at least 15 years old, and that at the time of their last return to Serbia they had been at least 10 years old.

Since no official databases including all return migrants living in Jablanica and Pčinja districts exist and the total population of returnees is not known, no reliable sampling frames existed for the targeted group of interviewees. Therefore, it was *a priori* evident that it would not be possible to draw a strictly statistically representative sample of returnees⁴. Due to the lack of official contact data, the respondents were found with the help of municipal employees, trustees, local NGOs, Roma coordinators, as well as by using personal contacts and applying a snowball sampling technique.

² The other municipalities of Jablanica and Pčinja districts were excluded from the survey due to the lack of returnees and/or of the necessary contacts.

³ One interview took between one and two hours on average.

⁴ Clearly there are limitations to the conclusions that can be drawn from a single empirical research study, especially in cases like the present where the sample used is relatively small and not strictly representative of the total population of returnees to Southern Serbia. However, such limitations are not exclusive to this study. As stated by Black/Castaldo (2008: 53), it is widely recognised in migration studies that drawing representative sample surveys are problematic in the absence of a clear sample frame, and such problems are compounded in return migration where there are often fewer attempts to monitor the process of return, and also due to the fact that many of the returnees who are deported or return involuntarily are unlikely to make themselves visible given the stigma associated with such "failed" migration. In spite of all these shortcomings, the present research has yielded valid and applicable results, which give a good overview on the current situation and needs of return migrants living in Southern Serbia.

Data were collected by means of field surveys partly conducted in the respondents' homes, partly on the premises of local NGOs, by "face to face" method. Some questionnaires were also distributed to members of the target group and have been completed in the absence of interviewers⁵. Given the above mentioned impossibility to draw a statistically representative sample of returnees, an effort was made to diversify as much as possible the composition of the sample: The sample was stratified – where possible – by sex, age, municipality, residence in urban or rural areas, nationality and social levels, in order to obtain balanced results. Furthermore, interviewees which have been abroad recently and for shorter time periods have been included just like return migrants who have spent longer time abroad and who left during the nineties (see section 3.2.1).

On the other hand, specific groups of returnees such as internally displaced persons (IDPs) from Kosovo as well as refugees have intentionally been excluded from the sample, since the problems of these migrant groups are very specific and need in-depth analysis on their own, which would go beyond the scope of this paper.

3.2 Results

3.2.1 Sample composition

The 131 interviewees were between 15 and 67 years old, with a mean at age 38. 62.6% (82)⁶ were male, 37.4% (49) were female. 15.3% (20) were of Serbian **nationality**, 22.1% (29) of Albanian, 55% (72) were Roma, 6.9% (9) Bulgarian and 0.8% (1) Montenegrinian⁷. 21.4% (28) of the interviewees currently live in the city of Vranje, 19.8% (26) in the municipality of Bujanovac, 21.4% (28) in Preševo, 17.6% (23) in Vladičin Han, 6.9% (9) in Surdulica, 6.1% (8) in Bosilegrad, 4.6% (6) in Medveđa and 2.3% (3) in the city of Leskovac. 51.9% (68) of the sample live in the main town of the respective municipality, 48.1% (63) live in a village.

When it comes to the interviewees' **marital status**, 74% (97) were married, 19.8% (26) were single, 1.5% (2) widow/ers and 4.6% (6) divorced. The mean **number of family members** living in one household is 4.8, with an average number of children of 1.9⁸.

The following **levels of education** were recorded across the surveyed return migrants: 15.3% (20) have finished the 4th grade of primary school or less, 36.6% (48) have last attended 5th to 8th grade of primary school, 9.9% (13) have last attended three-year secondary school, 21.4%

⁵ Especially in the questionnaires that were filled in without face to face interviews, a few questions remained unanswered. This is why the number of respondents per questions varies in the evaluation.

⁶ Numbers in brackets indicate the absolute numbers of respondents.

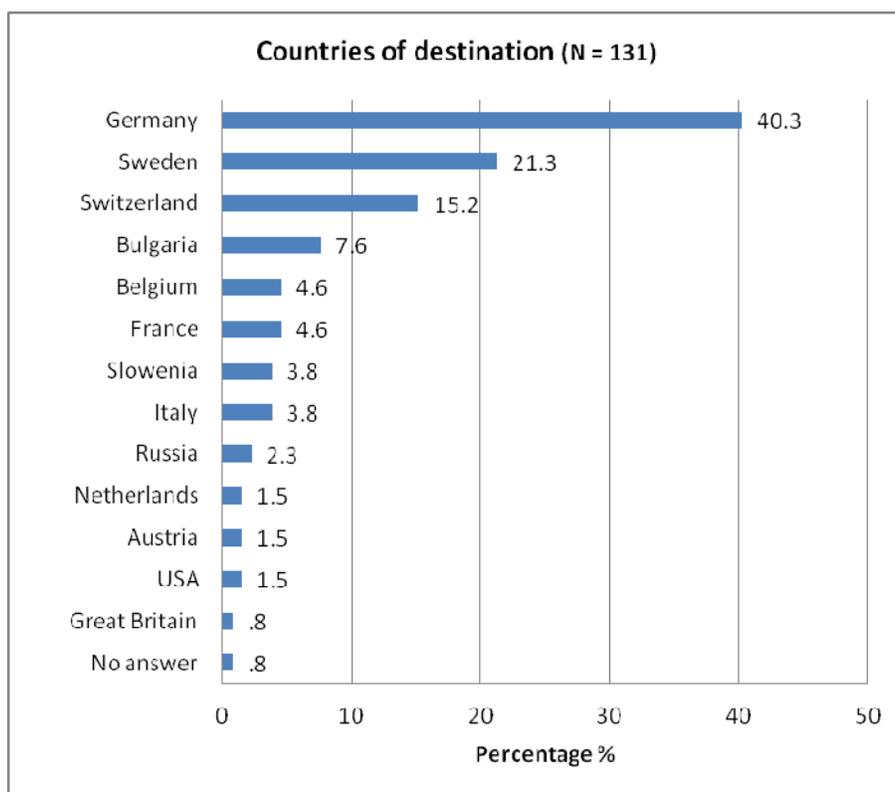
⁷ That the sample includes a much greater number of Roma than other nationalities correctly reflects the ethnic proportions among returnees, since according to several sources, the majority of return migrants are ethnic Roma (Group 484 2011: 69; Agency for Human and Minority Rights 2008: 3).

⁸ As expected, the household size as well as the number of children varies significantly according to the different nationalities: While the households of the Serbian returnees contain 3.8 family members and 1.3 children on average, the Albanian returnees have 5.1 household members and 1.6 children. The interviewed return migrants belonging to the Roma community live in households with 5.1 people on average and have 2.3 children. When it comes to Bulgarian returnees, the average number of household members is 4 and the number of children is 1, but due to the quite low number of interviewed Bulgarians, these results should be treated with a degree of caution.

(28) went to a four-year secondary school, and 16.8% (22) have last attended a higher school or faculty⁹. 6.9% (9) of the respondents are presently still attending school.

On average, the interviewees were 27.5 years old when they went abroad for their longest stay (minimum score: 0, maximum score: 54, median: 28), and they have been abroad 1.3 times (minimum score: 1, maximum score: 10; median: 1). Most of them have been in Western European countries such as Germany, Sweden and Switzerland (see chart 2). The total **duration of stay abroad** varies between two months and 14 years with a mean at 3 years and 8 months, the mean **number of years since the last return** is 5 years and 8 months. 68.7% (90) of the respondents emigrated with some family member(s), 31.3% (41) went abroad alone.

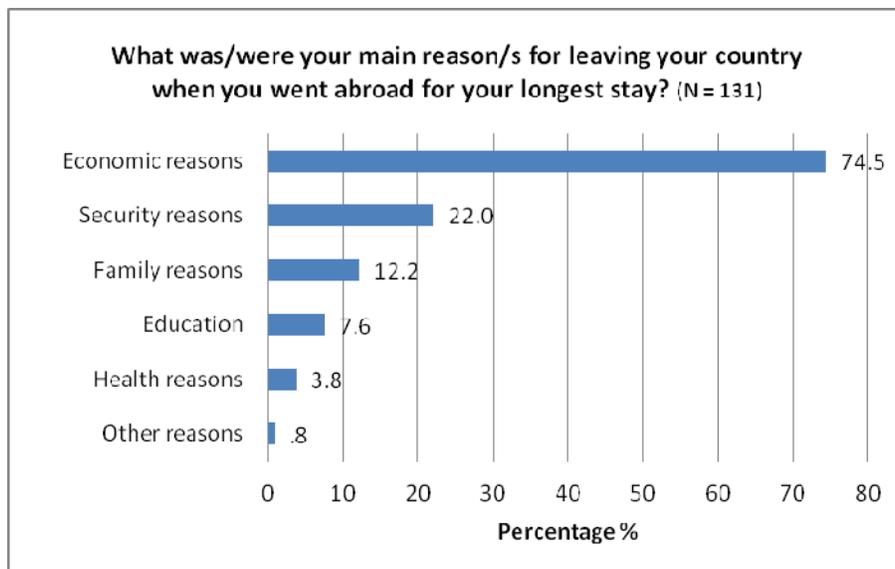
Chart 2. Countries of destination



With regard to the **main reason(s) for leaving Serbia** when the interviewees went abroad for their longest stay, economic reasons were by far the most frequent answer, followed by security and family reasons (see chart 3). These results are in line with those of the Inclusive Development Social Survey conducted in 2010 (PBILD 2010: 22), which showed that the main reasons why potential migrants from Southern Serbia want to emigrate from their place of living were of economic nature.

⁹ In this analysis, the 9 respondents who are still attending school were subsumed into the category of their current school level.

Chart 3. Main reasons for emigration



When it comes to the main **reason for the respondents' return** to Serbia after their last stay abroad, 21.4% (28) said that they had returned even though they could have stayed legally in the country of destination, while the vast majority of the respondents (77.9% / 102) could not have stayed (see chart 4). It is remarkable that there is a significant relationship between this answer and the nationality of the respondents, i.e. the number of cases who could *not* have stayed legally abroad is significantly higher among Roma than among other nationalities ($\chi^2(1) = 28.818$; Phi = .471; $p < .001$). Out of all interviewees who were not allowed to stay, 41.2% (42) were returned based on a readmission agreement, whereas 58.8% (60) returned on their own (see chart 5).

Chart 4. Reasons for return (1)

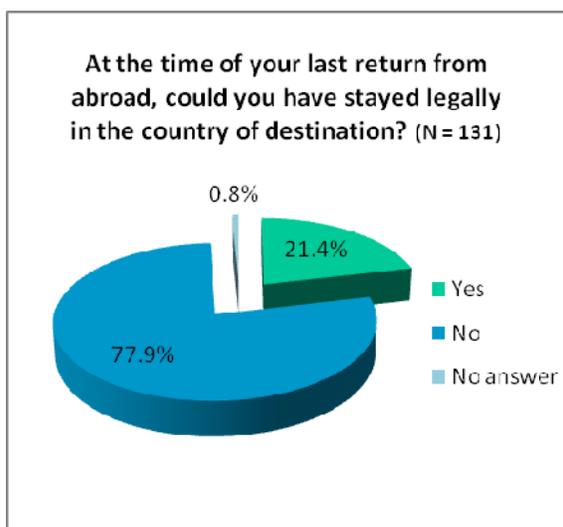
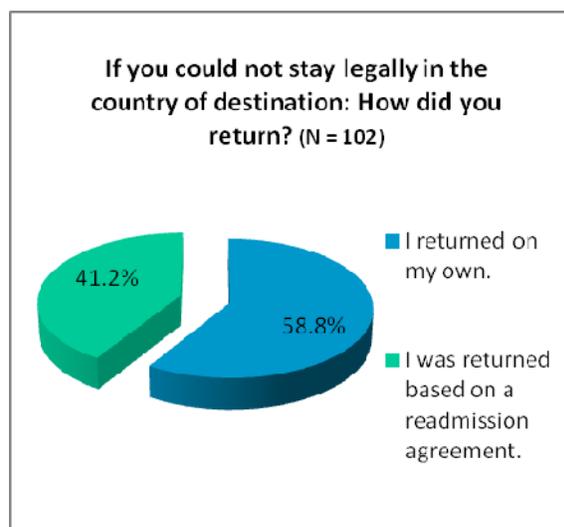


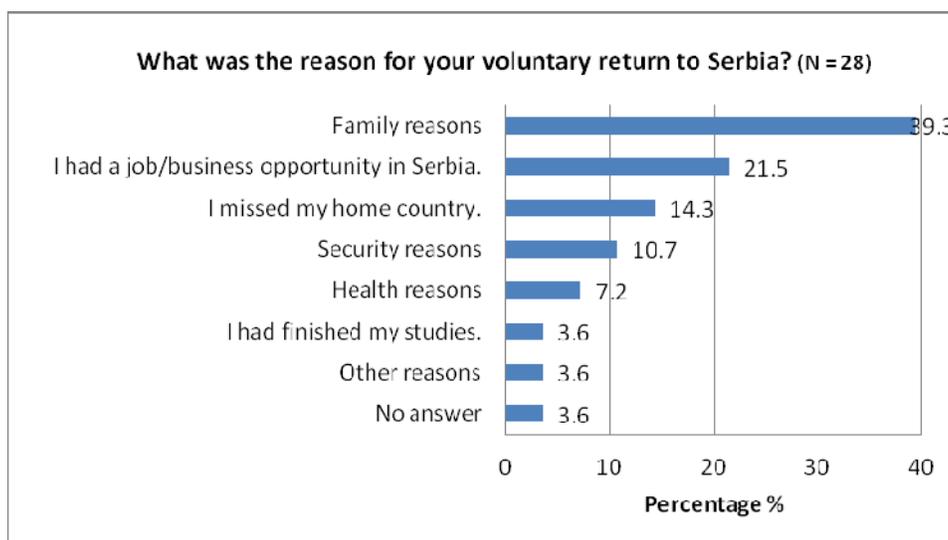
Chart 5. Reasons for return (2)



As the reasons why they returned voluntarily, almost 40% (11) of the respective interviewees cited family reasons. In addition, job or business opportunities in Serbia (21.5% / 6) as well as

nostalgia (14.3% / 4), security (10.7% / 3) and health reasons (7.2% / 2) were mentioned (see chart 6).

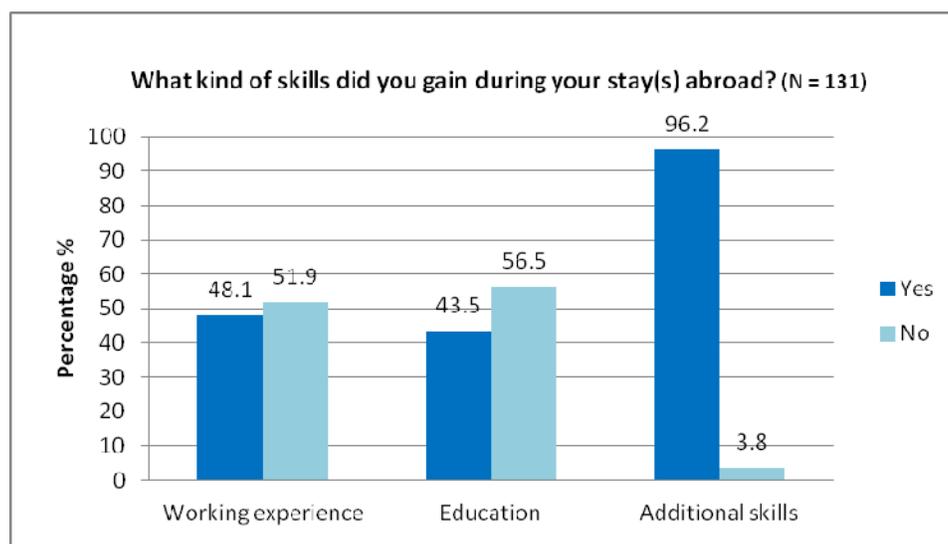
Chart 6. Reasons for voluntary return



3.2.2 Potentials of return migrants

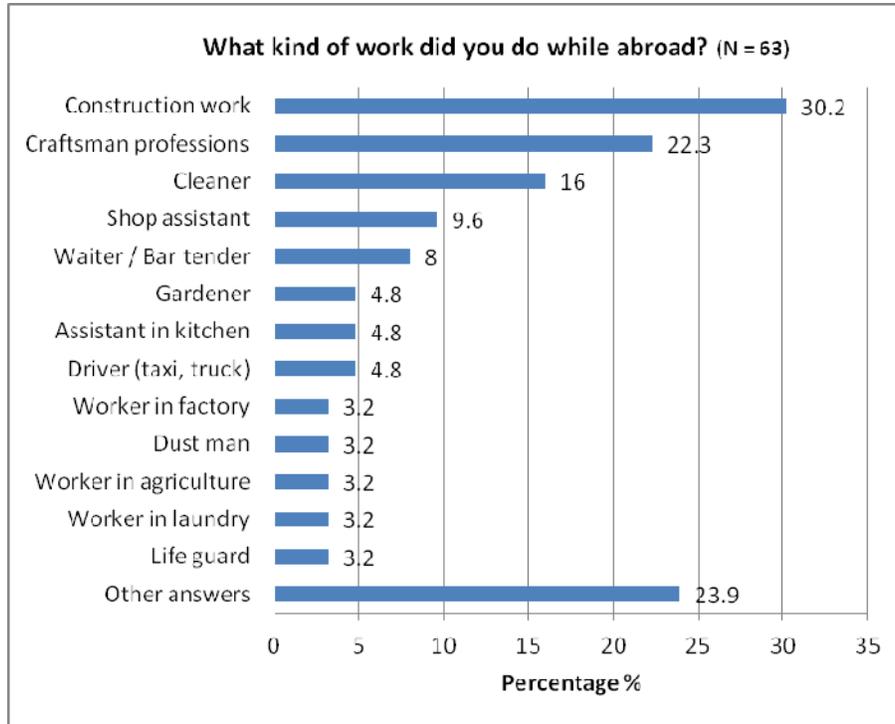
With regard to skills and experience returnees have gained during their stay(s) abroad, the survey shows the following results: 48.1% (63) of the interviewees stated that they had been working – either formally or informally – in the country of destination. 43.5% (57) had had some kind of education, training or courses, while 96.2% (126) said they had gained some other skills, competencies or experiences (see chart 7). Overall, 96.2% (126) of all interviewees declared that they had gained some kind of experience, skills or competencies abroad.

Chart 7. Skills gained abroad



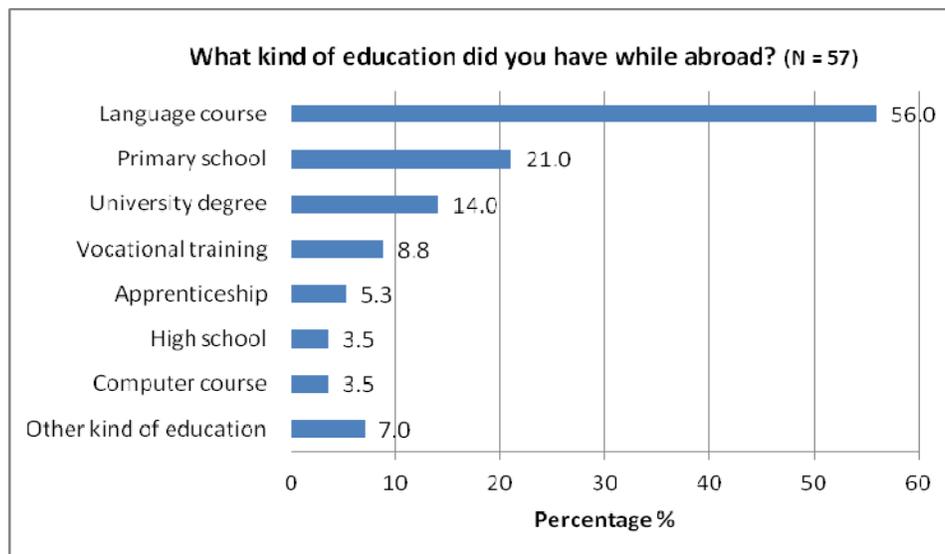
On average, the interviewees who said that they had gained some kind of working experience abroad used to work during 3 years and 2 months (median: 1 year and 4 months). They worked in the following positions during their stay(s) in the country of destination:

Chart 8. Working positions during stay(s) abroad (open-ended question)



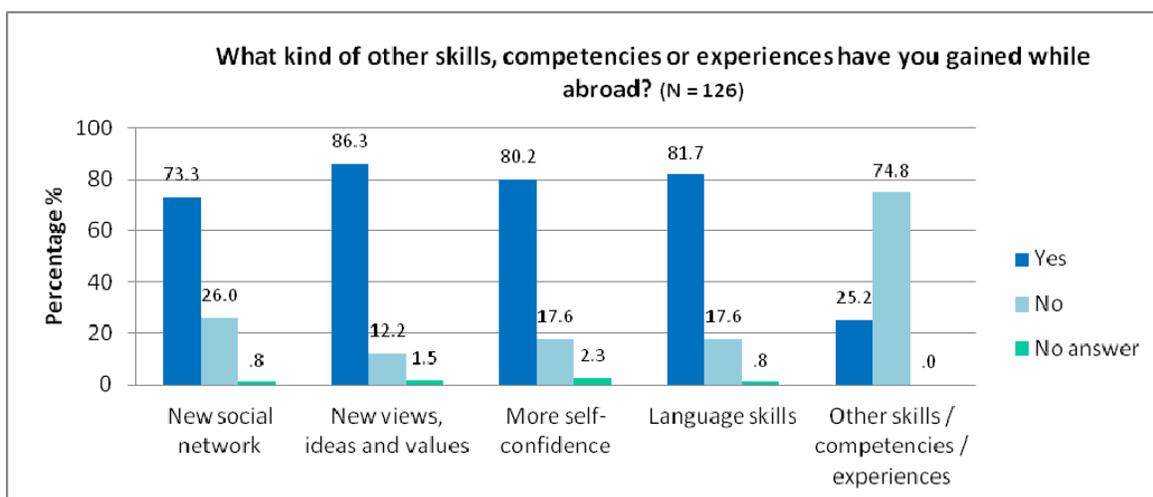
When it comes to **education, training and courses**, the education which the respective interviewees had during their stay(s) abroad lasted between 1 month and 7 years and 3 months, with a mean at 1 year and 11 months (median: one year). The different types of education are listed in chart 9:

Chart 9. Types of education during stay(s) abroad



Regarding the **additional skills, competencies and experiences** gained abroad, 73.3% (96) of the respondents said they had acquired a new social network, 86.3% (113) answered that their stay(s) abroad had broadened their mind and they had gained some new views, ideas and values. 80.2% (105) had gained more self-confidence and 81.7% (107) reported that they had acquired some language skills. 25.2% (33) said they had gained some other skills, competencies and experiences (see chart 10).

Chart 10. Additional skills gained abroad



The 33 interviewees who declared that they had gained some other skills, competencies and experiences during their stay(s) abroad, gave the following open-ended answers:

Table 1. Additional skills, competencies and experiences gained abroad

Have you gained any other skills, competencies or experiences abroad? (N = 131)

- “Better culture / mentality.” (7.6% / 10)
- “Driving licence.” (3.8% / 5)
- “Communication skills.” (3.1% / 4)
- “Better hygiene behaviour.” (3.1% / 4)
- “Better working morale.” (2.3% / 3)
- “More knowledge about waste management.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Cooking skills.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Sports diploma.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Knowledge about history of host country.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Accounting skills.” (0.8% / 1)
- “I learnt how to survive.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Accounting skills.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Managerial skills.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Flexibility.” (0.8% / 1)
- “I established contacts with relatives abroad.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Dancing.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Organisational skills.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Knowledge about car sales.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Gardening skills.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Knowledge about oil production.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Knowledge about heating installation.” (0.8% / 1)
- “I learnt that I can trust people.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Practical knowledge from internship.” (0.8% / 1)

With respect to the **language skills** acquired abroad, almost every second respondent reported having learnt German (48.1% / 63), which is not surprising keeping in mind that a large percentage of the sample has been in Germany and Switzerland (see section 3.2.1, chart 2). Furthermore, a considerable amount of interviewees have learnt English (10.7% / 14), Swedish

(6.9% / 9), French (6.9% / 9), Bulgarian (6.9% / 9) and Italian (4.6% / 6). 12.2% (16) have learnt some other language such as Slovenian, Flemish, Russian, Dutch, etc.

In summary, the results presented above show that a substantial number of the interviewed returnees gained working experience, education, training, language skills, as well as other skills and competencies during their stay(s) abroad. Even though most of them had only low-qualified jobs abroad, this can be considered valuable working experience.

However, as the bivariate analysis (see table 2) shows, the amount of working experience and education acquired abroad seems to depend on several variables: While men worked significantly more than women during their stay(s) abroad, there was no significant relationship between a person's gender and education abroad. Furthermore, Roma gained significantly less working experience and education abroad than the members of the other nationalities¹⁰. Whereas age at the time of emigration does not have any effect on the probability of gaining working experience abroad, this variable is significantly related to education abroad: The younger the interviewees were at the time of emigration, the more likely they were to get some kind of education while abroad. In addition, the lower the education level of a person before emigrating was, the lower was the probability that this person would gain some working experience or additional education abroad. Similarly, there was a significant positive relationship between working experience before emigration and the acquisition of working experience abroad, whereas there was a negative relationship between working experience before emigrating and education gained while abroad. On the other hand, the duration of stay abroad was significantly correlated with working experience abroad and with the education acquired during this stay.

Table 2. Bivariate correlation, dependent variables: working experience and education abroad

	Working experience abroad	Education abroad
Gender (N=131)	χ^2 (1)= 14.578*** Phi= -.334***	χ^2 (1)= 0.374 Phi= .053
Nationality (dichotomous) (N=131)	χ^2 (1)= 34.147*** Phi= .511***	χ^2 (1)= 16.101*** Phi= .351***
Age before emigration (N=129)	r_s = -.049 K-Tau= -.040	r_s = .480** K-Tau= .399**
Level of education before emigration (N=129)	χ^2 (1)= 42.578*** r_s = -.553***	χ^2 (3)= 8.647 r_s = -.205*
Working experience before emigration (N=129)	χ^2 (1)= 4.253* Phi= .182*	χ^2 (1)= 4.496* Phi= -.187*
Duration of stay abroad (N=130)	r_s = -.261** K-Tau= -.217**	r_s = -.355** K-Tau= -.295**

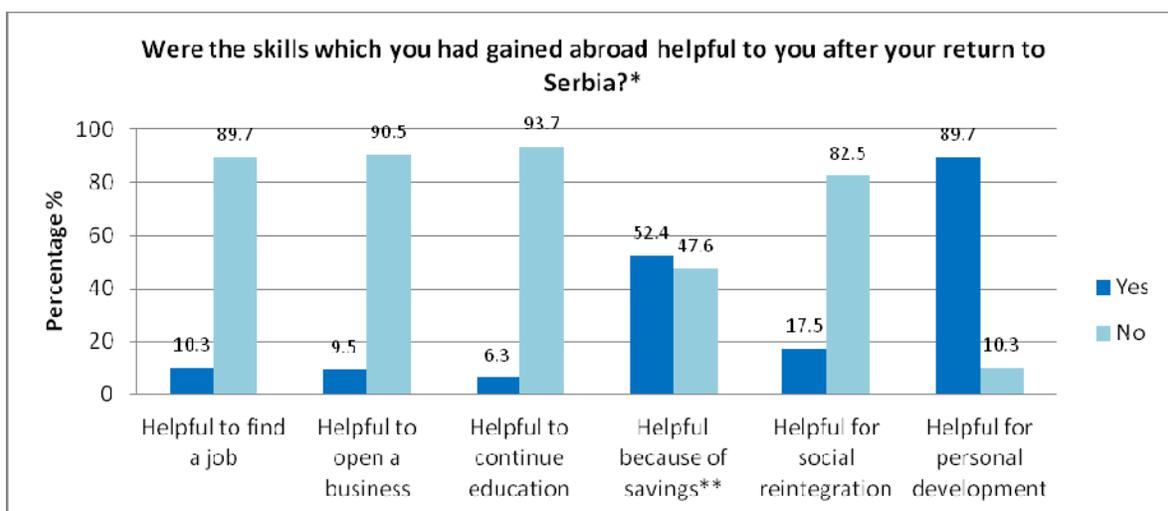
χ^2 : Asymptotic significance (2-sided): ***p<=.001, **p<=.01, *p<=.05. Values in brackets: Degrees of freedom. Phi / Spearman's correlation coefficient (r_s) / Kendall's tau (K-Tau): approximate significance: ***p<=.001, **p<=.01, *p<=.05.

¹⁰ The relatively small amount of respondents of the Serbian, Albanian and Bulgarian nationalities does not allow for an analysis of the differences between these three groups, wherefore the variable was dichotomised (Roma nationality / other nationalities).

Altogether, seen the considerable amount of skills and experience the interviewed return migrants brought with them from abroad, as outlined in chapter 2, also in South Serbia return migration could potentially contribute to the development of the region, provided that returnees can utilise the acquired skills upon return.

However, looking at the answers given by the interviewees to the questions if their **skills gained abroad were helpful** to them in any way after their return to Serbia, the overall picture is quite grim: As depicted in chart 11, only 10.3% (13) of the respondents who have gained some kind of skills abroad stated that these skills were helpful to find a job in Serbia. According to 9.5% (12) of the respective interviewees, the experience gained abroad was helpful to open a business in Serbia, and 6.3% (8) said it helped to continue education. At least, 52.4% (33) of the respondents which had worked abroad declared that this had been useful because they returned to their country of origin with some savings, whereas only 17.5% (22) stated that their skills acquired abroad were helpful for their social reintegration after return. While almost all of these percentages are disappointingly low, 89.7% (113) of the interviewees at least claimed that their experience gained abroad was helpful for them personally and for their personal development.

Chart 11. Helpfulness of the skills after the return



* The 5 persons which stated that they had not gained any skills while abroad were excluded from this analysis (N=126).

** This question was asked only if respondents had worked abroad (N=63).

When asked if the skills gained abroad had been helpful for any other reasons after returning to Serbia, 80.2% (101) answered in the negative. The reasons which were cited by the 19.8% (25) of respondents who answered in the positive are listed in table 3.

Overall, apart from the positive effects on personal development, the skills, competencies and experience acquired abroad are not considered to be useful after the return by a vast majority of the interviewees. When asked about the reasons why these skills and experience gained during the stay(s) abroad were not helpful back in Serbia, more than 60% of the respective respondents answered that there were no opportunities in South Serbia to utilise their skills (61.7% / 74). If we add the other reasons which are linked to the present economic, political

and organisational situation in the region (“discrimination of minorities / women”, “unstable situation upon return”, “badly working local institutions”, “no jobs without membership in a political party”, “My diplomas from abroad were not recognised”), the percentage increases to 68.4% (82). The other reasons which were cited are rather personal ones such as “I didn’t gain enough skills abroad” (15% / 18), “My stay abroad was too short” (5.8% / 7), health problems (3.3% / 4), “I did not look for a job” (2.5% / 3), etc. (see chart 12).

Table 3. Other reasons why the skills gained abroad were useful after the return

Were some of the skills, competencies and experiences gained abroad helpful for other reasons after your return? (N = 131)

- “The better culture / mentality which I gained abroad is helpful.” (7.6% / 10)
- “The better hygiene behaviour which I learnt abroad is helpful.” (3.1% / 4)
- “The communication skills I gained are helpful.” (3.1% / 4)
- “The better working morale I gained is helpful.” (2.3% / 3)
- “My acquired knowledge about waste management is helpful.” (1.5% / 2)
- “We brought back our furniture from abroad.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Children had good education abroad.” (1.5% / 2)
- “I was able to open a cultural folk association in Serbia.” (0.8% / 1)
- “I am able to give people around me advice.” (0.8% / 1)
- “It’s useful that I have learnt how to survive.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Thanks to the skills gained abroad I found two internships in Serbia.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Thanks to my stay abroad I am now able to pay for my children’s education.” (0.8% / 1)

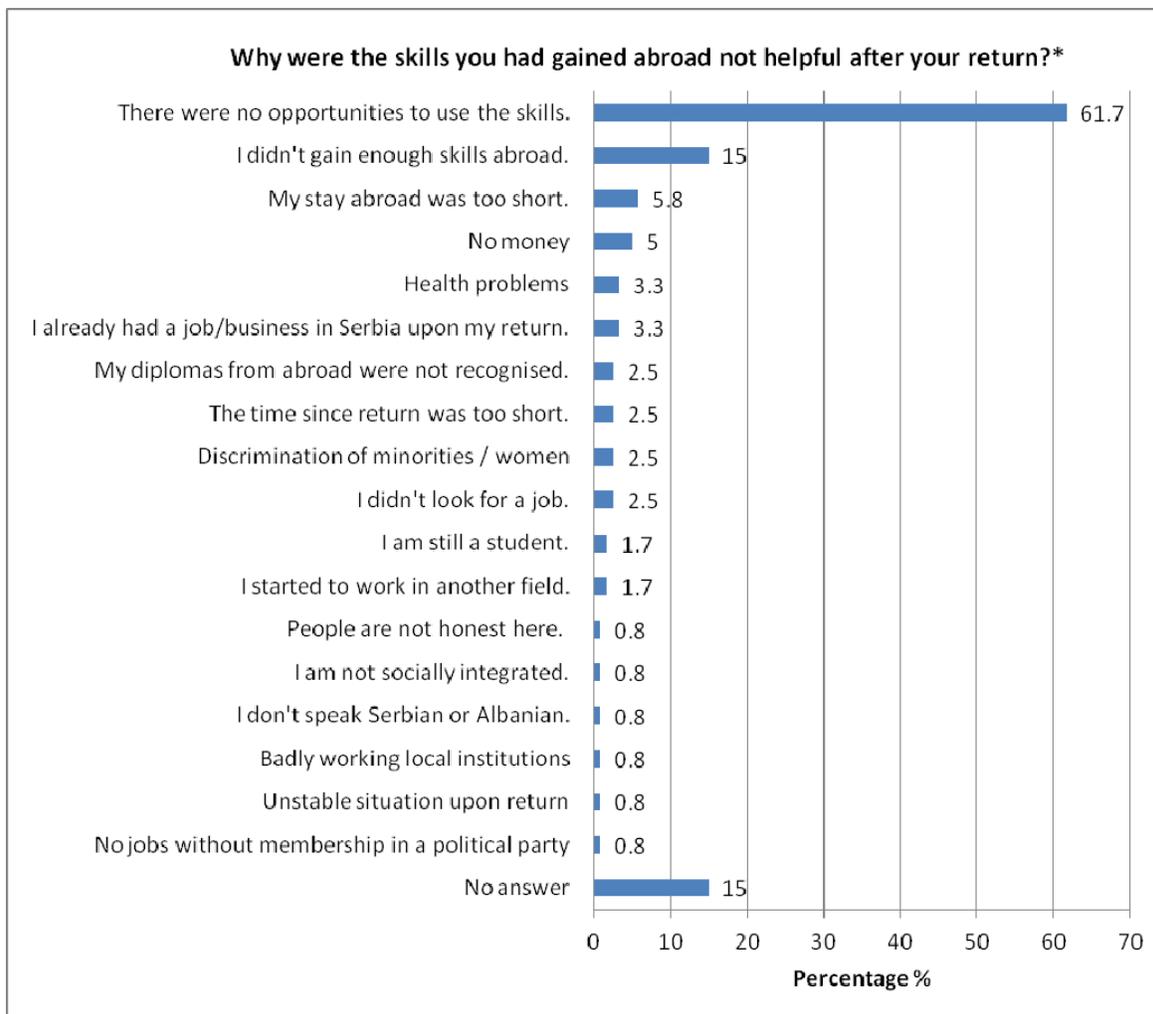
Regardless of these reportedly lacking opportunities to utilise the acquired skills upon return, 77.8% (98) of the interviewees who had gained some kind of new skills abroad stated that they would like to use these, whereas 10.3% (13) said they were indifferent to this, and only 6.3% (8) answered the question with “no”.

When it comes to **savings**, the survey shows that 42.7% (56) of the respondents brought some savings back to South Serbia after their longest stay abroad (see chart 13). The average amount of savings of this group of respondents at the time of the return was 8’650 euro (median: 1’000 euro, minimum score: 100 euro, maximum score: 120’000 euro)¹¹. Taking into account the sample as a whole, this means that on average, the respondents could put 3’040 euro aside during their stay(s) abroad. However, as expected, the amount of savings is significantly related to the duration of the stay abroad: While people who stayed in the country of destination one year or less brought back 1’340 euro on average (median: 300 euro, minimum score: 100 euro, maximum score 7’500 euro), the average amount of savings of those who came back after 13 months to four years was 2’660 euro (median: 1’000 euro, minimum score: 400 euro, maximum score: 11’000 euro). For those who spent more than four years in the host country, the average amount of savings was 13’860 euro (median: 2’000 euro, minimum score: 100 euro, maximum score: 120’000 euro)¹².

¹¹ Two respondents said they brought back the outstandingly high amount of 120’000 euro. If these outliers are excluded from the analysis, the average amount of money among those who brought back some savings was 3’580 euro (median: 1’000 euro, minimum score: 100 euro, maximum score: 43’000 euro). The average amount of savings for the sample as a whole is, in that case, is 3’590 euro (median: 1’000 euro, minimum score: 100 euro, maximum score: 43’000 euro).

¹² Excluding the two outliers of 120’000 euro, the average amount of savings for this group of respondents is 5’020 euro (median: 2’000 euro, minimum score: 100 euro, maximum score: 43’000 euro).

Chart 12. Reasons why the skills gained abroad were not helpful after the return



* The interviewees who stated that they had not gained any skills abroad as well as those who said that all the skills they had gained had been useful after their return were excluded from this analysis (N=120).

Chart 13. Savings

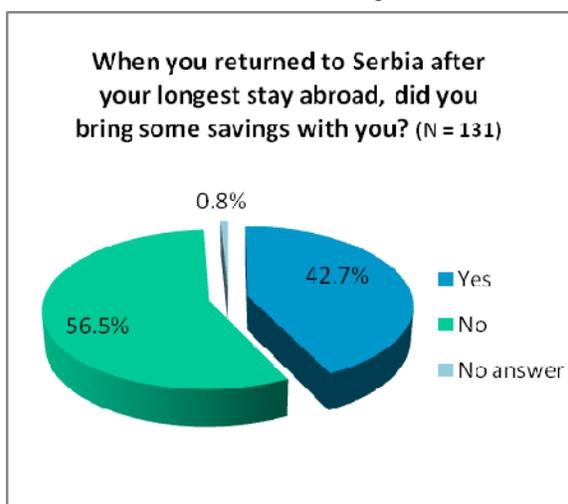
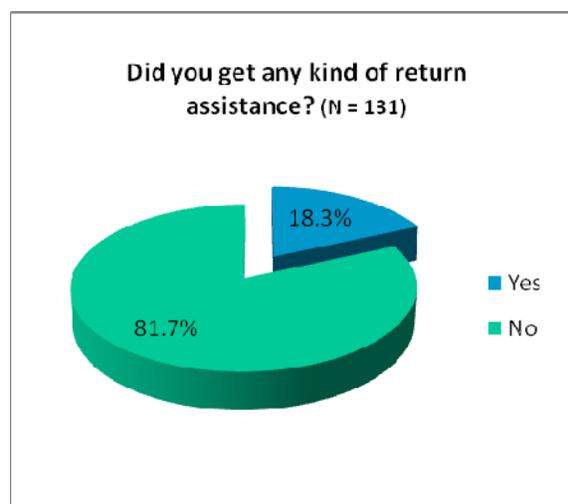
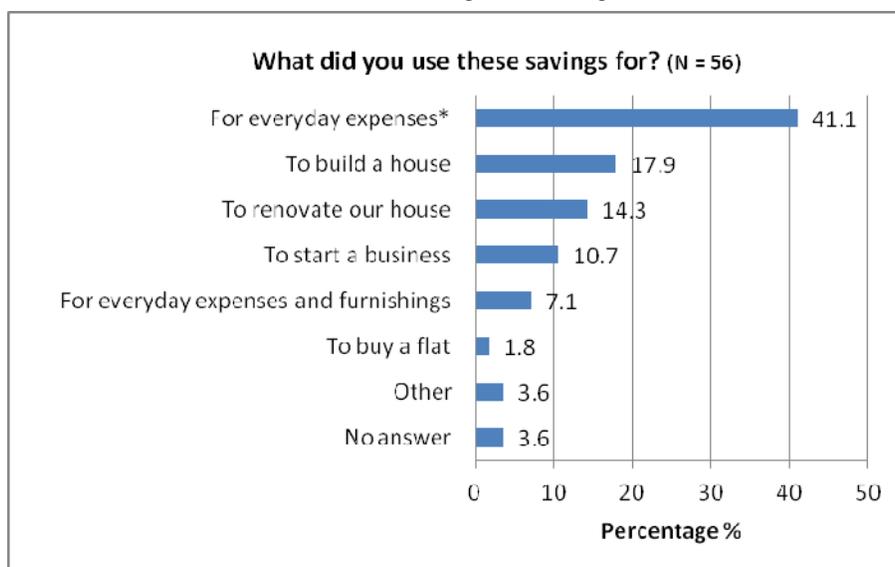


Chart 14. Return assistance



As depicted in chart 15, 48.2% (27) used the savings they brought back for everyday expenses and furnishings, 17.9% (10) built a house, 14.3% (8) renovated it, and 10.7% (6) used the savings to start their own business back in Serbia.

Chart 15. Usage of savings



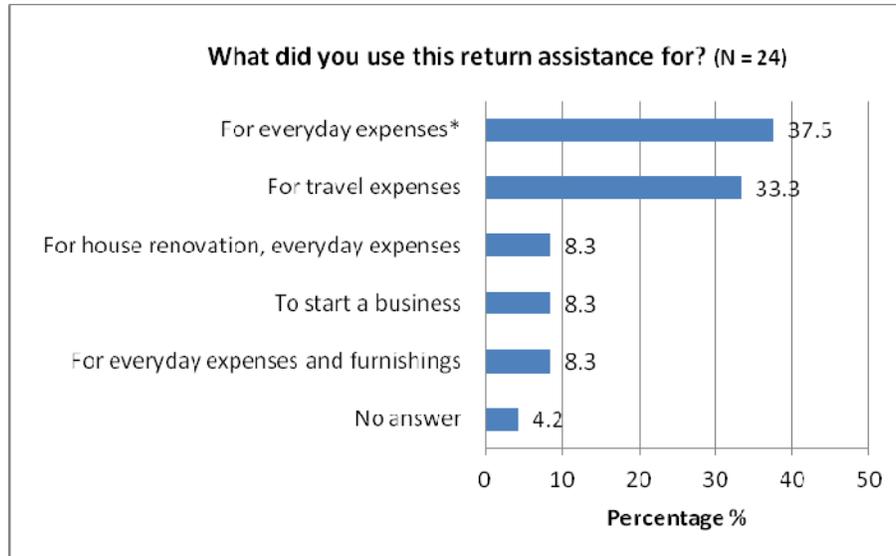
* The answer "Everyday expenses" also includes answers such as food, clothes, medication and wood.

The bivariate analysis shows that gender, nationality (dichotomous) and age before emigrating are not related to the fact if someone had savings at the time of the return. On the other hand, people with higher levels of education at the time of emigration tend to bring back more savings than people with lower education ($r_s = -.198$; $p < .05$). Furthermore, as expected, the amount of working time abroad is significantly related to savings ($r_s = -.364$; K-Tau = $-.325$; $p < .01$).

Compared to savings, significantly fewer of the interviewed people returned to Serbia with **return assistance**: Only 18.3% (24) of the respondents said they had gotten some kind of return assistance (see chart 14). This group received between 50 and 1'300 euro (mean: 481 euro, median: 450 euro), mostly from their host country or from the International Organisation for Migration (IOM). Similar to the savings, most of the respective interviewees used this money for everyday expenses and furnishings (together 46.2% / 11) and travel costs (33.3% / 8), 8.3% (2) stated they had used it to open up a business and 8.3% (2) spent it for house renovation (see chart 16). When asked if this return assistance had been helpful after the return to Serbia, half of the respective respondents (12) answered the question with "yes", while 50% (12) did not consider it helpful, all of them regretting that the amount of money was so small.

In summary, the survey results presented above show that many of the return migrants brought back a considerable amount of working experience, education, training, language skills and additional competencies, as well as savings and financial return assistance. On the other hand, the vast majority of respondents reported that these skills were not really helpful to them after their return (with the exception of the positive impact on their personal development), mainly because of the lack of opportunities to utilise these skills in South Serbia. In addition, the survey showed that most of the savings and return assistance were spent for everyday expenses.

Chart 16. Usage of return assistance



* The answer "Everyday expenses" also includes answers such as food, clothes, medication and wood.

This raises the question of what the reasons are why returnees in South Serbia are not able to utilise their potentials, and what their main problems are upon return. This shall be assessed in the following section, not only with regard to the overall situation of return migrants after their return to Jablanica and Pčinja districts, but also relating to specific topics such as economic situation, housing, personal documents, recognition of diplomas, school, social integration, health and potential of re-emigration.

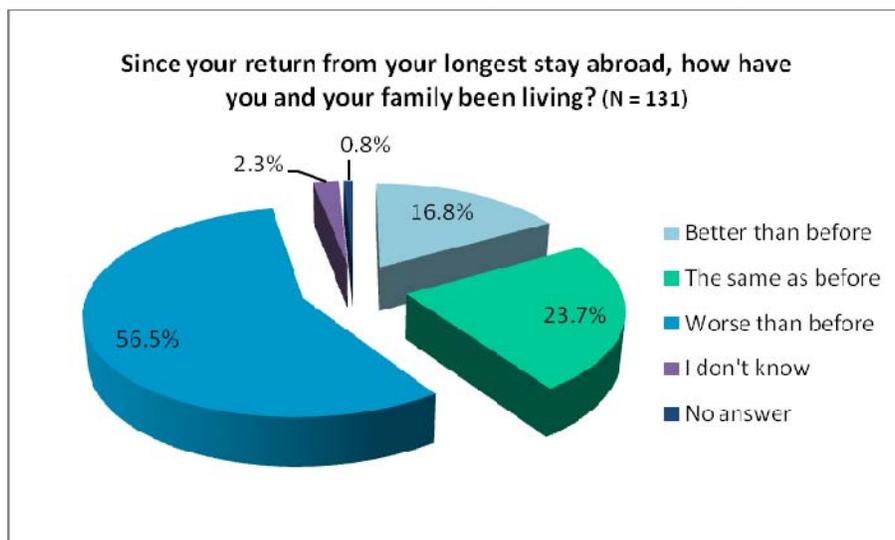
3.2.3 Current situation of return migrants

a) Overall situation

When asked about their **overall current living conditions since their return compared to their life before going abroad**, 16.8% (22) of the interviewees said that they were living better than before emigrating. 23.7% (31) stated that their situation was the same as before, whereas 56.5% (74) claimed that their situation had been worse since their return (see chart 17). These results also correspond to the findings of the Inclusive Development Social Survey (PBILD 2010: 25f.)¹³. Again, it is noticeable that members of the Roma community claimed significantly more that they had been living worse since their return than interviewees belonging to other nationalities. In addition, people who gained working experience abroad and people who came back with savings reported significantly more often that their current living conditions were better compared to their life before going abroad. Also, there was a strong positive relationship between a person's current level of education and their living conditions since the return. On the other hand, the variables gender, age, duration of the stay abroad and duration since last return do not seem to have any effect (see table 5).

¹³ According to the Inclusive Development Social Survey (PBILD 2010: 25f.), 59% of the interviewed returnees lived worse than before they went abroad, 27% the same as before and 14% better than before.

Chart 17. Current situation compared to before emigration



Looking at the different answers given to the question why life is better after the return (see table 4), it becomes clear that in almost all these cases the living standard of the returnees was improved due to the skills or savings gained during the stay(s) abroad. On the other hand, on closer inspection of the answers why life is worse now than before going abroad, it is obvious that many reasons given are rather related to the general situation in South Serbia than to the individual's stay abroad. A part from some respondents saying that they lost money by travelling abroad or that it was hard for them to be back there after having seen a better life in the country of destination, all the causes for living worse now were related to the worsening of living conditions in general, which would have also occurred if the respondents had not gone abroad.

When asked about the **overall living situation of interviewees in South Serbia at present, compared to their life abroad**, an overwhelming majority of 79.4% (104) of the respondents considers it to be worse, 7.6% (10) think that it is more or less the same, and only 9.9% (13) stated that their life in South Serbia is better (see chart 18). Again, there is a significant difference between the Roma and members of the other nationalities. Similarly to the previous question, the answers are significantly related to the working experience abroad, savings brought from abroad and current level of education (see table 5). These findings also explain why a large percentage of the interviewees are thinking about emigrating again (see chart 43, section j).

Table 4. Reasons why respondents are currently living better / worse compared to before emigrating

If your life is better now than before emigrating: What is the reason for that? (N = 22)	If your life is worse now than before emigrating: What is the reason for that? (N = 74)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Thanks to the savings from abroad I was able to improve my housing situation (build / repair house).” (45.5% / 10) • “Thanks to my stay abroad I improved my economic situation and I have more stability and security now.” (40.9% / 9) • “Thanks to my stay abroad I was able to open a business in Serbia.” (18.2% / 4) • “Thanks to my stay abroad I was able to find a (better) job in Serbia.” (18.2% / 4) • “The general situation in Serbia has been better after my return (no war, no inflation).” (4.5% / 1) • No answer (4.5% / 1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The general economic situation in Serbia got worse (industry closed, inflation, more unemployment, etc.).” (44.6% / 33) • “The economic situation of my family is very bad / unemployment / low income.” (41.9% / 31) • “I / some family member has health problems.” (23.0% / 17) • “I / some family member had work before going abroad, but now not anymore.” (10.8% / 8) • “Life has been more expensive since return, because I have children now / because children go to school now.” (9.5% / 7) • “It is difficult to get used to life in Serbia after having seen what life can be like.” (9.5% / 7) • “Because of my bad housing situation / homelessness.” (5.4% / 4) • “We spent a lot of money for the travel abroad.” (4.1% / 3) • “I don’t get any help (from National Employment Service, Centre for Social Welfare) (anymore).” (4.1% / 3) • “Before I used to live with my parents, now I’m alone.” (1.4% / 1) • “I am a single mother.” (1.4% / 1) • “I lost my son abroad.” (1.4% / 1) • “Because of insecurity.” (1.4% / 1) • “Because of the bad state services.” (1.4% / 1) • “I don’t know.” (1.4% / 1)

Chart 18. Current living situation compared to life abroad

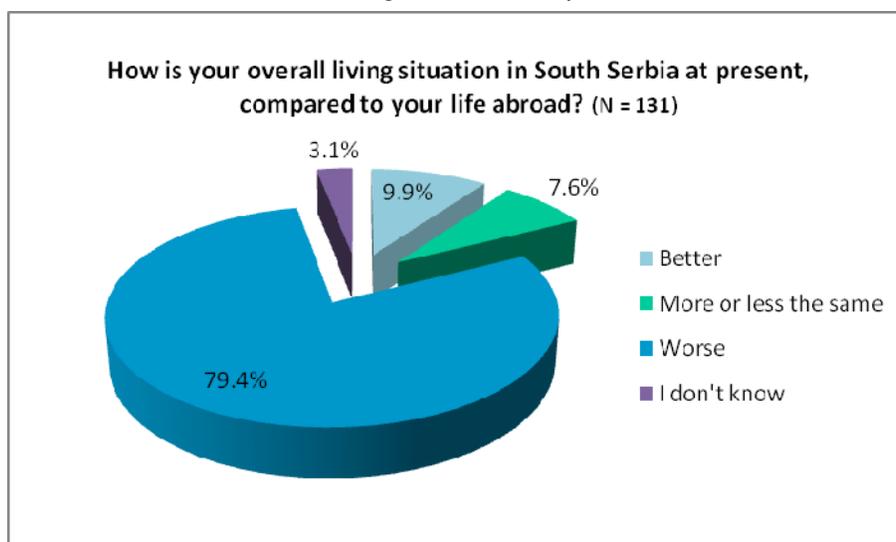


Table 5. Bivariate correlation, dependent variables: situation after the return compared to the one before emigrating and compared to life abroad

	Situation after return compared to before emigrating (N=130)	Situation after return compared to life abroad (N=127)
Gender	$\chi^2(2)= 4.390$ Phi= .186	$\chi^2(2)= 3.593$ Phi= .168
Nationality (dichotomous)	$\chi^2(2)= 41.370^{***}$ $r_s = .570^{***}$	$\chi^2(2)= 26.366^{***}$ $r_s = .454^{***}$
Age	$r_s = .162$ K-Tau= .132	$r_s = .106$ K-Tau= .092
Current level of education	$\chi^2(8)= 36.419^{***}$ $r_s = .470^{***}$	$\chi^2(8)= 31.875^{***}$ $r_s = -.413^{***}$
Working experience abroad	$\chi^2(2)= 6.609^*$ $r_s = .224^*$	$\chi^2(2)= 12.579^{**}$ $r_s = .275^{**}$
Savings brought back	$\chi^2(2)= 12.853^{**}$ $r_s = .281^{**}$	$\chi^2(2)= 7.245^*$ $r_s = .195^*$
Duration of stay abroad	$r_s = -.078$ K-Tau= -.068	$r_s = -.093$ K-Tau= -.078
Duration since return	$r_s = -.023$ K-Tau= -.017	$r_s = -.093$ K-Tau= -.078

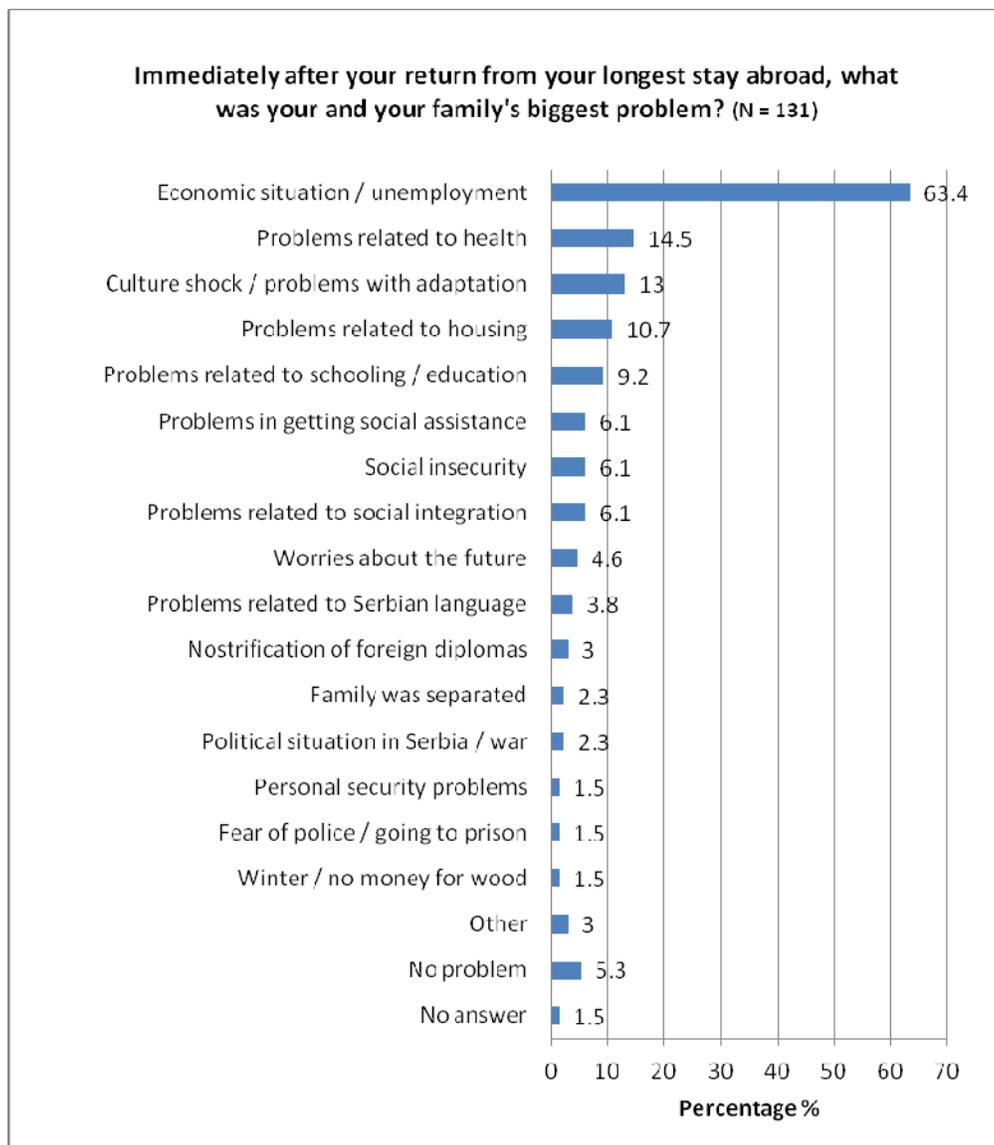
χ^2 : Asymptotic significance (2-sided): ***p<= .001, **p<= .01, *p<= .05. Values in brackets: Degrees of freedom. Phi / Spearman's correlation coefficient (r_s) / Kendall's tau (K-Tau): approximate significance: ***p<= .001, **p<= .01, *p<= .05.

Charts 19 and 20 show the interviewees' answers to the question what their **biggest problem** was immediately after their return from their longest stay abroad and at present. As expected, the economic situation and unemployment are by far the biggest problem of interviewees not only immediately after the return, but also at present. On closer inspection, it can be seen that economic problems and unemployment are mentioned more often for the present period than for the time immediately after the return, whereas at that time problems such as culture shock, problems with adaptation to life in Serbia, social integration as well as language problems take a considerable percentage of the answers.

Interestingly, asked about the biggest problem immediately after the return, people who stayed abroad for longer time periods¹⁴ mentioned economic problems and unemployment significantly less often than people who stayed abroad just for short time periods ($\chi^2(2) = 8.421$; $p < .05$; $r_s = .255$, $p < .01$). In addition, as expected, the length of the stay abroad is also significantly related to problems with social integration ($\chi^2(2) = 6.476$; $r_s = -.203$, $p < .05$) and language problems ($\chi^2(2) = 10.168$; $r_s = -.247$, $p < .01$), immediately after the return. On the other hand, the duration of the stay abroad does not have any effect on the other answers given to this question. Remarkably, the fact of experiencing a culture shock and having adaptation problems immediately after the return does not depend on the length of the stay abroad either.

¹⁴ For the purpose of this analysis, the sample was divided into three groups according to the duration of their longest stay abroad (2-12 months / 13-48 months / more than 48 months).

Chart 19. Biggest problem immediately after return¹⁵

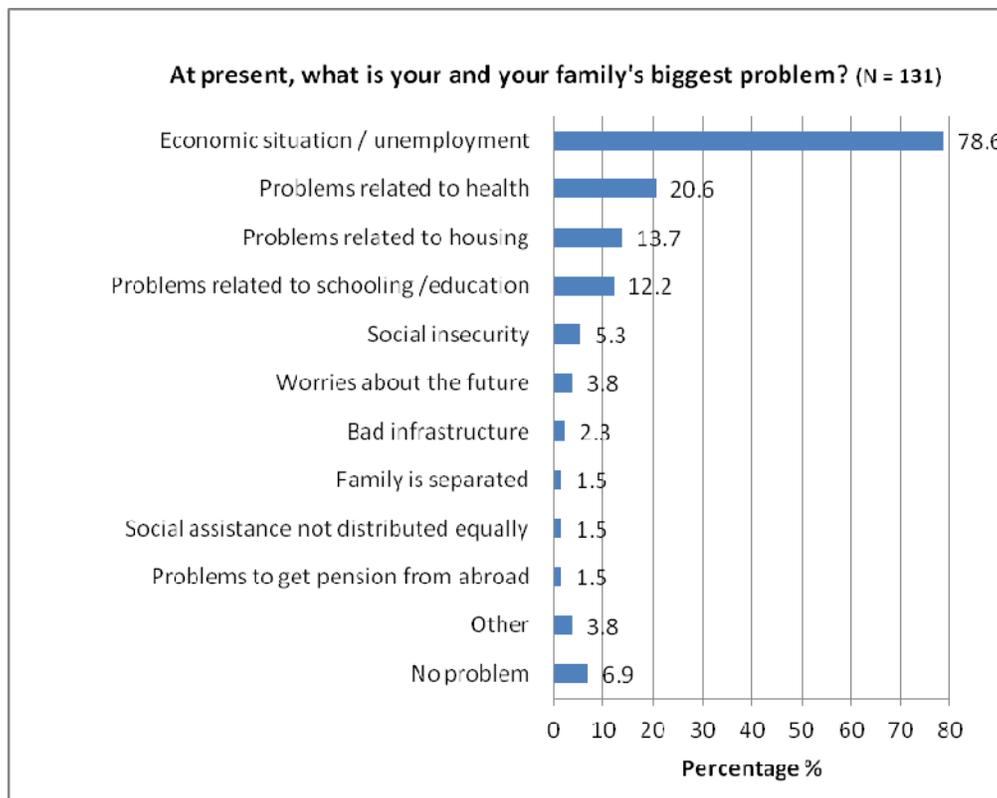


When it comes to the different nationalities, the analysis shows several differences between the Roma on the one hand and the other nationalities on the other hand: For both periods of time, Roma mentioned economic problems and health problems significantly more often than the

¹⁵ Some of the open-ended answers were grouped into the following answer categories:

- “*Economic situation / unemployment*” also contains answers such as “Not enough money” / “Not enough money for food / wood / clothes / electricity / medicines” / “Unemployment of a family member”, etc.
- “*Problems related to health*” also contains answers such as “Health problems of a family member”, “No health booklet”, etc.
- “*Culture shock / problems with adaptation*” also contains answers such as “Psychological crisis” / “Getting used to my old life” / “Getting used to life in Serbia after having seen a better life” / “I missed my life abroad.” / “Repentance because of return”, etc.
- “*Problems related to housing*” also contains answers such as “Lack of housing” / “House was in bad condition”, etc.
- “*Problems related to schooling / education*” also contains answers such as “Not enough money for schooling” / “Illiteracy”, etc.
- “*Bad infrastructure*” also contains answers such as “No electricity” / “No water” / “No sewage system” / “Bad roads”, etc.
- “*Personal security problems*” contains answers such as “Blood feud” / “I was a deserter from the military”, etc.

Chart 20. Biggest problem at present



Serbs, Albanians and Bulgarians¹⁶. Members of the Roma community also reported more difficulties in getting social assistance ($\chi^2(1) = 6.637$; Phi = $-.228$; $p < .05$) for the period immediately after the return and more housing problems for the present time ($\chi^2(1) = 6.786$; Phi = $-.228$, $p < .01$). On the other hand, Serbs, Albanians and Bulgarians mentioned problems with recognition of diplomas significantly more often for the time immediately after the return ($\chi^2(1) = 3.950$; Phi = $.176$; $p < .05$). In addition, for both periods of time, the answer “I did not have any problems” was given more frequently by the members of these three nationalities than by Roma¹⁷.

After this assessment of the overall situation of return migrants and their biggest problems in general, let us now have a closer look at the living conditions of return migrants in the fields of economic situation, housing, identity documents, recognition of foreign diplomas, situation of children at school, social integration, health and attitude towards re-emigration.

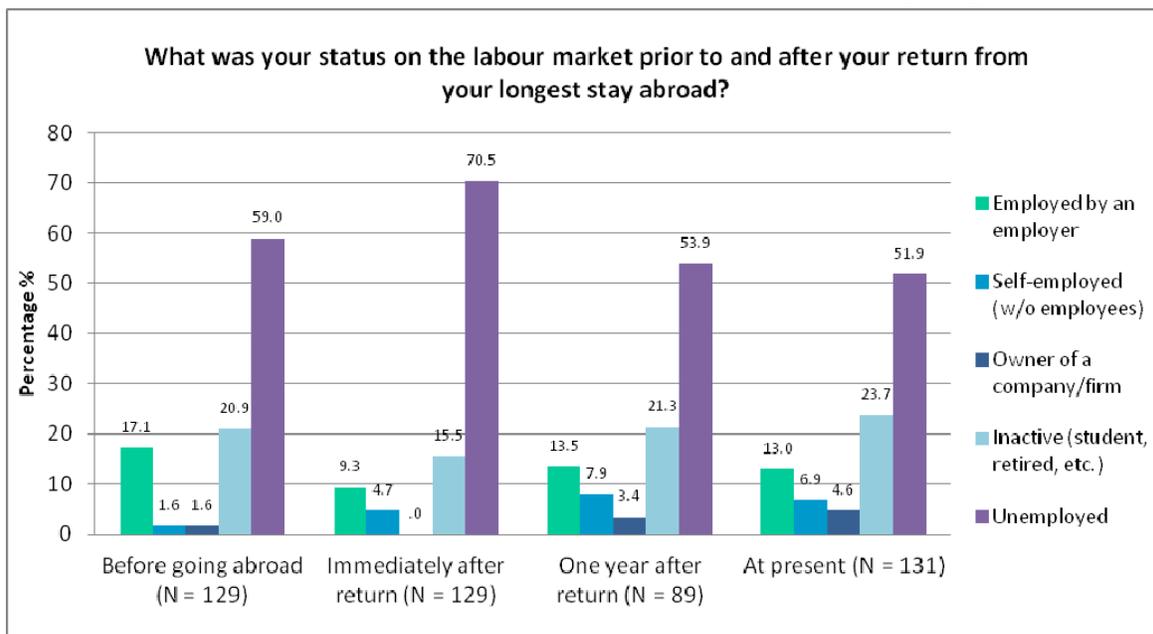
¹⁶ Economic problems (immediately after return): $\chi^2(1) = 5.448$; Phi = $-.206$; $p < .05$; Economic problems (at present): $\chi^2(1) = 6.902$; Phi = $-.231$, $p < .01$.
Health problems (immediately after return): $\chi^2(1) = 6.229$; Phi = $-.221$; $p < .05$; Health problems (at present): $\chi^2(1) = 8.728$; Phi = $-.258$, $p < .01$.

¹⁷ “I did not have any problems” (immediately after return): $\chi^2(1) = 9.521$; Phi = $.273$; $p < .01$; “I do not have any problems” (at present): $\chi^2(1) = 13.693$; Phi = $.326$, $p < .001$.

b) Economic situation

In order to assess the economic situation of the returnees, the interviewees were asked about their status on the labour market, their average monthly income, and their situation with regard to social assistance and to personal belongings. When it comes to the **status of returnees on the labour market** prior to and after their return from their longest stay abroad, the survey reveals the following picture:

Chart 21. Status on the labour market before and after emigrating



As depicted in chart 21, more than 50% of the interviewees were unemployed at all four points of time, with the number of unemployed being highest immediately after return. Within the first year after the return, this portion declines significantly, even though it remains very high at all times. On the other hand, the proportion of self-employed and owners of a company increases slightly between the return and the present time.

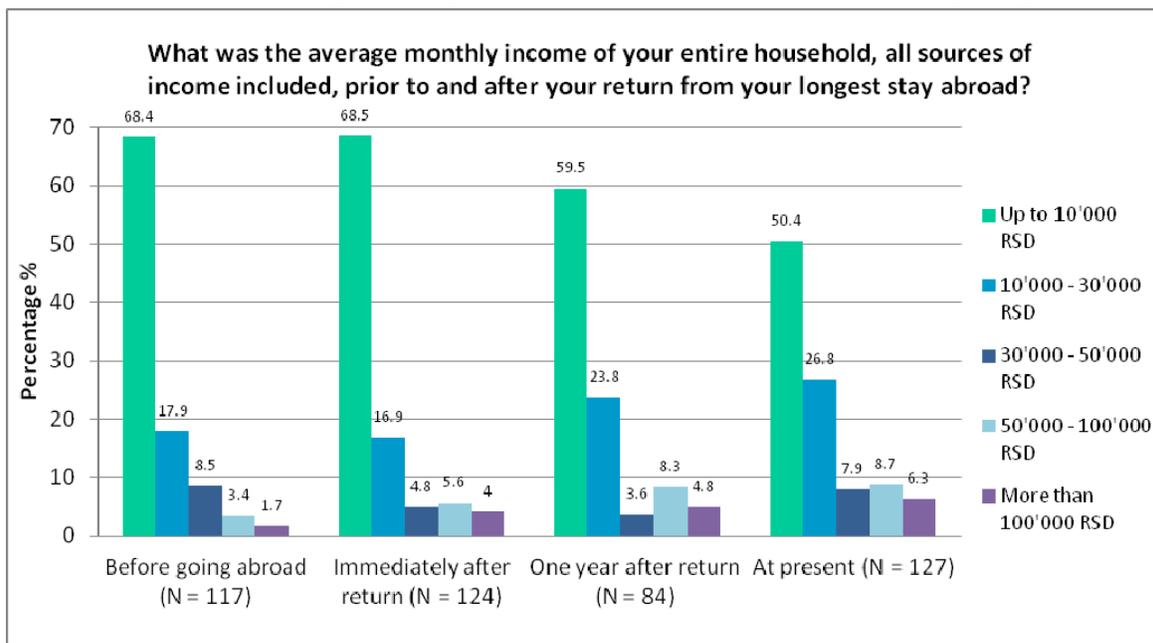
Out of those who stated to be unemployed at present, 69.5% (73) said they were **registered at the National Employment Service (NES)**. Those who were not registered at the NES cited the following reasons for this: Five persons said they had been deleted because they had not gone to register regularly, four interviewees believed that the NES would not help them anyway, five stated they were too old to get registered, four said they did not have the necessary personal documents to get registered, another four persons explained that they had just got back and were still fixing documents and three respondents said they were not registered because of health problems or disability¹⁸.

Considering the **average monthly income** of the interviewees' entire households, all sources of income included, prior to and after their return from their longest stay abroad, the survey shows that at all four points in time the income of an overwhelming majority of the respondents

¹⁸ Six interviewees mentioned other reasons.

was below 10'000 RSD (100 euro). However, chart 22 shows that from the time immediately after the return up to the present, the proportion of interviewees in the lowest category diminishes gradually in favour of the second category (10'000 – 30'000 RSD). Interpretation of these findings should, however, be done with reservation since the reported amounts of money – especially those referring to the Nineties and earlier periods – cannot unconditionally be compared to the amounts earned today, due to changes in currency and exchange rates.

Chart 22. Average monthly household income before and after emigrating



As expected, there was a strongly significant relationship between the average monthly income and nationality (dichotomous) at all four points of time¹⁹. Interestingly, the average monthly income at present is also significantly correlated to the total duration of a person's stay(s) abroad ($r_s = .205$; K-Tau = .166; $p < .05$), while this relationship is not significant for the time immediately after the return. In addition, there was a positive relationship between the current monthly income and the duration since the last return ($r_s = .205$; K-Tau = .159; $p < .05$). Therefore, it is assumed that people who stayed abroad for a longer time tend to be better off the longer they are back in South Serbia.

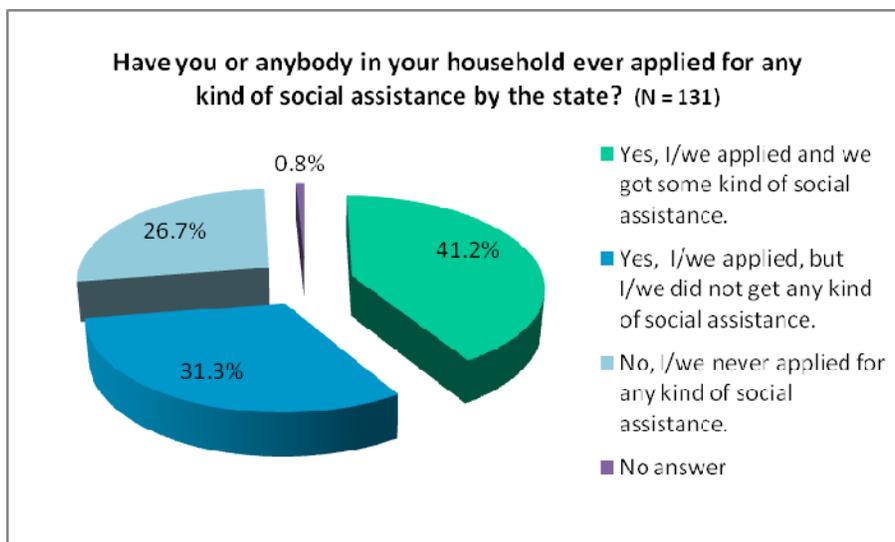
Only 9.9% (13) of the interviewees stated that they were currently getting some **remittances** from family members living abroad. The respective respondents receive between 50 and 3'000 euro per month (median: 100 euro, mean: 590 euro).

When asked if they or anybody in their household had ever applied for any kind of **social assistance** by the state, 41.2% (54) of the interviewees answered that they had applied and got some kind of social assistance. 31.3% (41) stated that they had applied, but not got any

¹⁹ Before going abroad: N = 117; $\chi^2(4) = 26.793$; $r_s = -.476$; $p < .001$; Immediately after the return: N = 124; $\chi^2(4) = 42.024$; $r_s = -.575$; $p < .001$; One year after the return: N = 84; $\chi^2(4) = 29.040$; $r_s = -.582$; $p < .001$; At present: N = 127; $\chi^2(4) = 58.134$; $r_s = -.651$; $p < .001$.

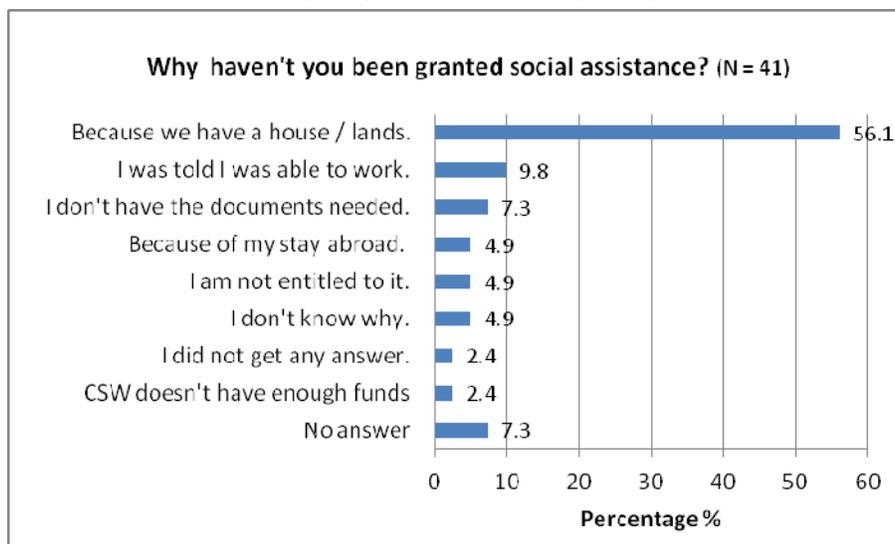
kind of social assistance, whereas 26.7% (35) answered in the negative. At present, 29% (38) of the respondents get some kind of social assistance²⁰ (see chart 23).

Chart 23. Social assistance



When asked why the respondents did not get any social assistance even if they had applied for it, most of the interviewees cited that they think it was because they were in possession of a house or lands (56.1% of the respective respondents (23)) (see chart 24). The assumption that social assistance might not have been granted based on possession of a house was widely perceived as unfair, since many of the respondents' houses were not in a good condition.

Chart 24. Reasons why respondents did not get any social assistance



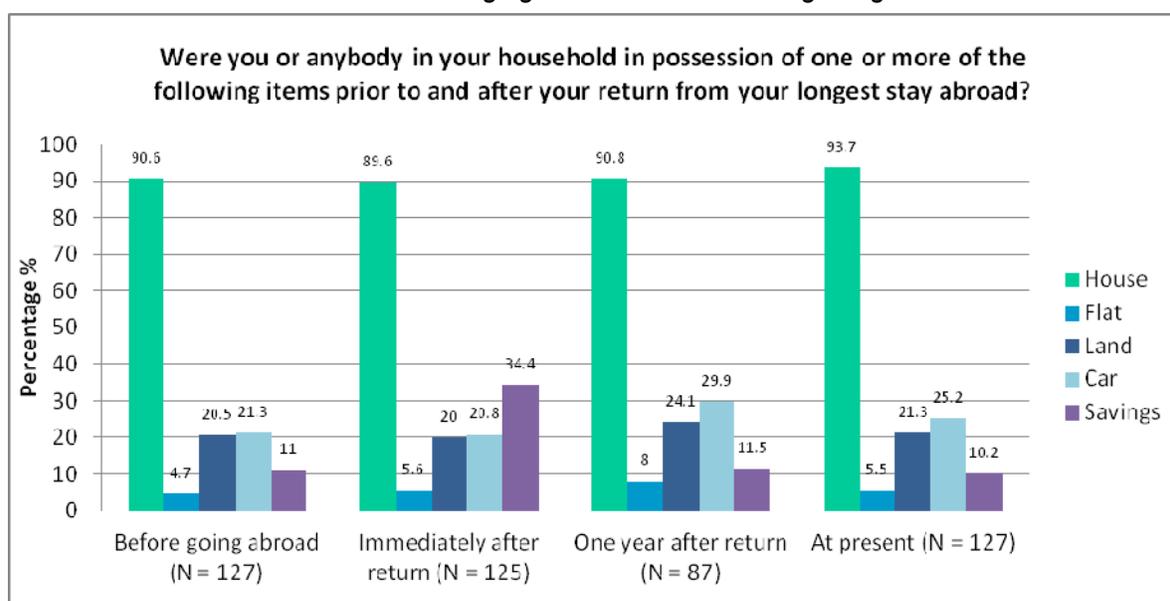
²⁰ Out of the 38 interviewees who presently get some kind of social assistance by the state, 73.7% (28) said they get children's allowances, 57.9% (22) receive financial assistance from the CSW, 10.5% (4) declared that they get support from a public kitchen, and 2.6% (1) said they are provided with home care for elderly persons.

On the other hand, the majority of the 35 interviewees who said that they had never applied for social assistance stated that they had not applied because they did not need it (65.7% / 23)²¹.

Subsequently, those not receiving any kind of social assistance at the moment (71% / 93) were asked if such assistance would be of any help to them. 79.6% (74) of this group of respondents answered in the affirmative, and 20.4% (19) stated that social assistance would not be helpful, a percentage which approximately corresponds to the number of respondents which stated that they had not applied for social assistance because they did not need it (see above).

Considering another aspect of return migrants' economic situation, namely the **possession of specific items** such as a house, flat, land, car and savings prior and after their return from their longest stay abroad, the analysis of the questionnaires yields the following results:

Chart 25. Belongings before and after emigrating



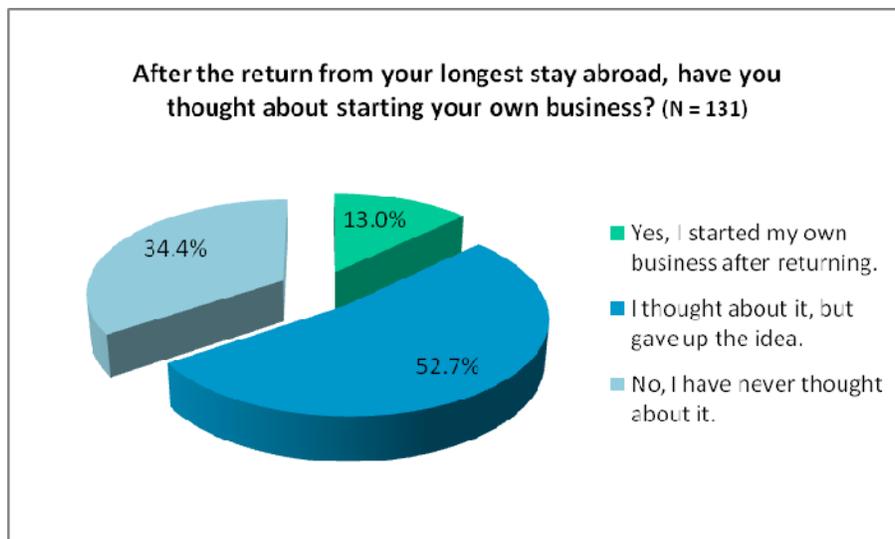
As it can be seen in chart 25, the data do not differ much for the four periods, apart from the savings which are highest immediately after the return. Also, there are no significant differences for the four points of time with respect to the percentage of respondents who stated that they did not possess any of the mentioned items²².

In order to assess more in detail the obstacles faced by return migrants in using their potentials after the return, one part of the questionnaire was dedicated to the topic „**starting a business after return**“. Chart 26 shows that 13% (17) of the respondents stated that they had started their own business after returning. 52.7% (69) had thought about it, but had given up the idea, and 34.4% (45) had never thought about it.

²¹ Besides, 14.3% (5) said they knew that they were not entitled, 5.7% (2) did not want to apply for social assistance, 2.9% (1) stated they did not apply because of the complicated procedure and unfair distribution of funds, and 2.9% (1) did not know the reason.

²² While 3.1% (4) did not possess any of the five items prior to going abroad, immediately after the return this applied to 1.6 % (2). One year after the return 5.7% (5) of the interviewees was not in possession of any of the mentioned items, whereas at present this accounts for 3.9% (5) of the interviewees.

Chart 26. Business start up



Out of the 16 persons who said that they had started their own business after returning, 87.5% (14) stated that this business was still open. Only two interviewees said that they had had to close down their business, one reportedly due to too high taxes, and the other because of the lack of market for what he was doing.

Those interviewees who claimed that they had thought about opening a business were then asked to specify why they had given up the idea. The most frequent answers were “lack of financial means” (78.3% / 54), “lack of education / knowledge” (10.1% / 7), “lack of premises” and “lack of land” (5.8% / 4), “institutional problems” (unstable / inefficient institutions, corruption, etc.) (5.8 % / 4) and personal problems such as health or age (4.3 % / 3).

All interviewees were asked what in their opinion the main obstacles in starting their own business were, and what would be helpful to open a business. The answers are listed in the charts 27 and 28. Similarly to the above, lack of seed money is by far the most frequently cited reason (64.9% / 85), with grants, money and loans accordingly being the most desired kind of assistance in opening a business (57.3% / 75). Apart from that, also the high taxes, lack of education/knowledge as well as systemic problems such as the complicated registration procedure, the bad economic situation in general, unstable or inefficient institutions, corruption, etc. were cited.

Chart 27. Main obstacles in starting own business

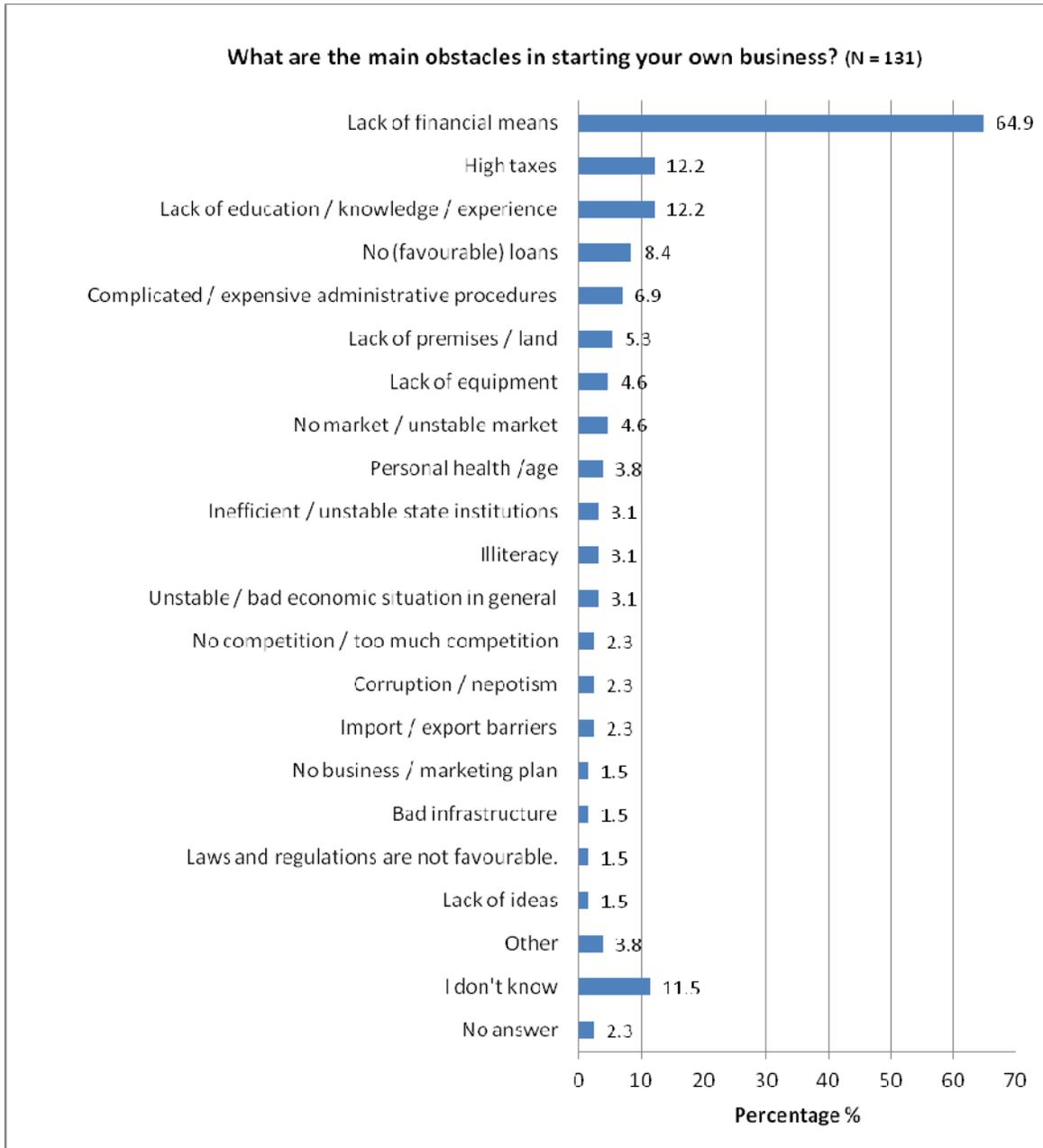
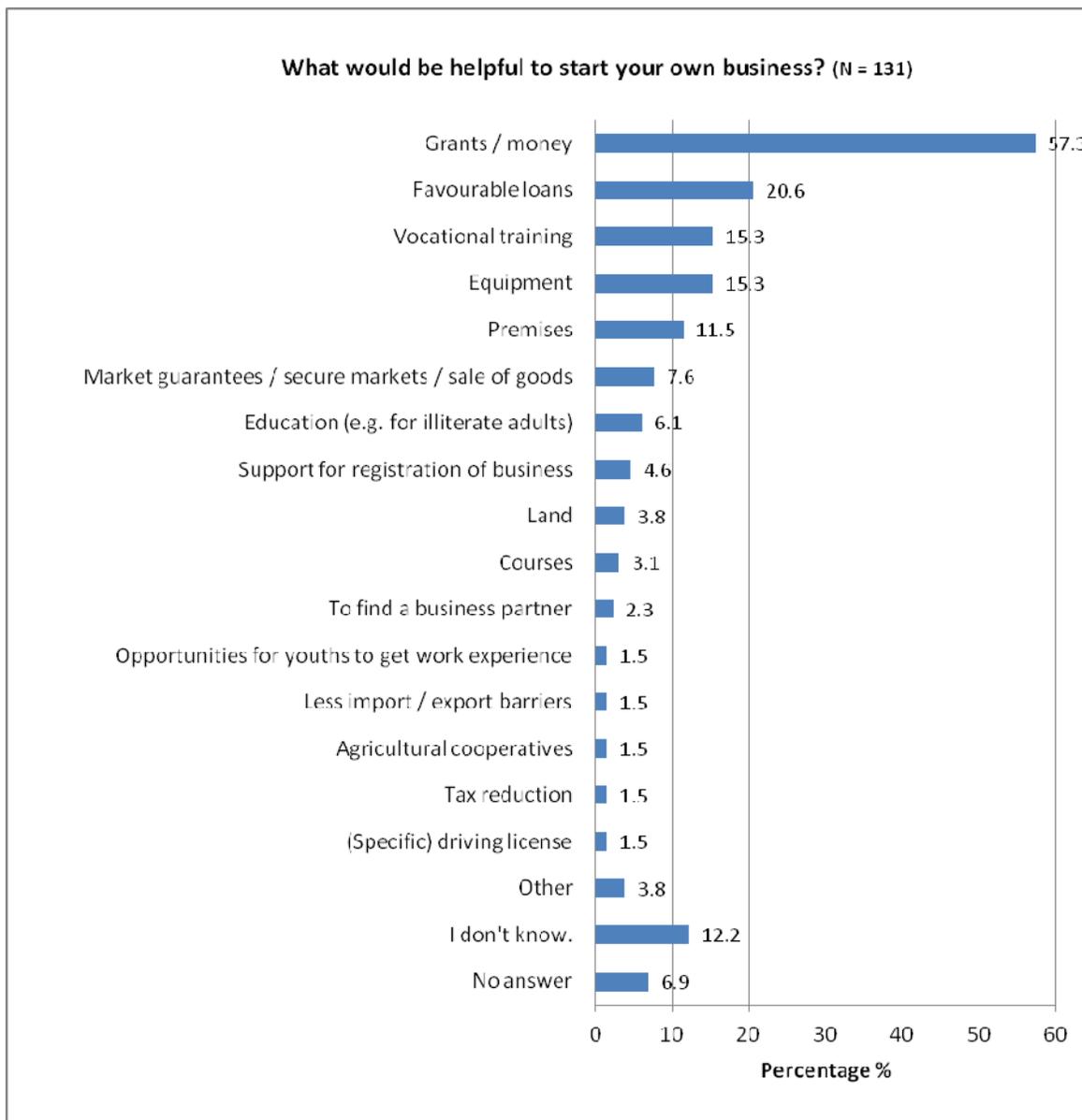


Chart 28. What would be helpful to start own business?



Finally, the interviewees were asked what kind of **services or assistance** provided by state or local institutions or civil society organisations would have been useful in order to improve their economic and professional situation after their return from abroad. Nine persons (6.9%, out of which five were Serbs and four Albanians) said they did not need any help with regard to their economic and professional situation, while five persons did not answer the question. The open-ended answers given by the other respondents are listed in table 6. As expected, the majority of the respondents wish to get help in the field of employment, such as help to find a job or better services by the NES. In addition, similarly to the questions above, a considerable percentage of the returnees mentioned that start up grants or favourable loans would be helpful to improve their economic situation.

While there was no significant difference between the nationalities with respect to the answers “Better / more efficient services by NES to find employment”, “Start up grant” and “Favourable loans”, several answers were mentioned significantly more or almost exclusively by Roma people: For example, there was a positive relationship between nationality (dichotomous) and the answer “Employment / help to find employment” ($\chi^2(1) = 5.193$; Phi = $-.199$; $p < .05$) as well as “More social welfare / children’s allowance” ($\chi^2(1) = 9.555$; Phi = $-.270$; $p < .01$). In addition, education for (illiterate) adults, school books and food at school for free, help for the children for school, money, better infrastructure, wood, clothes, food, and exemption from paying water, electricity and garbage as well as financial aid for the issuance of personal documents were just requested by members of the Roma community.

Table 6. *Services/assistance to improve economical / professional situation after the return*

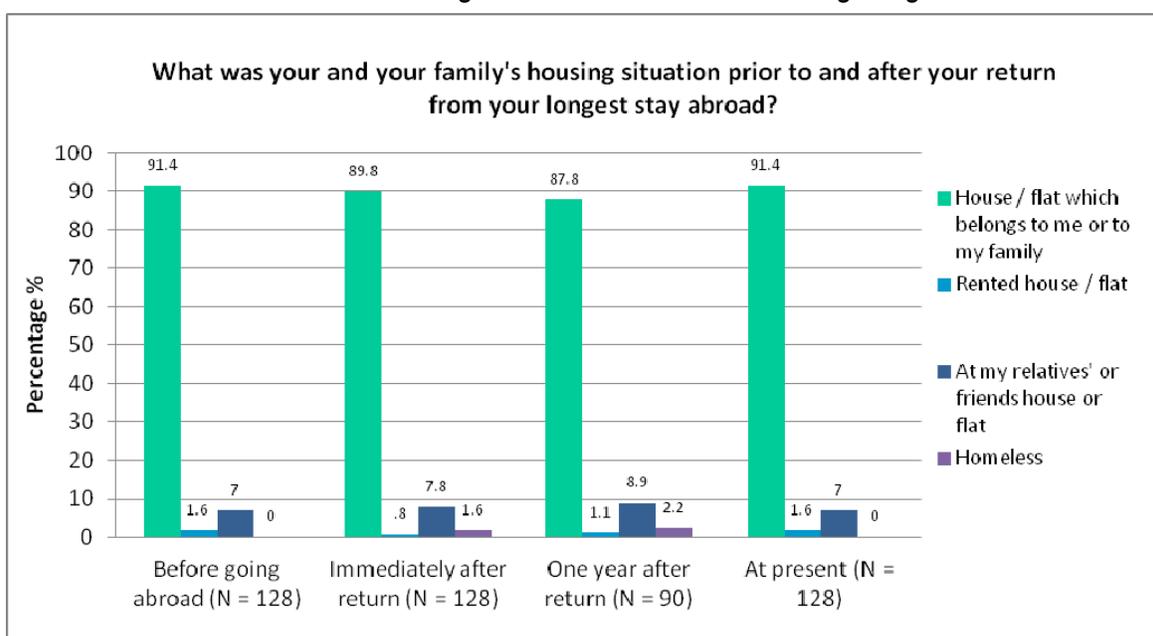
What kind of services/assistance provided by state or local institutions or civil society organisations would have been useful in order to improve your economical/professional situation after your last return from abroad? (N = 131)

- “Employment / help to find employment.” (46.6% / 61)
- “Better / more efficient services by NES to find employment.” (19.1% / 25)
- “More social welfare / children’s allowance.” (16.0% / 21)
- “A start up grant.” (13.7% / 18)
- “Favourable loans.” (13.0% / 17)
- “School books for free.” (8.4% / 11)
- “Help for children for school.” (7.6% / 10)
- “Money.” (6.1% / 8)
- “Vocational training.” (6.1% / 8)
- “Education for (illiterate) adults.” (5.3% / 7)
- “Education / courses.” (4.6% / 6)
- “Exemption from paying water, electricity and garbage.” (4.6% / 6)
- “Legal aid to get pension from abroad.” (4.6% / 6)
- “Employment programmes.” (3.8% / 5)
- “Better infrastructure.” (3.8% / 5)
- “Any kind of help.” (3.8% / 5)
- “Food.” (3.8% / 5)
- “Scholarships for the children.” (3.8% / 5)
- “Clothes.” (3.1% / 4)
- “Language courses.” (2.3% / 3)
- “Possibilities for highly educated young people to gain work experience, e.g. internships.” (2.3% / 3)
- “Financial aid for issuance of personal documents.” (2.3% / 3)
- “A house on my own.” (2.3% / 3)
- “Help to improve housing situation.” (2.3% / 3)
- “More choice for higher education in certain municipalities.” (2.3% / 3)
- “More understanding by employees of CSW and NES.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Nostrification of foreign university diploma should be cheaper.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Food for children at school for free.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Wood.” (1.5% / 2)
- “State assistance for small enterprises.” (1.5% / 2)
- “A piece of land.” (1.5% / 2)
- “State should help the big companies to open again and to find markets for their goods.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Serbian language courses for adults.” (0.8% / 1)
- “I would like to be registered at the NES.” (0.8% / 1)
- “More connections with big companies for my business.” (0.8% / 1)
- “A nursery school for my children.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Assistance for single mothers.” (0.8% / 1)
- “A Roma TV programme.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Higher salaries in general.” (0.8% / 1)
- “NES should be interconnected on international level to find jobs for people abroad.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Fight corruption.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Fight discrimination of ethnic minorities on the labour market.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Fight corruption on the labour market.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Legal aid to get my savings from abroad.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Legal aid to get my Serbian pension.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Higher pension.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Construction material for additional premises for business.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Equipment and tools.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Training centres where you can improve your skills and your CV.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Any kind of services to find a job, since the NES is unable to help.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Medication for free.” (0.8% / 1)

c) Housing situation

In order to assess the housing situation of return migrants immediately after the return and at present, the next section of the survey questionnaire was dedicated to this topic. As depicted in chart 29, before going abroad, after the return as well as at present around 90% of the interviewees were living in a house or apartment which belonged to them or their family. There does not seem to be a big difference between the four considered points of time, which means that most of the returnees still had their own house at the time of their return. Even though these results seem encouraging, it must be pointed out that these data do not say anything about the size and conditions in which these houses are. However, a detailed assessment of the state of housing and availability of facilities would have gone beyond the scope of this survey.

Chart 29. Housing situation before and after emigrating



Furthermore, 94.7% (124) of the interviewees declared that after their longest stay abroad they had **returned to the place of residence** where they had been living before (see chart 30), which is not surprising seen the amount of people who still had their own house upon return²³. Similarly, a vast majority of the respondents said that they had never **changed their place of residence within Serbia** since the return from their longest stay abroad (90.8% / 119), with only 8.4% (11) people reporting that they had moved once or twice (see chart 31)²⁴.

²³ The 6 respondents who stated having returned to another place after emigrating cited the following reasons: family reasons (50% / 3), marriage (33.3% / 2) and security reasons (16.7% / 1).

²⁴ Almost half of the 11 respondents (45.5% / 5) who have changed their place of residence after their return cited marriage as primary reason; other answers were work, studies, homelessness, security reasons and divorce (9.1% (1) each).

Chart 30. Place of residence after return

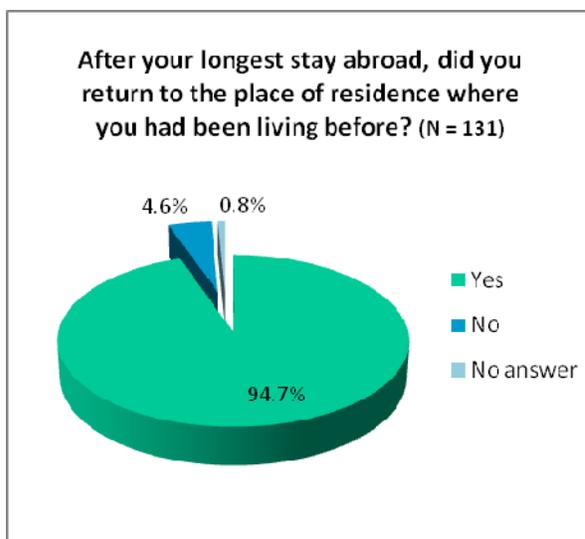
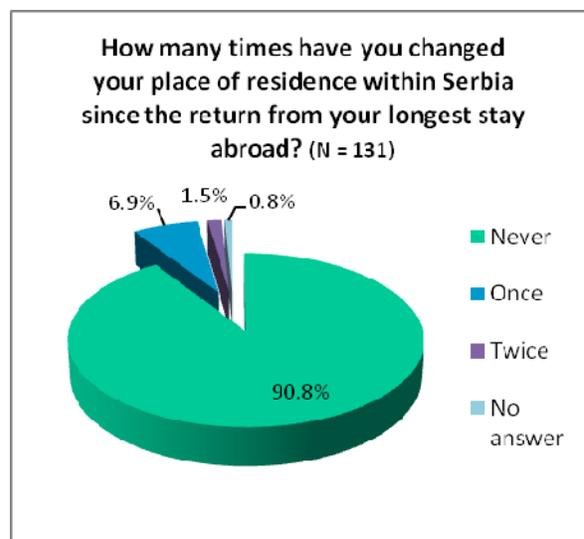


Chart 31. Changes of place of residence



When asked what services or assistance would have been helpful to improve the respondents' housing situation after their last return from abroad, 37.4% (49) of the interviewees said they were not in need of any assistance with regard to housing. There was a highly significant relationship between the need of assistance for housing and nationality (dichotomous), with Roma requiring much more help in this field than members of the other nationalities (N = 128; $\chi^2(1) = 41.444$; Phi = -.569; $p < .001$). The open-ended answers to the question are listed in table 7:

Table 7. Services/assistance to improve housing situation after the return

What kind of services/assistance provided by state or local institutions or civil society organisations would have been useful in order to improve your housing situation after your last return from abroad? (N = 131)

- "Renovation of our house (e.g. roof, façade, etc.)." (30.5% / 40)
- "Construction material (for renovation of the house or to build a new house)." (19.8% / 26)
- "A new house or a house on our own (separate from the family)." (14.5% / 19)
- "We don't have a bathroom." (12.2% / 16)
- "There is no sewage system." (11.5% / 15)
- "More space for all the family members (e.g. additional rooms or floors)." (10.7% / 14)
- "Better infrastructure in general." (6.9% / 9)
- "A better road." (5.3% / 7)
- "Favourable loans to build a house / for renovation." (5.3% / 7)
- "Water supply / better water system." (5.3% / 7)
- "Furniture / household devices." (4.6% / 6)
- "We don't have any electricity." (2.3% / 3)
- "Help to get a permission to construct a new house / shorter and cheaper procedure to get such a permission." (2.3% / 3)
- "Exemption from paying water and electricity." (2.3% / 3)
- "Help by some agency to find a house / flat." (2.3% / 3)
- "A piece of land to build a house." (1.5% / 2)
- "Employment in order to be able to build my own house." (0.8% / 1)
- "Social housing for homeless people." (0.8% / 1)
- "Help to get an apartment." (0.8% / 1)
- "Any kind of service." (0.8% / 1)
- "Financial assistance." (0.8% / 1)

The answers “Renovation of our house”, “Construction material”, “We don’t have a bathroom” and “More space for all family members” were significantly related to the respondents’ nationality²⁵. Also, most of the answers regarding infrastructure (“Water supply”, “Better infrastructure in general”, “A better road”) were cited more by members of the Roma community than by Serbs, Albanians and Bulgarians. In addition, furniture and household devices were also requested exclusively by Roma.

Overall, the survey has shown that return migrants’ problems as to housing are closely linked to the general situation of the Roma community.

d) Personal documents

Concerning personal documents, the results of the survey are quite encouraging: 93.1% (122) of all respondents stated not only that they had been in **possession of a personal document** (either identity card or passport or birth certificate or citizenship certificate) at the time of their last return from abroad, but also that they had such an identity document at present (see charts 32 and 33).

Chart 32. Personal documents at the time of the return

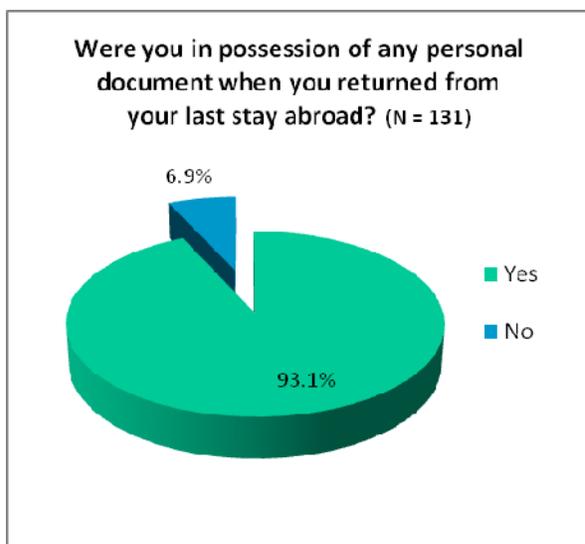
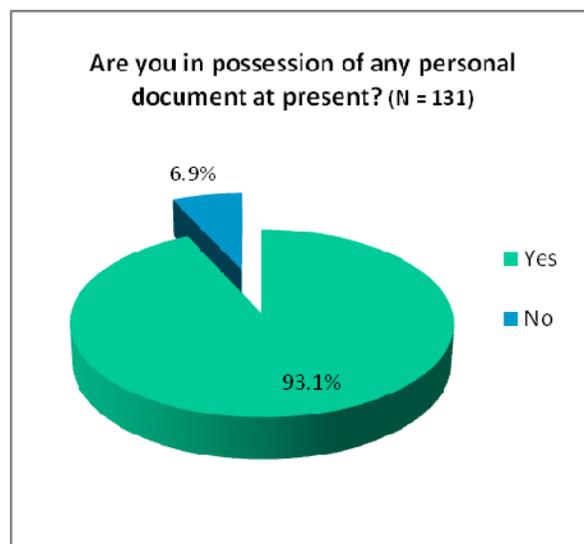


Chart 33. Personal documents at present



Similarly, a majority of the respondents (83.2% / 109) said that after their last return from abroad, they had not had any **problems related to personal documents**. The 16% (21) of the interviewees who have had difficulties in this field brought up the following kind of problems:

²⁵ “Renovation of our house”: $\chi^2(1) = 37.290$; Phi = -.534; $p < .001$; “Construction material”: $\chi^2(1) = 11.523$; Phi = -.297; $p < .001$; “We don’t have any bathroom”: $\chi^2(1) = 7.795$; Phi = -.244; $p < .01$; “More space for all family members”: $\chi^2(1) = 9.094$; Phi = -.263; $p < .01$.

Table 8. Problems related to personal documents since last return

What kind of problems did you have related to personal documents after your last return from abroad? (N = 131)

- “The costs for the issuance of personal documents are so high that I cannot afford them.” (8.4% / 11)
- “The foreign birth certificate of our son is not accepted, therefore he cannot be registered in Serbia.” (1.5% / 2)
- “When we returned, it was difficult to register our child who was born in Italy, since we did not have its birth certificate.” (1.5% / 2)
- “On our travel back from Germany to Serbia, they deliberately did not stamp our passports on the Hungarian and Serbian border, so that it looked like we were still in Germany, and therefore we cannot go back.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Upon return, my wife had problems with registration because she is a Macedonian citizen.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Upon return, the police did not want to issue me a passport because of my stay abroad and because of my asylum interviews. I could get my passport only through personal contacts.” (0.8% / 1)
- “I had to pay bribes in order to get birth certificates in Latin script in the Citizen’s Assistance Centre in Vranje.” (0.8% / 1)
- “I had problems with the issuance of my passport because I had deserted from the army before going abroad.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Since I was born in Macedonia, I always need to go there to get my birth certificate in order to get new identity documents in Serbia.” (0.8% / 1)

Most of the answers depicted in table 8 concern single cases and specific constellations and, therefore, cannot be considered general problems of the broad public. However, closer attention should be paid to the first answer, which was given by 11 respondents, exclusively by members of the Roma community: For the respective respondents, the high costs of passports and identity cards are the main reason why they are not in possession of any personal document at the moment. Furthermore, the lack of personal documents also prevents these respondents from getting registered at the NES and at the Centre for Social Welfare (CSW), and they remain without health insurance.

Similarly, when asked what kind of services or assistance provided by state or local institutions or civil society organisations would have been useful with respect to personal documents after the interviewees’ last return from abroad, the answer which was cited the most – again exclusively by Roma people – was lower costs for the issuance of passports and identity cards (10.1% / 14) (see table 9). On the other hand, 87% (114) of the interviewees stated they were not in need of any assistance with regard to personal documents.

Table 9. Services/assistance with respect to personal documents after the return

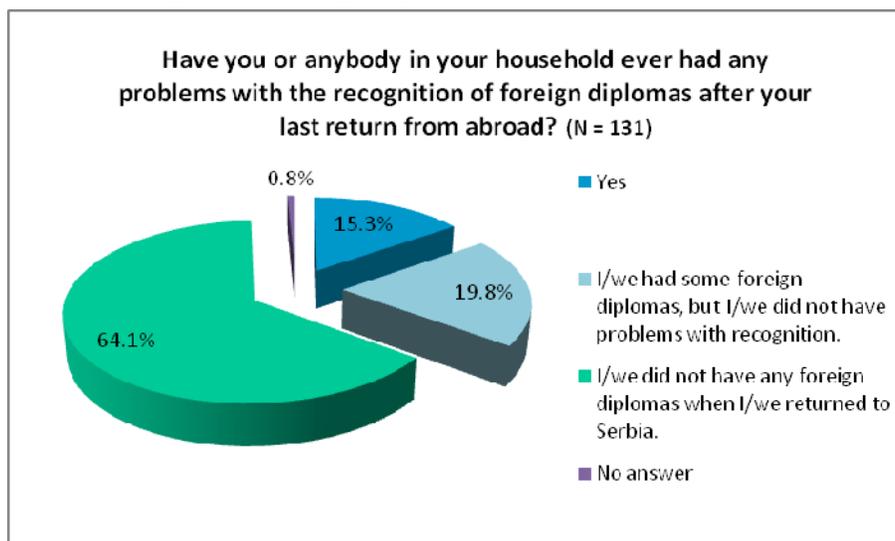
What kind of services / assistance provided by state or local institutions or civil society organisations would have been useful with respect to personal documents after your last return from abroad? (N = 131)

- “Lower price for issuance of passports or identity card / issuance free of charge.” (10.7% / 14)
- “Identity documents should be issued also in smaller villages since transport to bigger towns is expensive.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Easier access to documents.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Better cooperation between Serbian and Macedonian authorities, so that I don’t need to go to Macedonia for birth certificates all the time.” (0.8% / 1)

e) Recognition of foreign diplomas and school certificates

When it comes to the **recognition of diplomas or school certificates** from abroad, the survey results show that the majority of the interviewees did not have any foreign diplomas or school certificates when they returned to Serbia (64.1% / 84). Out of those who were in possession of such diplomas, 56.5% (26) said they had not had any problems with recognition, whereas 43.5% (20) claimed that they had had some kind of problems (see chart 34).

Chart 34. Recognition of foreign diplomas or school certificates after the return



The main problem mentioned in this regard is that in several cases children’s school certificates from abroad were not recognised, wherefore these children missed a grade or did not go to school anymore at all (see also section f below). It is remarkable in this context that almost all problems related to foreign school certificates were mentioned by Roma. In addition, five respondents (all of them people living in Bosilegrad who had previously studied in Bulgaria) reported that the nostrification procedure of foreign university diplomas took very long time and was extremely expensive. Several of them stated that they had paid between 300 and 1000 euro for the translation and nostrification procedure of their university diploma, and that this procedure had taken almost a year. Some of the respective respondents even stated that they had not asked for nostrification because they could not afford it.

Table 10. Problems with the recognition of foreign diplomas or school certificates

What kind of problems did you have with respect to recognition of diploma or school certificates after your last return from abroad? (N = 131)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “School certificates from abroad were not recognised in Serbia, wherefore I/my children missed one/several grades or did not go to school anymore.” (9.2% / 12) “The nostrification procedure for foreign university diploma took long and was expensive.” (3.8% / 5) “Upon return, I had to do some exams in order for my foreign university diploma to be recognised.” (1.5% / 2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “Since we were deported without prior notice, our son’s school certificates are still in France, and it is difficult to get them.” (1.5% / 2) “I had some problems with the nostrification of my foreign diploma.” (0.8% / 1)

Accordingly, when asked about what kind of services or assistance would have been helpful with respect to recognition of foreign diplomas or school certificates, respondents suggested that the procedure for nostrification of foreign university diplomas should be faster and cheaper, or that foreign university diplomas should be recognised without the translation of all exam documents. With regard to school certificates, the interviewees required that the translation of such certificates should be cheaper. Furthermore, better information from schools what is needed for the recognition of foreign school certificates was requested (see table 11). 80.9% (106) of the interviewees stated they did not need any assistance concerning recognition of diplomas or school certificates.

Table 11. Services/assistance with respect to recognition of diplomas or school certificates

What kind of services / assistance provided by state or local institutions or civil society organisations would have been useful with respect to the recognition of diplomas or school certificates after your last return from abroad? (N= 131)

- “Procedure for nostrification of foreign university diplomas should be faster and cheaper, with not so many translations needed.” (5.3% / 7)
- “Translation of foreign school certificates should be for free or cheaper.” (4.6% / 6)
- “Foreign school certificates should be recognised by Serbian schools.” (4.6% / 6)
- “Better information from schools about what is needed for the recognition of foreign school certificates (e.g. translation).” (2.3% / 3)
- “Since Serbia adopted the Bologna declaration, foreign university diplomas should be recognised without the translation of all the documents.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Better communication / agreements between the Serbian and Bulgarian governments about the nostrification of university diplomas.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Help in getting son’s school certificates from France.” (1.5% / 2)

f) Schooling

The six questions regarding potential **problems of children at school** after the return were answered only by interviewees who at the time of the return from their longest stay abroad were between 7 and 19 years old, or who at the time of the return had 7 to 19 year old children. In total, 70 of the interviewed returnees fell in this category.

Out of this target group, 55.7% (39) said that they or their children **continued to attend primary or secondary school** after the return from their longest stay abroad (see chart 35). Among those who answered in the negative there were significantly more Roma than members of other nationalities ($\chi^2(1) = 9.785$; Phi = .374; $p < .01$), and the majority of them cited the lack of money for schooling as the reason for not continuing education (61.3% / 19). Others mentioned personal reasons such as marriage or pregnancy (16.1% / 5) and health reasons (3.2 % / 1), whereas 12.9% (4) stated that the school certificates from abroad had not been recognised (see table 12).

Chart 35. School attendance after return

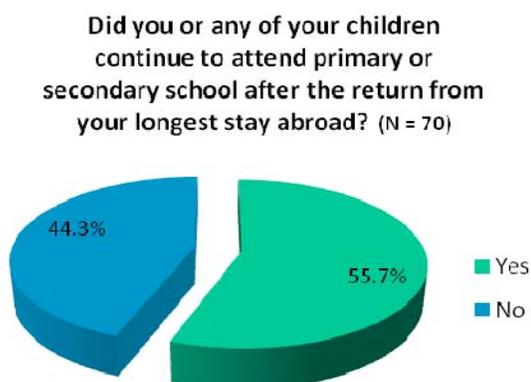


Table 12. Reasons for not attending school

Why did you / your children not continue to attend school after your return? (N = 31)

- “Because of a lack of money (for books, clothes, food, etc.).” (61.3% / 19)
- “Because of marriage / pregnancy.” (16.1% / 5)
- “Because school certificates from abroad were not recognised.” (12.9% / 4)
- “Because there was no special school for children with disabilities.” (6.4% / 2)
- “Because of health problems.” (3.2% / 1)

Out of the 39 interviewees who stated that they or their children had continued to attend primary or secondary school after their return, almost half (48.7% / 19) said that they / their children **had missed at least one school grade** (see chart 36). Remarkably, all of them were Roma. As table 13 shows, the main reasons for repeating a class are insufficient knowledge of the Serbian language (47.4% / 9) as well as the fact that in some cases the school certificates from abroad were not recognised back in Serbia (36.8% / 7).

Chart 36. Grade repetition



Table 13. Reason for grade repetition

Why did you / your children miss a grade? (N = 19)

- “Because of insufficient Serbian language skills.” (47.4% / 9)
- “Because school certificates from abroad were not recognised.” (36.8% / 7)
- “Child(ren) missed one grade.” (no reason indicated) (15.8% / 3)
- “Our son will miss one grade unless we submit his French school certificates.” (10.5% / 2)

When it comes to **language problems** at school, 61.5% (24) of the respective interviewees declared that they or their children had such problems after the return (see chart 37). The vast majority (91.7% / 22) of the concerned respondents said their problems were related to insufficient knowledge of the Serbian language upon return, including answers such as problems with writing, problems with the Cyrillic script or insufficient oral language skills. One interviewee stated he had problems with social integration because of insufficient knowledge of the Serbian language. An interviewed couple belonging to the Albanian minority claimed that their son had problems with the Albanian language at school after having gone to school in France for one year (see table 14).

However, it should be noted that the children's problems with the Serbian language were not always because of their preceding stay abroad, but that in some cases language problems were rather due to the fact that respondents were members of the Roma community who reported having had problems with the Serbian language even before going abroad. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that with respect to language problems neither there is a statistically significant difference between the Roma and the other nationalities, nor between the members of all language minorities (Albanians, Roma, Bulgarians) and the Serbian majority. On the other hand, there is a positive relationship between the duration of the longest stay abroad and language problems ($r_s = .484$; K-Tau = .408; $p < .01$).

Chart 37. Language problems after return



Table 14. Kind of language problems

What kind of language problems did you / your children have at school after your return? (N = 24)

- "Insufficient knowledge of the Serbian language (oral / written / Cyrillic)." (91.7% / 22)
- "My son had problems with the Albanian language at school after having attended the first grade of primary school in France." (8.3% / 2)
- "I had problems with social integration at school because of my poor Serbian language skills." (4.2% / 1)

Furthermore, only a small percentage (10.3% / 4) of the interviewees declared that they or their children were enrolled in some **catch up classes** or evening school because of language problems after their return. 57.1% (20) of those who did not attend such classes stated that this would have been useful, but that this service was not available or that private classes would have been too expensive. On the other hand, 42.9% (15) did not consider such classes to be necessary.

Regarding **discrimination at school**, one third (33.3% / 13) of the respective interviewees reported that they or their children had faced discrimination at school after the return from their longest stay abroad (see chart 38). However, similarly to the above mentioned language problems, in a considerable amount of cases this discrimination was not due to the return from abroad, but because of the fact that respondents belonged to the Roma community (see table 15). Nevertheless, again there is no statistically significant relationship between nationality and discrimination of children at school.

Chart 38. Discrimination at school

Did you or any of your children face any kind of discrimination at school after the return from your longest stay abroad? (N = 39)

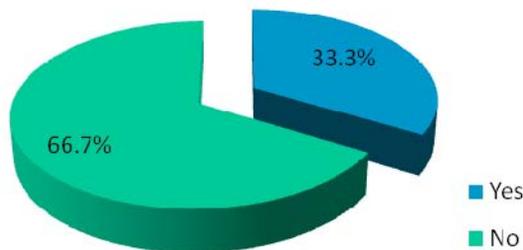


Table 15. Type of discrimination

What kind of discrimination did you or your children face at school after the return? (N = 13)

- Teasing / difficult social integration because of bad Serbian language skills (46.2% / 6)
- Discrimination / bad social integration because of Roma nationality and poverty (38.5% / 5)
- "Our son was beaten by the school director because he is a Roma." (15.4% / 2)
- "My children were excluded from school because we did not have enough money for the books." (7.7% / 1)
- "Children faced criticism because we had left the country." (7.7% / 1)

g) Social integration

With regard to social integration, the interviewees were asked how they considered, on a 5-point scale, their and their family's social integration in their community before and after emigrating. Looking at the results in chart 39, it is striking that there does not seem to be a big difference between the answers at the four different points of time. Even though the mean of the level of social integration is, as expected, the lowest immediately after the return, the differences are still very low. In fact, in 81.5% (97) of the cases, there is no difference between the personal feeling of social integration before emigration and immediately after the return. 13.4% (16) of the respondents said that their social integration has been worse immediately after the return, while according to 5% (6) of the interviewees social integration was even better than before emigrating. However, the longer a person stayed abroad, the bigger the probability was that this person's social integration would be worse immediately after the return compared to before emigrating ($r_s = -.225$; K-Tau = .196; $p < .05$).

Table 16 shows which variables are related to the personal feeling of social integration immediately after the return as well as at present. The bivariate analysis indicates that Roma presently feel significantly less integrated than other nationalities. In addition, there was a positive relationship between a person's current level of education and social integration. The same accounts for the present status on the labour market: Unemployed feel significantly less integrated than the other respondents. However, these relationships are only significant for the present moment, not for the time immediately after the return.

On the other hand, as it was expected, the duration of the stay abroad seems to negatively affect the level of social integration immediately after the return. However, it is not significantly correlated to the level of social integration at present. Interestingly, the interviewees who returned voluntarily (i.e. who could have stayed abroad legally) felt significantly more socially integrated immediately after the return as well as at present than those who were forced to return.

The variables gender, age and residence in a town or in rural areas are not significantly correlated with social integration.

Chart 39. Social integration before and after emigrating²⁶

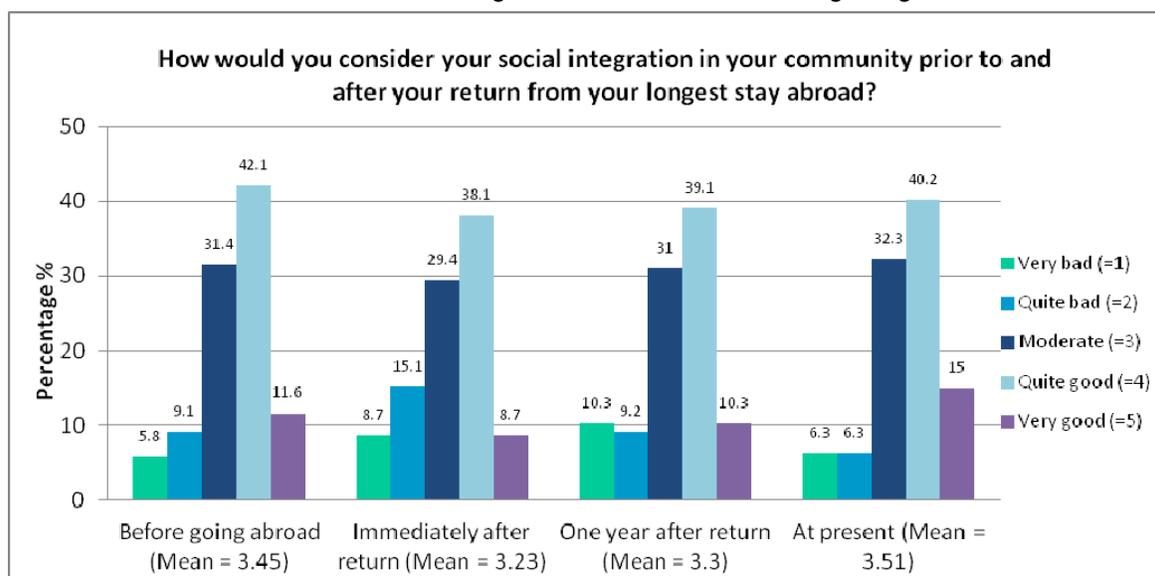


Table 16. Bivariate correlation, dependent variables: social integration immediately after the return and at present

	Social integration immediately after the return (N=126)	Social integration at present (N=127)
Gender	$r_s = .079$ K-Tau = .072	$r_s = .077$ K-Tau = .071
Nationality (dichotomous)	$r_s = -.089$ K-Tau = -.081	$r_s = -.214^*$ K-Tau = -.197*
Age	$r = .025$	$r = -.051$
Level of education¹	$r_s = .082$ K-Tau = .064	$r_s = .230^{**}$ K-Tau = .192^{**}
Status on labour market²	$r_s = -.093$ K-Tau = -.085	$r_s = -.226^*$ K-Tau = -.208*
Town / rural area	$r_s = .104$ K-Tau = .095	$r_s = -.004$ K-Tau = -.004
Duration of longest stay abroad	$r = -.220^*$	$r = -.041$
Reason for return	$r_s = -.194^*$ K-Tau = -.212*	$r_s = -.247^{**}$ K-Tau = -.228^{**}
Duration since return	--	$r = .101$

Spearman's correlation coefficient (r_s) / Kendall's tau (K-Tau) / Pearson's correlation coefficient (r): approximate significance: *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

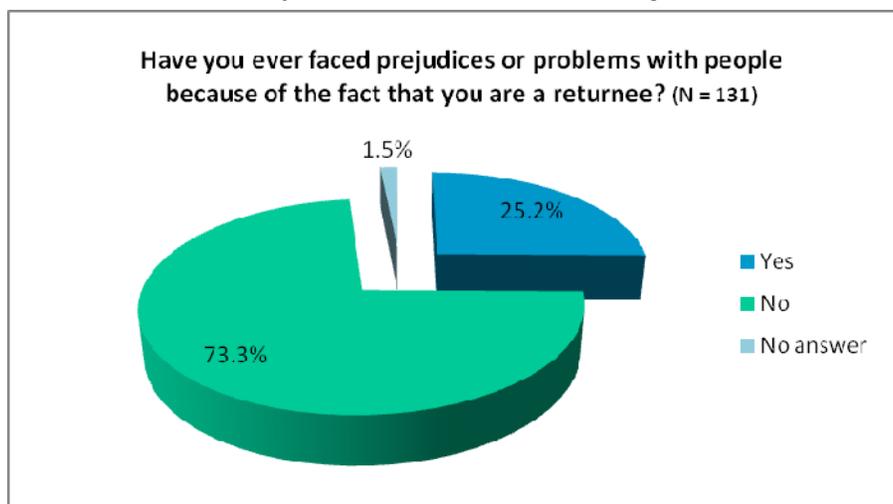
¹ For this analysis, the level of education for the two different points of time was considered.

² For this analysis, the variable "status on the labour market" was dichotomised ("Unemployed" vs. "All other categories") for the two different points of time.

²⁶ Before emigration: N = 121; Immediately after return: N = 126; One year after return: N = 87; At present: N = 127.

When asked if they had ever faced **prejudices or problems with people because of being a returnee**, around one quarter (25.2% / 33) of the interviewees answered in the affirmative. The largest share of these respondents said they were called traitors or insulted by people in the street because of having left the country (42.4% / 14) (see chart 40).

Chart 40. Prejudices faced because of being a returnee



Several interviewees reported that they faced prejudices because they were considered rich after the return, or because people envied them for other reasons. In addition, four people said that they had faced some kind of discrimination or problems with the local authorities such as the employees of the NES, the CSW or the police (see table 17). The bivariate analysis showed no significant relationship between these prejudices and nationality.

Table 17. Type of problems/prejudices faced because of being a returnee

What kind of prejudices or problems have you faced because of the fact that you are a returnee? (N = 131)	
• “Serbs called us (Roma) traitors.” (7.6% / 10)	• “I did not get any help by the state or local institutions to be better integrated.” (0.8% / 1)
• “I was insulted because I had left the country.” (3.1% / 4)	• “Neighbours laughed at me for not having done well abroad.” (0.8% / 1)
• “We had problems with employees of local authorities.” ²⁷ (3.1% / 4)	• “Friends did not understand why I returned.” (0.8% / 1)
• “People talked because I have studied abroad.” (1.5% / 2)	• “I was insulted because I went abroad to have a better life, instead of fighting for the Albanian cause.” (0.8% / 1)
• “Because of our stay abroad, people thought we were rich.” (1.5% / 2)	• “People in Serbia did not understand me anymore since they don’t have the knowledge and culture of people living in Western Europe.” (0.8% / 1)
• “People envied and insulted me because I was dressed better.” (0.8% / 1)	• “My son died in an accident in Germany, and upon return people told me I was to blame for that.” (0.8% / 1)
• “I was envied and criticised because I found a job immediately after my return.” (0.8% / 1)	• “I don’t want to explain.” (0.8% / 1)
• “People told us to go back where we came from.” (0.8% / 1)	
• “People called me a deserter.” (0.8% / 1)	

²⁷ Respondents reported the following problems with employees of local authorities: One respondent was told by an officer of the NES to go back where he came from; one Albanian interviewee stated that a police officer refused to issue him a passport and told him to go back to Germany, Kosovo or Albania; two respondents reported that the respective officer in the CSW told them they were not eligible to social assistance since they had been abroad and, therefore, must be rich.

When it comes to the services or assistance which would have been useful to facilitate the respondents' social integration after their return, 61.1% (80) of the interviewees stated that they did not need any kind of assistance in this field. Almost one third of the sample (32.1% / 42) suggested some measures, which are listed in table 18²⁸. Many of the recommendations are related to work, employment and poverty reduction, with many people emphasising during the interviews that they won't be socially integrated as long as they are unemployed and poor. Besides, a lot of the suggestions concern sport, leisure and cultural activities for children and youth as well as measures related to language.

Table 18. Services/assistance to facilitate social integration after the return

What kind of services / assistance provided by state or local institutions or civil society organisations would have been useful to facilitate your social reintegration after your return from abroad? (N = 131)	
• "Jobs / employment." (13.0% / 17)	• "No service or assistance would have helped me." (1.5% / 2)
• "Sport opportunities for children and young people." (7.6% / 10)	• "Playground where mothers can go with children to socialise with others." (0.8% / 1)
• "Cultural activities and events for young people (cinema, concerts, theatre, etc.)." (3.8% / 5)	• "To fight corruption." (0.8% / 1)
• "Youth clubs and offices / more activities for children." (3.8% / 5)	• "Children should not be excluded from school because of lack of money." (0.8% / 1)
• "Nursery schools should be less distant and for free." (3.8% / 5)	• "Psychological support by psychologists or pedagogues at school for children who returned after a long stay abroad." (0.8% / 1)
• "To fight discrimination of Roma." (3.1% / 4)	• "More working or training opportunities for women." (0.8% / 1)
• "Social assistance / money." (2.3% / 3)	• "Better education." (0.8% / 1)
• "To fight poverty." (2.3% / 3)	• "Better communication." (0.8% / 1)
• "Events to promote cultural exchange between the different nationalities." (2.3% / 3)	• "Better teachers at school." (0.8% / 1)
• "Serbian language courses for children and young people / catch up classes." (2.3% / 3)	• "Use of the Albanian language in courts and other state institutions." (0.8% / 1)
• "Courses / training." (2.3% / 3)	• "Language schools with a mixed public." (0.8% / 1)
• "Equal chances for all nationalities." (1.5% / 2)	

h) Health

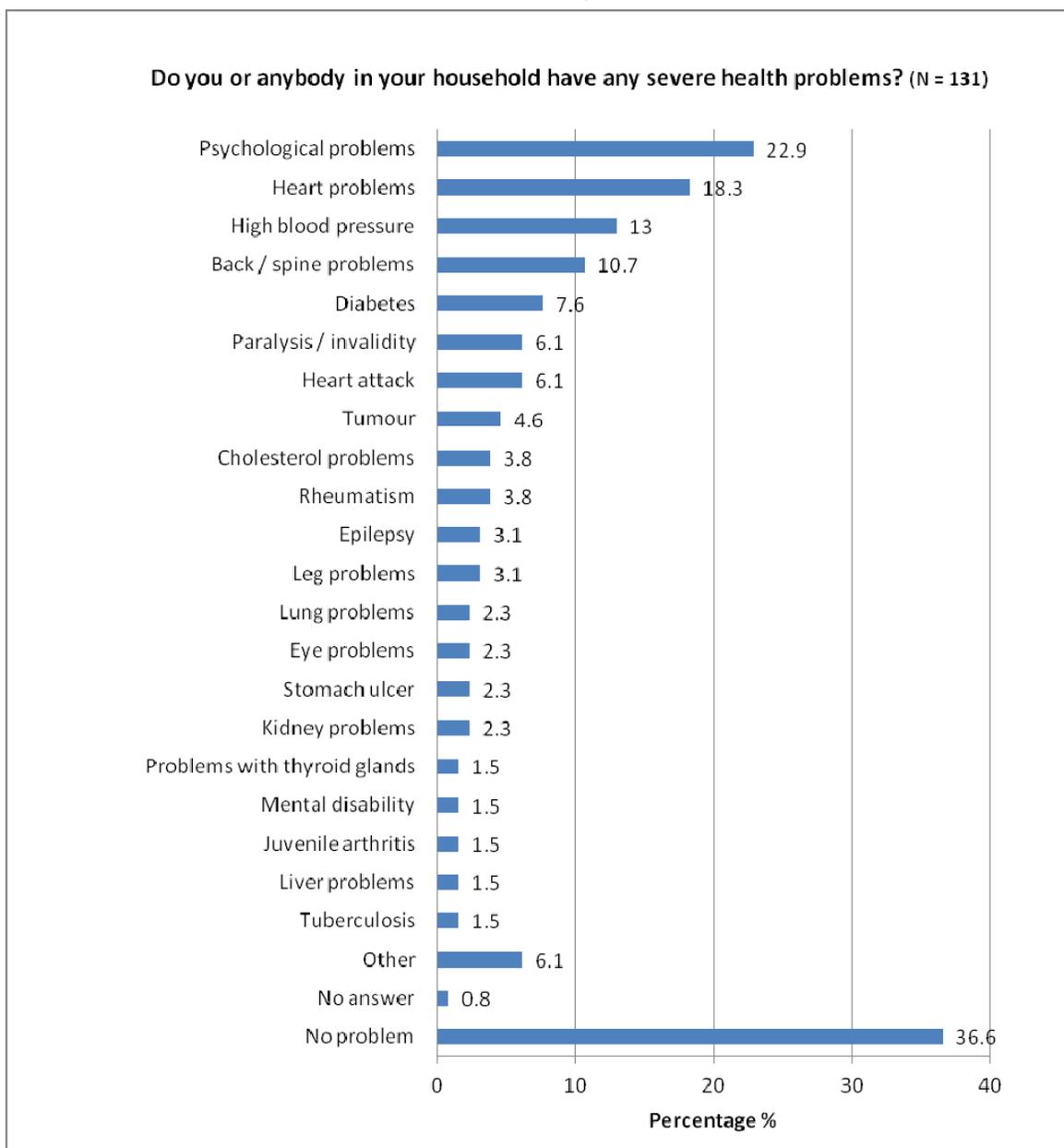
With regard to health, it is remarkable that 62.6% (82) of the respondents stated that they or somebody in their household had some severe **health problems**. However, if the answers are divided by nationality, the analysis shows that Roma interviewees have significantly more health problems than members of other communities ($\chi^2(1) = 41.331$; Phi = -.564; $p < .001$).

The health problems mentioned by the respective interviewees are listed in chart 41. More than one fifth of the respondents said that they or somebody of their household had psychological problems such as depression or panic attacks. Furthermore, also heart and back problems as well as high blood pressure are prevalent. But again, a closer analysis of the data shows that

²⁸ 6 people did not answer the question (4.6%) and 3 did not know what to answer (2.3%).

apart from some minor single cases, all of the cited health problems are mentioned almost exclusively by members of the Roma community²⁹.

Chart 41. Health problems

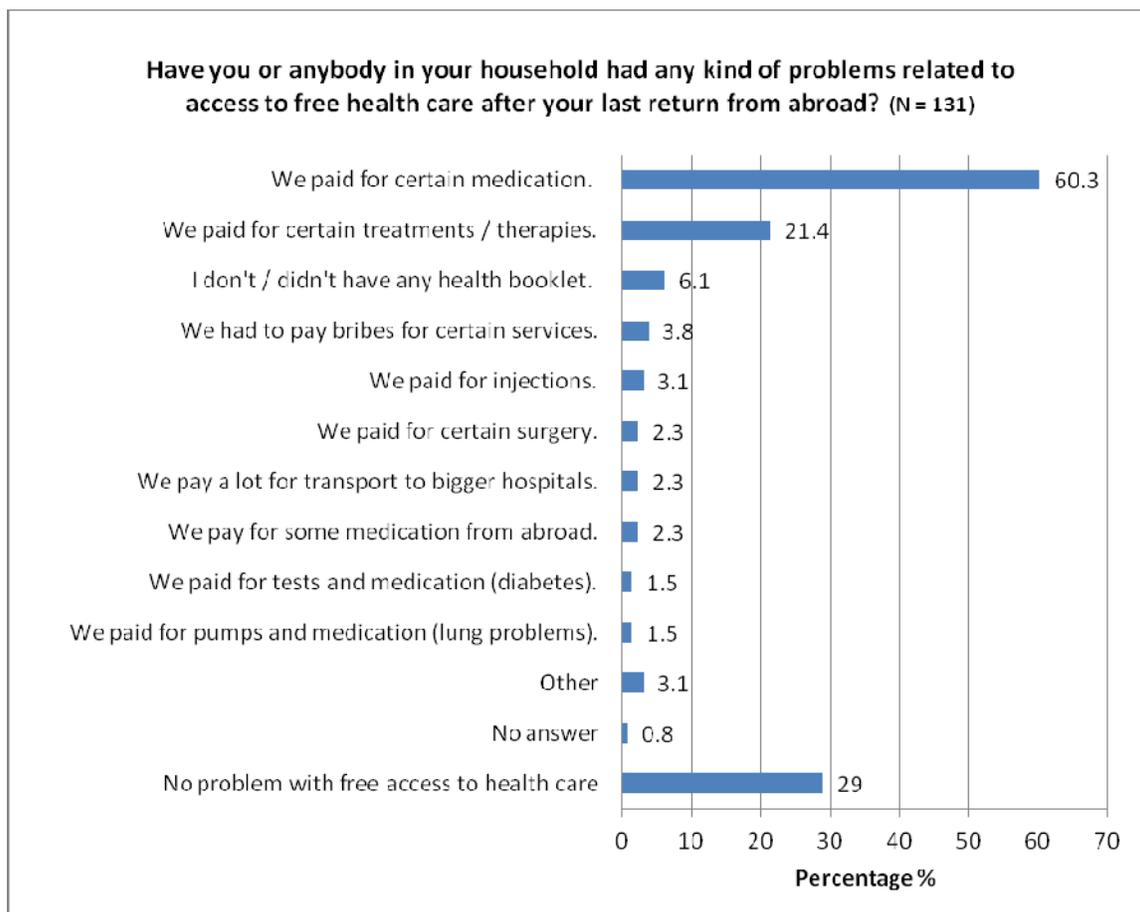


Concerning **access to free health care**, the majority of people said that they had some kind of problems in this regard (70.2% / 92). Many interviewees lamented that not everything was covered by the health insurance, wherefore they had to pay for certain medication, specialist treatments and therapies (such as physiotherapy, health spa therapies, etc.), tests and for materials such as injections and lung pumps. In fact, several respondents stated that they were

²⁹ For example, there is a significant relationship between nationality (dichotomous) and the answers “Psychological problems” ($\chi^2(1) = 15.801$; Phi = $-.347$; $p < .001$), “Heart problems” ($\chi^2(1) = 15.814$; Phi = $-.347$; $p < .001$), “High blood pressure” ($\chi^2(1) = 15.814$; Phi = $-.347$; $p < .001$) and “Diabetes” ($\chi^2(1) = 5.369$; Phi = $-.202$; $p < .05$).

not treating their health problems properly due to a lack of financial means for medication. Moreover, several people mentioned that they had to pay bribes to doctors in order to get adequate treatment. Also, people living in smaller towns or villages stated that transport to bigger health centres or hospitals was expensive (see chart 42). At least, the interviews showed that the vast majority of the respondents are in possession of a health booklet.

Chart 42. Problems related to access to free health care after the return



Only 24.4% (32) of the interviewees said they were not in need of any kind of services or assistances with respect to their state of health, while 74% (97) required some kind of help³⁰. As depicted in table 19, most respondents suggested that more medication and special treatments should be covered by the health insurance or should be cheaper. Furthermore, several answers were related to better medical services, better qualified doctors and better infrastructure in South Serbia. Again, there is a significant relationship between nationality and some of the answers given³¹.

³⁰ As expected based on the previous analysis, members of the Roma community stated significantly more often that they were in need of some kind of assistance or services related to health than people belonging to the other nationalities ($\chi^2(1) = 26.715$; Phi = -.455, $p < .001$).

³¹ For instance, the answers "Medication should be cheaper or for free" ($\chi^2(1) = 41.705$; Phi = -.564, $p < .001$) and "Better skilled / qualified doctors" ($\chi^2(1) = 4.388$; Phi = -.183, $p < .05$) were given significantly more often by members of the Roma community than by other nationalities.

Table 19. Services / assistance with respect to health

What kind of services / assistance provided by state or local institutions or civil society organisations would have been useful with respect to your or your family members' state of health? (N = 131)

- “Medication should be cheaper or for free.” (48.1% / 63)
- “Better medical services should be available in South Serbia, especially in certain municipalities.” (19.1% / 25)
- “Better skilled / qualified doctors.” (13.7% / 18)
- “Special treatments should be for free.” (13.0% / 17)
- “Better infrastructure in local health centres and hospitals.” (10.7% / 14)
- “Home care by doctors or nurses for ill and elderly people.” (7.6% / 10)
- “To fight discrimination (of ethnic minorities) in health system.” (6.1% / 8)
- “Travel costs to bigger hospitals should be covered or special vehicles should be available.” (4.6% / 6)
- “Health spa treatments should be for free.” (3.8% / 5)
- “Well skilled doctors should regularly come to remote municipalities (e.g. Bosilegrad).” (3.1% / 4)
- “Health system should be better organised.” (2.3% / 3)
- “Doctors should treat patients with more respect / with a more humane approach.” (2.3% / 3)
- “Device for measuring blood pressure and sugar in blood should be available for free.” (2.3% / 3)
- “A hospital in Preševo / Surdulica / Bosilegrad.” (2.3% / 3)
- “Physiotherapy for paralysed / disabled people should be available / for free.” (2.3% / 3)
- “Pension for disabled persons.” (2.3% / 3)
- “To get the health booklet.” (2.3% / 3)
- “Some specific medication should be available in Serbia, so that I don't need to buy it abroad.” (2.3% / 3)
- “Better economic situation would lead to better hygiene and therefore to better health.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Administrative procedures and coordination between health centres and pharmacies should be facilitated.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Shorter waiting times at the doctor's.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Special shoes for disabled persons should be available for free.” (1.5% / 2)
- “To fight corruption in health system.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Special schools for children with disabilities should be available.” (0.8% / 1)
- “It should be possible to do the diabetes tests at home instead of going to the health centre every day.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Any kind of financial aid or service would be helpful.” (0.8% / 1)
- “A maternity ward in Bujanovac.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Health system should be like in the West.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Special schools for disabled children.” (0.8% / 1)

i) Additional services and assistance

When asked if there is any other service or assistance that would have been helpful to improve interviewees' overall situation after their return from abroad, the following answers were given:

Table 20. Services / assistance to improve overall situation after the return

What kind of services / assistance provided by state or local institutions or civil society organisations would have been helpful to improve your overall situation after your return from abroad? (N = 131)

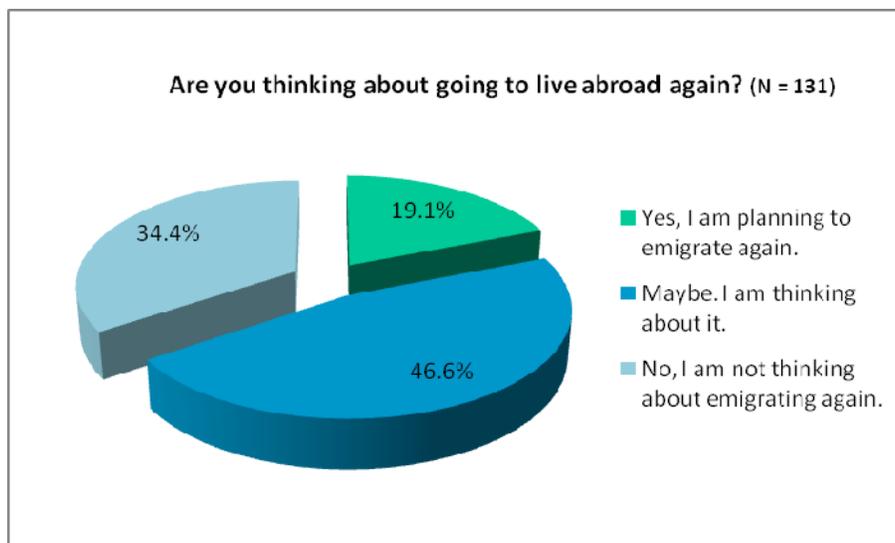
- “Better infrastructure.” (3.1% / 4)
- “Schools / high schools should be for free (books, food, etc.).” (2.3% / 3)
- “More cultural events for free (e.g. theatre).” (1.5% / 2)
- “Leisure centres and sports for children.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Help to solve a blood feud.” (1.5% / 2)
- “Access to higher education in mother tongue (Albanian).” (0.8% / 1)
- “Assistance in payment of debts.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Assistance in obtaining personal documents for my wife who is from Kosovo.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Fight discrimination of Albanians.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Better water supply in Preševo.” (0.8% / 1)
- “A law imposing a minimum of two days rest a week.” (0.8% / 1)
- “Money for the travel to Germany so that we could finish the documents for the pension.” (0.8% / 1)
- “More social security.” (0.8% / 1)

As shown in table 20, most of these additional suggestions are related to infrastructure, sports and cultural activities and education. The remaining answers mostly concern individual cases (e.g. “Help to solve a blood feud” and “Assistance in obtaining personal documents for my wife who is from Kosovo”).

j) Potential of re-emigration

Rather discouraging are the respondents’ answers to the question if they are thinking about going to live abroad again. Whereas according to previous research 20% of the general population in South Serbia (PBILD 2010: 15) and 19% of the Serbian population as a whole (Group 484 2009: 30) are thinking about emigrating, the study in hand reveals that out of the interviewed sample of returnees not only 46.6% (61) are thinking about emigrating again, but also that another 19.1% (25) are concretely planning to leave the country. Only 34.4% (45) of the interviewees said that they were not thinking about emigrating again (see chart 43). These results are not surprising if we keep in mind that 79.4% (104) of the respondents stated that their overall living situation in South Serbia at present was worse than the life they had had abroad (see chart 18, section a).

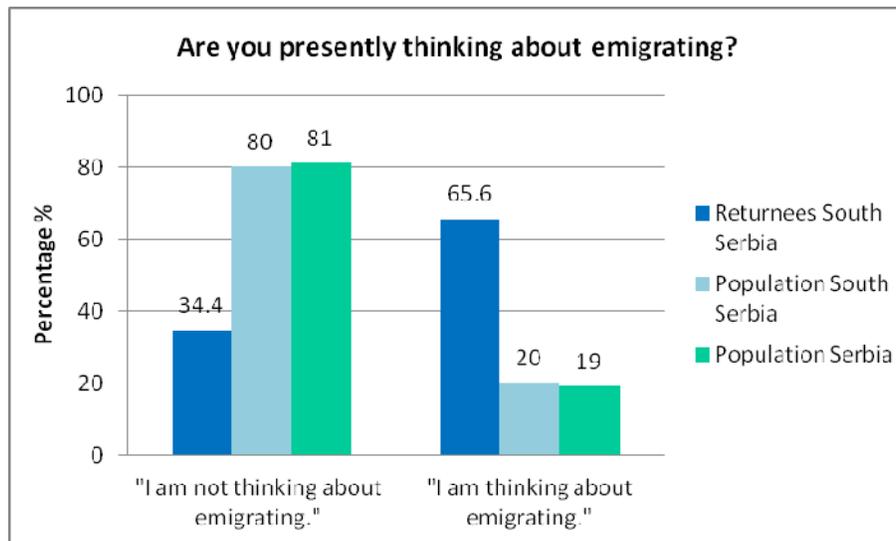
Chart 43. Attitude towards re-emigration



If the answers „I am planning to emigrate again“ and „I am thinking about it“ are subsumed into one category (“I am thinking about emigrating again”), the results can be more directly compared to the findings of the Inclusive Development Social Survey (PBILD 2010: 15) and of the “Migration potential of Serbia” (Group 484 2009: 20)³², showing clearly that the percentage of interviewed returnees who are thinking about emigrating again is more than three times higher than among the total population in South Serbia or in Serbia as a whole (see chart 44).

³² To simplify matters, the answer categories „I never thought about it“ and “I did think about it, but gave up the idea” of the research studies by PBILD and Group 484 were summarised into one category called “I am not thinking about emigrating”.

Chart 44. Migration potential compared to general population

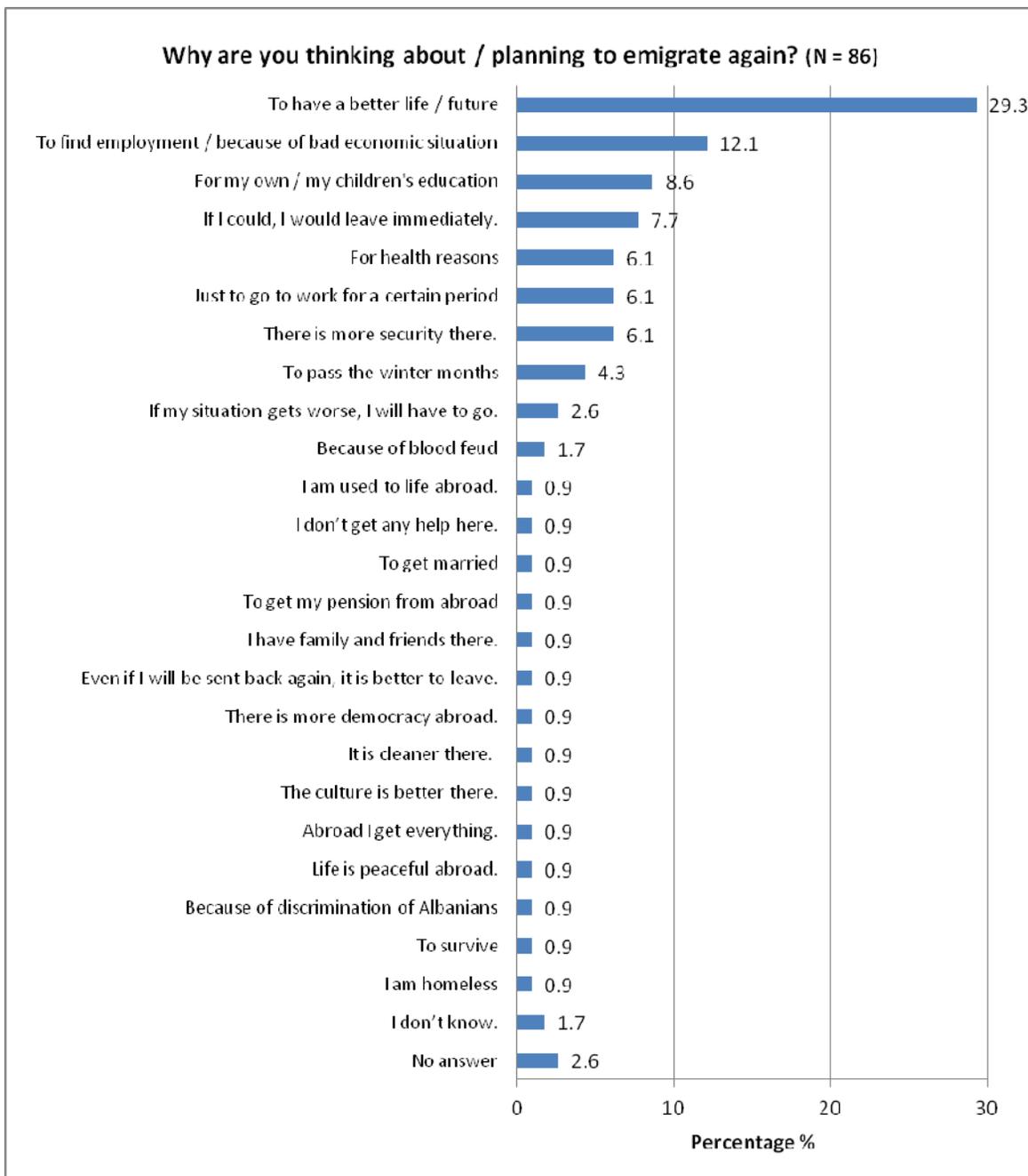


If we consider which factors determine the re-emigration potential of the interviewed return migrants, the bivariate analysis shows the following results: Similar to the general population in South Serbia (PBILD 2010: 17), younger return migrants think about re-emigrating significantly more than older persons ($r_s = .278$; K-Tau = .220, $p < .01$), and unmarried returnees incline more towards re-emigrating than married ones ($\chi^2(2) = 6.246$; $r_s = -.226$, $p < .05$). Furthermore, the re-emigration potential is significantly higher among national minorities than in the case of the Serbian nationals ($\chi^2(2) = 15.265$, $p < .001$; $r_s = .189$, $p < .05$). On the other hand, Roma returnees do not seem to be more inclined towards re-emigrating than the other nationality groups. In addition, the higher the average monthly income at present, the less return migrants think about emigrating again ($r_s = .208$, $p < .05$).

Interestingly, there is no significant relationship between the duration of the previous stay(s) abroad and the attitude towards re-emigration. On the other hand, the duration since the last return seems to affect this attitude: The longer a person is back in South Serbia, the less he/she thinks about emigrating again ($r_s = .199$; K-Tau = .158, $p < .05$). On the other hand, the analysis showed no significant relationship between the variables gender, residence in urban or rural areas, current level of education and current status on the labour market and the attitude towards re-emigration.

The main reasons mentioned by respondents why they are planning to or thinking about emigrating again are listed in chart 45:

Chart 45. Reasons for thinking about emigrating again



3.3 Summary of the results

The main results of the survey can be summarised as follows:

- **Reasons for emigration and for return:** The interviewed return migrants' main reasons for emigration were mainly of economic nature (74.5%), followed by security and family reasons. While 21.4% of the respondents returned voluntarily, the vast majority could not have stayed legally in the country of destination.
- **Potentials of return migrants:** Overall, a vast majority of the returnees (96.2%) declared that they had gained some kind of experience, skills or competencies during their stay(s) abroad. 48.1% of the interviewees stated that they had been working in the country of destination. 43.5% had had some kind of education, training or courses, while 96.2% said they had gained some other skills, competencies or experiences.
- **Opportunity to utilise skills upon return:** Only a few returnees who have gained some kind of skills abroad reported that these were helpful to find a job, to open a business or to continue education after their return. As the main reason why the experience gained abroad was not useful back home the respondents cited the lack of opportunities in South Serbia to utilise their skills.
- **Savings and return assistance:** While only 18.3% of the returnees said they had gotten some kind of return assistance, 42.7% brought back some savings from abroad. Most of the savings and return assistance was spent for everyday expenses and furnishings, while smaller proportions were used to build or renovate a house or to open a business.
- **Overall situation:** More than 50% of the interviewees said that since their return they had been living worse than before going abroad, while only 16.8% stated their overall living conditions were better now. However, most of the reasons for the living conditions being worse now were rather related to the general situation in South Serbia than to the individual's stay abroad. Moreover, an overwhelming majority of almost 80% of the interviewees considers their current life in South Serbia to be worse than their life abroad.

The economic situation and unemployment are by far the biggest problems of the returnees not only immediately after the return, but also at present. However, immediately after the return, problems such as culture shock, problems with adaptation to life in Serbia, social integration as well as language problems take a considerable percentage of the answers.

- **Economic situation:** More than 70% of the returnees reported having been unemployed immediately after the return, which applies for 51.9% at present. More than half of the sample presently lives with an average monthly income of less than 100 euro. The assistance which returnees required the most with regard to their economic and professional situation were help to find a job, better services by the NES, more social welfare, start up grants and favourable loans.
- **Business start up:** Only 13% of the return migrants have started their own business after the return, whereas 52.7% have thought about it, but have given up the idea, mostly

because of the lack of financial means. Seed money was also cited as the main obstacles in starting a business, with grants, money and loans being the most desired kind of assistance in opening a business.

- **Housing:** More than 90% of the return migrants are currently living in their own or their family's house or flat. Almost all problems related to housing were mainly mentioned by Roma.
- **Personal documents:** 93.1% of all interviewees are in possession of a personal document at present. The high costs of passports and identity cards were cited as the main reason why some of the respondents did not have any personal document. Apart from this, there were not a lot of difficulties brought up related to this topic.
- **Recognition of foreign diplomas or school certificates:** 15% of the interviewees claimed having had some problem related to the nostrification of diplomas or school certificates from abroad. The main problems mentioned in this regard were that school certificates were not recognised, wherefore children missed a grade, or that the nostrification procedure of foreign university diplomas took a long time and was expensive.
- **Schooling:** Almost half of the respondents who stated that they or their children had continued to attend primary or secondary school after their return said that they/their children had missed at least one school grade, mainly because of insufficient knowledge of the Serbian language or non-recognition of foreign school certificates. Independently from the respondents' nationality, language problems of their children at school were widespread, especially among those who had stayed abroad for longer periods.
- **Social integration:** Surprisingly, more than 80% of the interviewees did not feel worse integrated immediately after their return than before emigrating. However, social integration after the return significantly depends on the duration of the stay abroad and the voluntariness of the return. Furthermore, 25% of the returnees reported having faced prejudices or problems with people because of being a returnee. The measures suggested to improve social integration of return migrants included better employment opportunities and sport, leisure and cultural activities for children and youth, amongst others.
- **Health:** Almost two thirds of all respondents – mainly Roma – stated that they or somebody in their household had some severe health problems, with psychological problems being the most cited complaint. A majority of the returnees stated that coverage of more medication and special treatments by the health insurance would be the biggest relief with regard to health.
- **Potential of re-emigration:** 46.6% of the returnees are thinking about emigrating again, and another 19.1% are concretely planning to leave the country. The migration potential among return migrants is, therefore, more than three times higher than among the total population of South Serbia and of Serbia as a whole.
- **Roma community:** For almost all the aforementioned areas, the survey showed significant differences between the Roma community and the members of other nationalities with respect to their current situation and the assistance required.

4 Discussion and recommendations

The survey has shown that many of return migrants to South Serbia bring back working experience, education, savings, language skills, new ideas and values as well as other skills and competencies. However, the majority of them claimed that they were not able to use the skills gained abroad, mainly due to a lack of opportunities in South Serbia. Therefore, as outlined in chapter 2, *returnees living in Jablanica and Pčinja districts also have a considerable development potential, which is, however, under-utilised at the present moment*. In order to increase these development effects, measures are needed not only to improve the overall economic situation in South Serbia, but also to foster the returnees' reintegration.

As expected, the survey has shown that the topic of *return migration is closely linked to the issue of emigration*: The re-emigration potential is extremely high among returnees. Improving the situation of returnees, therefore, can also be considered as a measure to prevent emigration. Furthermore, the survey has shown that the problems and needs of returnees are multidimensional and *overlap, in many fields, with the problems and needs of the general population* (e.g. with regard to unemployment). The improvement of the general economic and social situation in South Serbia would, therefore, also bring about the improvement of the overall situation of returnees and would, in addition, prevent many of them from leaving again.

Moreover, the results of the survey have confirmed that there are *different groups of returnees* with different kinds of problems and needs, with the most significant differences between *people who stayed abroad for longer periods and those who spent just a short time period outside of Serbia* on the one hand, and *between Roma and members of other nationalities* on the other hand:

- While the needs of the returnees who stayed abroad just for short time periods do not differ much from those of the general population in South Serbia, those who spent longer time in the country of destination showed to have significantly more difficulties to get integrated after their return, especially when it comes to language and social integration.
- In many areas, the problems and needs of Roma returnees identified in the survey are significantly different from those of Serbs, Albanians and Bulgarians: For instance, Roma proved to have more housing and health problems as well as more difficulties with the recognition of foreign school certificates and with the issuance of personal documents. It is evident that these problems correspond, for the most part, to the problems of the Roma community in general, wherefore a general improvement of the situation of Roma would also lead to an improvement of the living conditions of (Roma) returnees.

Overall, the *most vulnerable group among the returnees are, therefore, Roma who stayed abroad for longer periods*.

These results raise the question of *what kind of measures should be taken* in order to improve the return migrants' living situation and, therefore, to increase their developmental impact.

Existing experience with returnees reintegration programmes has tended to focus on providing protection and support to vulnerable humanitarian migrants rather than labour migrants (World Migration Report 2010: 25). Most of these programmes either concentrate on individual return

assistance (typically in cooperation with a specific country of destination), or on return and start up assistance in contexts in which after a war or a natural disaster huge flows of people who had previously fled turn back to their home region. Therefore, most organised schemes for rehabilitation of return migrants tend to be a spontaneous response to emergency situations and are largely donor driven (Arowolo 2000: 71). Services provided through this kind of programmes typically range from return transportation to land grants, housing support, agricultural equipment and vocational training, with less focus on the subsequent process of returnees' reintegration into society (see for example "Shelter grant programme for returning displaced people in northern Sri Lanka" (UNHCR 2010a); "Voluntary repatriation and reintegration programme Burundi" (UNHCR 2009); "Assisted Voluntary Return for vulnerable cases to Bosnia and Herzegovina" (Website IOM Bosnia); UNHCR's returnee reintegration programmes in Southern Sudan and East Timor (UNHCR 2004; UNHCR 2008a)).

However, this type of return programmes does not suit the Serbian context for four reasons:

- 1) The return issue in Serbia is not limited to a certain region and time period, but is expected to range over a longer period. Therefore, rather than selective single start up and individual return assistance programmes, *stable institutions or long-term measures* are needed to assist in the reintegration of the return flow of migrants.
- 2) As several evaluations have indicated, sustainability of this kind of short-term reintegration programmes is questionable, since the ownership of the national authorities is often insufficient (UNHCR 2010c: 11, 19; UNHCR 2008a: 13ff., 44; UNHCR 2008b: 34; UNHCR 2002: 40). The primary responsibility for securing durable solutions for return migrants must, therefore, *rest with national and local authorities*, while international and development actors should only play a complementary role.
- 3) Facilitating reconciliation between returnees and host communities has proved to be a key element to ensuring the sustainability of return (UNHCR 2010c: 19). As the survey has shown, and as reported in other research studies³³, many return migrants face prejudices and discrimination because of the fact that they have been abroad. Services or assistance which target only return migrants might cause envy among the general population and may, therefore, *increase these resentments*, leading to even less (social) integration.
- 4) Measures aimed solely at return migrants might set *wrong incentives* to potential migrants, suggesting that they need to emigrate (and then to return) in order to get assistance. Such return programmes may, therefore, have the same effects as return assistance provided by some of the countries of destination, causing even more emigration.

For these reasons, measures taken to foster reintegration of return migrants should be planned in the fields identified by the survey, but they shall, as possible, *not solely target returnees, but the population in general*. At the same time, the access of return migrants to these measures or services should be ensured.

³³ See for example Ammassari 2004: 145ff.; Agency for Human and Minority Rights 2008: 21; UNHCR 2010b: 23; Global Migrant Group 2010: 83.

a) General recommendations

- Seen that the reintegration of returnees is a multidimensional and complex process, strong partnerships between all concerned institutions at the national and local level are necessary. *Exchange of information and co-ordination* between the different stakeholders need to be improved.
- In general, *implementation of the migration related strategies*, especially the National Strategy for the Reintegration of Returnees based on the Readmission Agreement, needs to be made more coherent and effective. The main challenges in this area, such as the limited resources, lack of capacity and insufficient coordination of the bodies responsible, need to be tackled (European Commission 2011: 106). Also, the proper implementation of the Local Action Plans for the integration of refugees, IDPs and returnees and the Local Action Plans for Social Protection needs to be ensured.
- More efforts should be made in order to solve problems related to the *lack of data* on the numbers, situation and needs of return migrants. Additional research in this field is necessary, especially with respect to the interrelation between return and development.
- Following the example of other countries (see for instance the Philippines' government-run migrant welfare fund: World Migration Report 2010: 25), a *migration fund should be established* in Serbia, which assists local self-governments and civil society organisations working with returnees (see also Group 484 2011: 87).
- The survey has shown that the lack of information of returnees which, for the most part, are at the same time potential migrants, is still a big problem. More than 60% of the interviewed returnees said that they were thinking about re-emigrating. During the interviews it became clear that many of them were not aware of the fact that if they asked for asylum in a Western European country again, they would certainly be returned again. Therefore, *more information about the Western European countries' asylum systems and the legal ways of emigrating* needs to be provided, through public campaigns on the one hand, and through migrant information centres on the other hand (see below).
- In addition, returnees also need to be better informed about their rights and possibilities with regard to their reintegration at the local level. As the survey results indicate, there is a big need for information and assistance concerning personal documents, translation and recognition of foreign diplomas and school certificates, and for help in getting documents and pension from abroad. In order to address these deficiencies, the *advisory services for migrants* which exist already in several municipalities should be fostered and promoted, and such services should be established in some additional municipalities. In addition, bigger information centres for migrants could be established, such as the *Migrant Service Centres* presented in chapter 5.2. Such information centres should also introduce mobile teams, in order to cover the needs of people living in remote areas as well as in Roma settlements and collective centres.
- The foundation of *associations of return residents* should be encouraged. As examples from other countries show, through such associations, returnees provide mutual support in resolving problems encountered in trying to readapt to life in their home country. In

addition, these associations can provide information and advice, and they are also concerned with contributing to the welfare of their community (Thomas-Hope 1999: 196).

b) Recommendations: Economic situation

- In order to improve their economic and professional situation, the majority of the interviewed returnees wished to get assistance in the field of employment, such as help to find a job or better services by the NES. Obviously, unemployment is a problem which concerns not only the returnees, but the population in South Serbia in general. Therefore, *general measures to improve the economic situation* are needed. Through targeted labour market policies, the linkages between return and development could be enhanced.
- Measures might include *vocational training* to gain new and additional qualifications, as suggested by many survey respondents. Such training should, however, be provided based on the results of the Occupational Skills Survey 2011 (Ognjanov/Corbanese 2011), in order to match more effectively the labour market demands and the skills of the labour. In addition, *job-placement assistance, training for gaining knowledge on active job search techniques, counseling and career guidance* need to be provided. All these measures should be open for the general population, but access of returnees should be secured through information campaigns and, maybe, special quotas.
- With regard to *business start ups*, the results of the survey confirm that the banking system in Serbia often still does not cater to start up businesses without a history, regular income or land/building ownership³⁴ (European Commission 2011: 50). 78.3% of those returnees who have thought about starting their own business after return said that the lack of financial means was the main reason for giving up the idea. The lack of seed money was also by far the most frequently cited obstacle in starting a business, while “favourable loans” being the second most desired kind of assistance in opening a business (see section a). Therefore, one of the most urgent measures to improve the economic situation of return migrants and to enhance their developmental impacts is to *facilitate access to small business start ups and micro-credit* in South Serbia. One best practise example in this area will be presented in chapter 5.3.
- However, it should be noted that such kind of measures would need to be accompanied by a *public information campaign* about the advantages of such micro-credits, since the discussions with many of the returnees have shown that scepticism towards loans and credits is widespread.
- Furthermore, micro-credit measures should be complemented by a general *programme of assistance for enterprise development*. Such a programme must be based on a detailed market analysis and should include counseling services, information about business start up and assistance in developing business plans. Project-oriented training courses should be provided in order to familiarise participants with all necessary legal regulations related to

³⁴ In fact, according to a market survey of credit access in rural areas conducted in January 2010, the main reasons for loan application refusals in Leskovac and Vranje were “Lack of enough earnings / steady income / job” (44% of refusals in Leskovac, 29% in Vranje) and “Lack of guarantees” (35% of refusals in Leskovac, 49% in Vranje) (Gies 2010).

initiating businesses. In addition, training on small business management, bank account ownership and on how to use bank loans more effectively is necessary.

- Moreover, further *reforms to improve the business environment are required*, since institutional problems such as high taxes, complicated registration procedures, inefficient institutions and corruption were also mentioned as main obstacles to open a business. Even if progress was made in facilitating market entry in recent years, complex legislation and red tape continue to mar the business environment (European Commission 2011: 48). Procedures for setting up businesses need to be simplified and taxes should be reduced.
- Sufficient funds for *one-time financial assistance* for the returnees should be provided within the budgets of local self-governments. As the answers of the interviewees with regard to the usefulness of return assistance as well as several evaluations (see UNHCR 2009: 15ff.) have shown, one time financial assistance immediately after the return is a helpful tool for returnees to solve the most urgent issues (see also Group 484 2011: 83). However, in order not to cause envy among the general population and not to set wrong incentives for emigration, the amount of start assistance should not be too high and only disbursed to returnees who spent a certain minimum period of time abroad.
- *Education opportunities for (illiterate) adults* need to be fostered, as a considerable proportion of the interviewed returnees (especially Roma) declared that they were illiterate or had not finished primary school. Lack of education was, moreover, mentioned as one of the primary obstacles to open a business.
- A substantial number of (Roma) returnees said that they were planning to emigrate again just in order to make it through the cold winter months, since they *could not afford to pay for the wood or electricity necessary for heating*. A fast solution needs to be found to this problem, as this is probably the main reason for the seasonal fluctuations in emigration and for the increase of asylum applications in EU countries during the winter. Possible solutions might be a lowering of or exemption from costs for electricity for those who are most in need. In addition, house up-grading with regard to insulation (see next section) and promotion of more effective insulation for newly built houses may be further approaches.

c) Recommendations: Housing

- Problems related to housing were mainly reported by Roma returnees, who basically required assistance such as construction material to renovate (parts of) their houses. Also, requests for assistance with respect to infrastructure including sewage systems, water, electricity, etc. were widespread. Therefore, *basic infrastructure in Roma settlements in South Serbia needs to be improved and Roma assisted in up-grading their houses*. A comprehensive approach in this field will be presented in section 5.1.
- Since a considerable proportion of returnees stated that favourable loans to build or renovate their house would be helpful to them, the *introduction of low cost housing loans*, as they are provided to returnees and their families in countries such as the Philippines, Brazil and Guatemala (GFMD 2009: 34-37), could be a valuable solution.

- Following the model of the four *emergency shelters for readmission*, which have been established by the Commissariat for Refugees in Obrenovac, Šabac, Bela Palanka and Zaječar (Group 484 2011: 82), a shelter for returnees should be set up in Jablanica or Pčinja district, in order to provide returnees without accommodation with basic living conditions for the period immediately after the return. However, it needs to be avoided that such temporary reception centres become a permanent type of accommodation.

d) Recommendations: Personal documents

- Even if according to the survey most of the returnees are in possession of a personal document and did not have any problems related to this issue after their return, *special attention should be paid to this topic*, since without such documents returnees cannot have access to the basic health insurance, education, welfare and employment opportunities.
- As the survey has shown, the most frequent problem returnees (especially Roma) have encountered in this field was that they could not afford to obtain personal documents. Therefore, persons in need should be exempted *from paying administration taxes for the issuance of basic documents*. The administrative procedures for obtaining documents should be shortened and simplified.
- In addition, the recognition of birth certificates of children who were born abroad proved to be a problem in some cases. *Legal assistance* should be provided through information centres and mobile teams (see above) which would regularly visit Roma settlements.
- Due to the composition of the survey sample, the problem of registration was not mentioned by any of the interviewees. However, it is widely known that for many Roma returnees it is a *problem to register their residence or temporary residence* after their return, wherefore they cannot obtain ID cards. In order to solve this problem, the process of adoption of the Law on Domicile and Residence, which shall enable citizens to register their domicile in an easier way, should be accelerated (Government of Serbia 2011: 22).

e) Recommendations: Recognition of foreign diplomas and school certificates

- The *non-recognition of foreign school certificates* proved to be a frequent problem encountered by return migrants, in particular by Roma, and in several cases, this fact also prevented children from further attending school after the return. Since school is also a precondition for many other aspects of reintegration, recognition of foreign school certificates is crucial.
- The area of validation of foreign school certificates requires *clear policy and regulations*, since in many cases ad hoc decisions are made by the school management (Agency for Human and Minority Rights 2008: 40). *Parents need to be better informed* on administrative procedures relevant to the recognition of school certificates, since several returnees said, for instance, that they did not know they needed to bring translations.
- *Procedures for validating foreign school certificates* of returnee children need to be as simple and as fast as possible, and the poorest should be exempted from translation costs.

- *The nostrification procedure of foreign university diplomas needs to be shortened and simplified.* For university diplomas issued by countries which have introduced the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System, the translation of the final diploma should be sufficient for nostrification, while the translation of every single exam confirmation should not be necessary.
- Also with respect to the recognition of foreign diplomas and school certificates, *legal aid needs to be provided* by information centres and mobile teams (see above). For instance, the procedures to get children's school certificates from abroad are often complicated, costly and slow and require professional help.
- Financial and information assistance in this field, which is presently delivered by NGOs, should be *included in the structures of state and local authorities.*

f) Schooling

- Among those returnees who stated that their children did not continue to attend school after their return, there were significantly more Roma than members of the other nationalities. The main reason for not sending children further to school *was lack of money for textbooks, clothes, food, school supplies, etc.* Solutions to this problem, such as providing children in need with free textbooks and lunches, need to be considered.
- The survey showed that *language problems* were widespread among returnees' children, and that insufficient Serbian language skills were the main reason for grade repetition as well as for discrimination at school. Since language is also closely related to social integration, solutions to problems in this field need to be given priority.
- Remarkably, according to the survey results difficulties related to language are not a problem faced exclusively by Roma or members of the language minorities in general, but *they are rather connected to the length of the stay abroad.* Measures in this field should, therefore, not concentrate solely on Roma returnees' children.
- In order to tackle the language problems, *Serbian catch up classes for return migrants' children* (and other children in need) should be provided, ideally organised by the Ministry of Education, with financial means from the state budget. It needs to be avoided to leave this to the discretion of the respective school administrations (Group 484 2011: 80). The survey results indicate that such additional language lessons were widely considered useful for improving children's language skills after the return.
- In addition, *programmes for the continuation of learning foreign languages* need to be established (see Strategy for the Reintegration of Returnees, paragraph 8.2). Returnees' children often bring foreign language skills with them from abroad, and in order not to lose this knowledge and to make it a resource for children's employment in the future, children should be able to continue studying these languages after their return.
- The role of *Roma teaching assistants (RTA) in South Serbian schools should be fostered*, since they facilitate Roma returnee children's re-entry into the school system after their return. Especially in municipalities with high percentages of Roma people which are not

well included in the local communities, the number of RTAs should be increased. Furthermore, the capacities of RTAs must be enhanced, in particular when it comes to raising Roma parents' awareness about the importance of education. Also, cooperation between the RTAs and other concerned institutions such as the CSWs should be fostered.

g) Recommendations: Social integration

- According to the survey, the longer a person stayed abroad, the worse was his/her social integration immediately after the return. In addition, the level of social integration of persons who were forced to return proved to be significantly lower than the one of those who returned voluntarily. Therefore, *measures aimed at improving social integration of returnees should target in particular those return migrants who spent longer periods abroad and those who returned involuntarily.*
- The analysis showed that *Roma, the unemployed and persons with a low level of education feel significantly worse socially integrated* than the other interviewees. However, this result does not seem to be a problem which specifically applies to returnees, but rather underlines again the importance of general development measures in the area of employment, education and social inclusion of national minorities.
- A significant proportion of *returnees faced prejudices and problems with other people upon return* due to their previous stay abroad, and these problems and prejudices appeared independently of the respondents' nationality. In order to eliminate prejudices and misinformation about return migrants, *awareness raising measures* for the general population as well as for local institutions are necessary. In addition, the *dialogue between returnees and the society* should be facilitated, to eliminate negative stereotypes.
- *Sports offers for children and youth* were among the most required services for improving social integration. Therefore, more sport activities should be organised, for instance in cooperation with local Youth Offices. Such activities would enable returnees' children to meet peers, which would foster their social integration and improve their language skills. One best practise example related to sports will be presented in chapter 5.5.
- In addition, *cultural activities and events for children and young people* were widely considered useful means to foster return migrants' social integration after their return. Therefore, efforts should be made by local authorities and other institutions to provide more cultural offerings.

Special workshops for returnee children could be a useful means to enable them to better deal with the change of environment and school system, to meet other returnee children and to get psychological support.

h) Recommendations: Health

- *Health problems have shown to be prevalent among return migrants*, especially among members of the Roma community. In particular, *psychological problems* are widespread, but also heart and back problems, high blood pressure and diabetes, which might be the

consequence of the stressful situation many return migrants were in before, during and after their return. It is also remarkable that according to the survey, the fact of having a culture shock and adaptation problems upon return does not depend on the length of the stay abroad. Therefore, *programmes for the psychological and social assistance to adult returnees* are important measures to improve their health (see also Group 484 2011: 85).

- Seen that Roma returnees are especially affected by health problems, *the role of the Roma health mediators (RHM) should be fostered*. In those eight South Serbian municipalities where the positions of RHM are already established, one or even two additional RHM should be engaged, in order to be able to tackle all the health (and partly also other) problems of the Roma population. Furthermore, RHMs should be introduced in the five remaining municipalities. The RHM should get additional training, since the questions and problems they face in their everyday work are very complex and concern a broad field of topics. In addition, the cooperation between the RHM or local health teams and municipal representatives, in particular with CSWs and local NGOs, should be further strengthened.
- Furthermore, *healthcare workers in the local health centres should also get additional training*, since many of them are insufficiently informed about the special needs of return migrants on the one hand, and about the specific causes and factors affecting the behaviour of the Roma population concerning their health on the other hand.
- The *costs of medication and treatments which are not covered by the health insurance* are regarded as the biggest problem by return migrants (especially by the Roma) with regard to health. Since some of the respondents even stated that they were not treating their medical troubles because of lack of money, it should be considered to exempt the poorest from paying for basic medication.
- Another problem cited by return migrants are the *high transportation costs* from their villages to bigger health centres or hospitals. In order to solve this problem, transportation service could be provided by the health centres and hospitals, or transportation costs should be covered by the health insurance.
- The survey has confirmed that *corruption in the health system* is widespread. Further efforts of all stakeholders involved are needed to sustainably tackle this systemic problem.
- Generally, *medical infrastructure and services in South Serbia need to be improved*, especially in smaller and more remote municipalities. In many areas, services are either insufficiently developed or unadjusted to the special needs of vulnerable groups. In order to better meet the needs of return migrants, medical services need to be improved in particular in the field of *mental health*.

5 Best Practise Examples

In the following, six examples of best practise from other countries and regions shall be presented. Based on the conclusion that measures should focus on the return migrants' main problems without solely targeting returnees, but the population in general, not typical return projects have been chosen, but the examples address important fields of intervention identified in the survey in a general way and would, therefore, also facilitate reintegration of returnees. Some of the projects cannot be transferred to the South Serbian context one-to-one, but they contain elements which could, if adapted to the local realities, be interesting approaches to tackling the problems of return migrants. The implications for the situation of returnees in Jablanica and Pčinja districts are indicated after the presentation of each project. The best practise examples cover the following issues: 1) Improvement of general living conditions for Roma; 2) Information services for migrants; 3) Easier access to credit; 4) Improvement of language skills of national minorities through bilingual education; 5) Social integration through sport activities for children; and 6) Improvement of psychiatric treatment.

5.1 Best Practise Example No. 1: Roma Resource Centre in Novi Sad

The **Roma Resource Centre**³⁵ (RRC) is a programme of the **Ecumenical Humanitarian Organisation** in Novi Sad, Serbia, and provides various resources, activities and services in the field of housing, education, employment and information/public advocacy, aiming at contributing to social inclusion and sustainable livelihoods for Roma in the Autonomous Province (AP) of Vojvodina as well as at reintegrating Roma returnees and IDP's. Since 2000, the RRC has implemented a range of projects, working with a comprehensive approach by carrying out complementary activities in different fields at the same time.

The ongoing project "**Social Inclusion and Improvement of Living Conditions for Roma in Vojvodina**"³⁶ (1 March 2010 to 31 December 2011) covers the Roma settlements of Vašarište and Putrija in Bečej, as well as the Ciganski Kraj Roma settlement in Bačko Gradište in the AP of Vojvodina. It includes the following activities:

- *Sanitation and house upgrading activities* involve the increase of living quarter, construction of collective septic tanks and individual bathrooms, equipping facilities and bringing in water and electricity in the two Roma settlements.
- *Advocacy activities* aim at realizing equal access to services and infrastructure, encouraging local and provincial authorities to improve settlement infrastructure and legalization.
- *Legal counselling and info services* are provided to Roma (in particular to returnees and IDP's, but also to domicile Roma) through an office in Novi Sad as well as through field

³⁵ Information for this section has been derived from EHO 2009; EHO 2010; Roma Resource Centre 2010; Swiss Cooperation Office Serbia 2010; personal conversation with responsible persons of the project (8 November 2011).

³⁶ The project is funded by the Swiss Interchurch Aid (HEKS), the governments of Norway and of Switzerland, the Norwegian Church Aid and the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Württemberg, Germany, as well as the respective municipalities in the AP Vojvodina.

visits in Roma settlements. Roma are supported to obtain personal documents from Serbia and from abroad, they are assisted with translation and verification of documents and they are provided with information on their rights in the fields of education, employment, health and social security.

- *Education services* are provided to Roma children, aiming at supporting their enrolment to pre-school institutions and schools. Furthermore, tuition lessons are offered to help Roma children to achieve better results in school.
- *Employment activities*: Vocational training, craft skill courses and on the job training are offered to Roma, in order to better position beneficiaries on the labour market. Access to state run employment programmes is promoted and self-employment is supported through grants and tools for business start up.

The project is based on the Sustainable Renewal of Roma Settlements model, which is a comprehensive approach to actual problem-solving, including participative operation methods involving all interested stakeholders and social actors in the decision-making process. The beneficiaries are responsible for the entire settlement renewal programme, giving them a sense of ownership through strong involvement at all stages of the activities. The inhabitants of the settlements, assisted by professionals, carry out all the building work by themselves or pay building workers directly. The project, therefore, offers incentives to Roma as well as to local authorities, encouraging them to use their own capacities and resources in order to gain maximal benefit.

Implications for the situation of returnees in South Serbia

As the survey with return migrants in Jablanica and Pčinja districts has indicated, Roma returnees represent a special group with special needs within the sample of return migrants as a whole. Since the Roma returnees, in many cases, have been abroad just for a short period of time, their problems do not differ much from the difficulties of the general Roma population in South Serbia. As identified in the survey, the main needs of Roma returnees are related to housing, infrastructure, employment, health, language problems of children at school, lack of education and difficulties related to personal documents and legal advice. In order to tackle these problems, a comprehensive approach such as the one used by the Roma Resource Centre in Novi Sad needs to be applied. Projects similar to “Social Inclusion and Improvement of Living Conditions for Roma in Vojvodina” presented above would be favourable also in many of the Roma settlements in South Serbia, providing not only solutions to housing and infrastructure problems, but also addressing the issues of education, employment and legal advice.

5.2 Best Practise Example No. 2: Migrant Service Centres

As a part of the project “**Capacity Building, Information and Awareness Raising towards Promoting Orderly Migration in the Western Balkans**”³⁷, implemented by IOM and ILO³⁸ between February 2008 and January 2010 in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Republic of Serbia including the Province of Kosovo, the Republic of Montenegro and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, a regional network of Migrant Service Centres (MSCs) was established (13 MSCs in Albania, 2 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, one in Croatia, 2 in Macedonia, one in Serbia, one in Montenegro and one in Kosovo). The MSCs aim at providing migrants and potential migrants with efficient information, advice and referral to appropriate services, thus preventing irregular migration and optimizing people’s possibilities for legal migration.

The centres have been established within local structures, such as local and regional employment offices and respective ministries, with local officials having worked in tandem with IOM staff during the project implementation period. The MSCs in all Balkan countries receive visitors daily and provide them with assistance on the reality and risks of irregular migration and possibilities for decent work in the respective country and for legal emigration. Furthermore, the MSCs offer referral services to relevant local institutions for individual skills development in view of improving employment potential both at home and abroad. Between June 2008 and December 2009, the MSCs in the different countries have been visited by more than 8’400 people. Presently there are 36 MSCs in place in Albania, 2 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, one in Croatia, four in Macedonia, one in Montenegro and 7 in Kosovo. In Serbia, a centre was opened in Belgrade, with the NES as an associate institution. By the end of 2011, three more MSCs shall be in place, namely in Novi Sad, Niš and Novi Pazar.

In the ongoing follow-up project “**Migration for Development in the Western Balkans**”, IOM and ILO aim at strengthening and increasing the capacity of the formerly established MSCs.

Implications for the situation of returnees in South Serbia

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the survey conducted in the framework of this study has indicated that return migrants, which are, for the most part, at the same time potential migrants, still lack information about legal ways of emigrating. In addition, there seems to be quite a big need for information and assistance with regard to personal documents, translation and recognition of foreign diplomas and school certificates, and for help in getting documents and pension from abroad.

The needs of the visitors of the MSC in Belgrade do not correspond exactly to the ones of the returnee population in South Serbia, since the centre in Belgrade mainly helps potential migrants with visa and working permit issues. According to employees of the MSC Belgrade, there were just a few cases of returnees seeking advice in the centre, and they were well skilled and mainly asked for information about job opportunities. Obviously, the needs of returnees and

³⁷ Information for this section has been derived from IOM 2010b; IOM 2010c; Website ILO; Website Migrant Service Centres; personal conversation with employees of the Migrant Service Centre Belgrade on 1 November 2011.

³⁸ The project was funded by the EU and the Governments of Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Liechtenstein.

potential migrants in Southern Serbia are different ones. Nevertheless, the concept of the MSCs could be interesting also for Pčinja and Jablanica districts (for example for Vranje and Leskovac as well as for some town in an Albanian speaking municipality, eventually linked to some of the already established advisory services), if the services are focused and adapted to the local needs which were mentioned previously. Furthermore, it would be desirable that such MSCs establish contacts with authorities, pensions funds, trade unions and social partners abroad as well as with foreign companies which are looking for working force, so that labour demand and supply could be linked in an efficient way.

Thus, with an approach adapted to the needs of the population in the South, such Migrant Services Centres could contribute substantially to providing better information and to improved legal advisory services for returnees and potential migrants, and, therefore, prevent irregular migration from South Serbia.

5.3 Best Practise Example No. 3: The Albanian Savings and Credit Union

The **Albanian Savings and Credit Union (ASCU)**³⁹ represents one of the biggest microfinance systems in Eastern Europe today, with more than 200 outlets in 16 districts of Albania. It was initiated in 1992 under a World Bank poverty alleviation programme (the “Rural Finance Fund”) with a simple idea: offer small loans to trustworthy villagers and wait for their investment to bear fruit. This micro-credit scheme has since developed into a fully supervised cooperative microfinance institution composed by a network of rural micro-credit associations (Savings and Credit Associations SCAs) serving over 30’000 members and unified in a union. With a focus on rural areas, ASCU’s clients are farmers, artisans and small entrepreneurs who started their business after the dismantling of collective farms in 1992. In order to be entitled to apply and get a loan, individuals need to be members of one of the local SCAs which have a strong social rooting in local communities. Through the SCAs, ASCU offers services such as micro-credits, SME loans and savings deposits, and it applies a methodology of lending on individual and group basis which strongly rests upon the principles of Financial Cooperative functioning.

Due to the high demand for credits on the one hand and the rather modest savings deposits on the other hand, the ASCU initially faced cash flow problems. After having overcome these difficulties with financial assistance of international donors, the ASCU is profitable and covers its operational risk costs, which is remarkable when taking into account the orientation to the target group of rural and relatively poor families.

Apart from the World Bank which financed the initial project, **Financial Systems Development Services AG (FIDES)**, a company focusing on the development and management of sustainable rural microfinance institutions, has also played a key role in the initial set-up in 1992 and has since been closely involved in the development of the institution. The general FIDES mission is to develop access to reliable, efficient and sustainable financial services for clients

³⁹ The information for this section has been derived from FIDES 2011; Website of FIDES; Swiss Cooperation Office Albania 2007; Website of the World Bank; Website ASC Union; e-mail correspondence with a person involved in projects of the FIDES Bank Namibia, 3 November 2011.

who are excluded from the formal banking system. FIDES and its institutional partners (Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit GIZ, Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau KfW, IFAD, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation SDC, amongst other organisations) have set up similarly successful microfinance institutions in several countries in Africa and Eastern Europe, ranging from microfinance banks to savings and loan association networks. FIDES has developed specific approaches for microfinance institutions in the rural context, including technical and organisational innovations that allow the reduction of transaction costs and ensure careful risk management. This focus on sustainable institution building and strong operations has led to excellent repayment rates, outreach to under-service market segments, financial sustainability (after an initial growth stage) and growth capacity. All the programmes developed with FIDES participation achieved repayment rates close to 100%.

Implications for the situation of returnees in South Serbia

The survey has shown that access to small business start ups and microcredit should be facilitated in South Serbia, since such measures could be a possible solution towards increasing employment and reducing poverty (Gies 2010) among the population in Serbia in general, and among return migrants in particular: The fact that many of the latter return with working experience, skills, education and ideas, makes them the perfect target group for such kind of assistance. Therefore, microfinance institutions such as the above presented Albanian Savings and Credit Union or other institutions set up by FIDES in different parts of the world could – adapted to the local context and preceded by the necessary law amendments – represent a convenient option for Serbia as well.

5.4 Best Practise Example No. 4: Bilingual Education in Burkina Faso and the Swiss Canton of Grisons

The model of intercultural bilingual education is a concept which is used in many countries with two or more cultures and languages (typically a dominant and one or more minority cultures) and aims at better integrating members of language minorities and at preserving minority languages through bilingual schools and/or classes. Depending on the demographic constellations of the region in question, two types of bilingual education can be distinguished:

1. Bilingual education in regions which are *homogeneously* populated by a minority culture;
2. Bilingual education in regions which are *heterogeneously* populated by the dominant culture and one or more minority cultures.

In the first case, school classes are typically homogenous classes of children whose mother tongue is a minority language and who need to learn the dominant language of the country in question. Intercultural bilingual education in such settings means that children are taught in their mother tongue as well as in the official language contemporaneously, with the percentage of teaching time in the minority language gradually diminishing in favour of the official language in the course of the school years. This model has been applied above all in Latin America, where it enables indigenous children to learn in their mother tongue while learning Spanish at the same time.

In the second (and far rarer) case, school classes consist of children with different mother tongues, typically with members of the majority as well as of the minority culture. If bilingual education is to be implemented in such a setting, a different approach is necessary: From the beginning, both languages need to be taught in more or less equal shares, for example with half of the subjects being taught in one, and the other half in the other language.

The positive effects of bilingual education have been well documented in many studies: Not only are minority languages protected and promoted through such an approach, but there are also improved individual results, lower drop out rates and rates of grade repetition as well as an increase in enrolment rates, which have been reported in many evaluations. The rationale behind the model is that when students are taught in a language they understand, they are more participative, creative and they learn faster, which leads to more efficiency in many areas of education. In addition, students who learn the basic skills in their mother tongue have a more solid didactic foundation, making the transition to another (new) language easier. Therefore, bilingual education substantially fosters inclusion of members of language minorities into the education system and society, also increasing their chances on the labour market after graduation. In addition, it can lead to augmented contact between members of different language groups (in contrast to separate schools for each group), which may – in certain settings – also contribute to conflict reduction (Lambert 2009; Saroli 2009; Halaoui et al. 2006). In the following, for each setting described above, a best practise example shall shortly be presented:

1. With the project “**Bilingual Education**”⁴⁰, the NGO “Solidar Suisse” (former “Swiss Labour Assistance SLA”) has been involved in developing a model of bilingual education in Burkina Faso since 1994. Burkina Faso is one of the world’s poorest countries with 42% of the population subsisting below the poverty line. Some 60% of the population are illiterate and only every third child goes to school. The country is multi-ethnic with over 60 ethnic groups and many local languages. Even after the independence in 1960, French remained the official language, excluding the vast majority of the population from the educational system.

The aim of the pioneering project was that from their first day of school, children were educated in both their local language and in the official French: The children are taught in their mother tongue, with French being introduced orally from the beginning and written starting from the 2nd grade. The model proved to be very successful, wherefore in the course of educational reforms the bilingual education model has been adopted in primary schools across the entire country. Later on, the model was expanded also to secondary schools and to preschools. As of 1999, modules of bilingual teaching were included in the education programme of the National School for Primary Teachers, and appropriate teaching material was developed.

⁴⁰ Information for this section has been derived from: Website SLA; Website Solidar Suisse; Halaoui et al. 2006.

2. An example for the second setting is the **Swiss canton of Grisons**⁴¹, the only tri-lingual canton in Switzerland, where bilingual education is an integrated part of the education system. In Grisons, 68% of the population speak German, 15% Romansh (with different dialects), 10% Italian and 7% other languages, and many municipalities are linguistically heterogeneous. Multilingualism is present in schools as well as in the cantonal administration, with all three languages being recognised as official languages. In order to preserve linguistic diversity, since 1996 schools in multilingual municipalities can be led entirely or in parts bilingually. There are different types of bilingual schools, with different proportions of the use of each language. In the typical case, half of the subjects are taught in German, the other half either in Romansh or in Italian. In some cases, both languages are used contemporaneously in the same lessons. Through this system, children of both language groups usually achieve a level of skills in both languages which corresponds to mother tongue level.

Evaluations of the bilingual projects which have been implemented in the canton of Grisons since the late nineties all showed very satisfactory results: Bilingual education led to solid bilingualism of the respective children, and in some cases the level of the mother tongue was even better than in normal schools. This also applies to the skills and results achieved in other subjects: Educational objectives have been reached in all subjects and the expertise of the respective children was rather higher than in regular schools. For this reason, in recent years the number of bilingual schools has been increasing, especially in language border regions.

Implications for the situation of returnees in South Serbia

Inclusion of national minorities and the protection of their languages represent major challenges in Serbia, which also affect returnees in many ways. Not only have former research studies shown that the migration potential is significantly higher among national minorities than among the Serbs (PBILD 2010: 19), but the survey presented in chapter 3 also indicated that language problems were widespread among returnee children: More than 60% of the interviewees who went to school after the return or had children at school age reported having had language problems at school after return, and these problems also account for almost 50% of missed school grades. Furthermore, services related to improvement of Serbian language skills were also mentioned by several respondents in connection with social integration (see chapter 3, sections f and g).

When it comes to education in South Serbia, segregation of children of national minorities is prevalent: In the municipalities with predominantly Albanian population there are mainly separate schools for Albanian and Serbian children (with some mixed schools which, however, have separate classes according to nationality), whereas in some schools in Bosilegrad, Bulgarian parents can choose between entirely Bulgarian or entirely Serbian education for their children. Roma usually attend Serbian schools, but segregation of Roma children into separate classes and special schools for children with intellectual disabilities is widespread (Open Society Institute 2007: 485). This segregation not only leads to reinforcement of cleavages

⁴¹ Information for this section has been derived from: Website canton of Grisons; Gregori et al. 2011; Canton of Grisons 2001; University of Fribourg 2007; University of Fribourg 2000; Todisco et al. 2009; Bilingual school of Samedan 2010.

between the nationalities, but also to low levels of Serbian language skills in some national minority schools and to unequal opportunities for Roma children in Serbian schools. Therefore, adapted to the particular constellation of the respective municipality, village or town, bilingual education as presented in the cases of Burkina Faso and Grisons – and as it is already implemented in some schools in the AP of Vojvodina (Website of AP Vojvodina) – could be an interesting (even though ambitious) approach for multiethnic regions in South Serbia. Bilingual education would not only lead to better integration of members of national minorities into the education system and into the Serbian society as a whole, but it would also facilitate the re-entry of returnees' children belonging to language minorities into school after their return from abroad.

5.5 Best Practise Example No. 5: “Sport Builds Bridges” in Ethiopia

The objective of the programme “**Ethiopia – Sport Builds Bridges**”⁴², which is run by the NGO “Sport – The Bridge” (STB), is the reintegration of street children into their families and public schools in Addis Abeba, Ethiopia, by using elements of sport pedagogy in order to foster the children’s personal development. Contemporaneously, the families of the respective children receive assistance, in order to lay the foundation for successful reintegration. The programme is divided into two phases: First, the children get one year of intensive support, at the end of which they should be ready to sleep at home and attend public school. This phase is followed by three years of supervision of the children and their families, which guarantees a sustainable success of the programme. Every year, the programme accepts around 130 new children.

The first year consists of daily sport pedagogic lessons, tournaments and games on the grounds of STB, while the follow up programme (year two to four) foresees useful leisure activities organised several times per week in the form of a sports club system, in addition to tutorial classes, a painting room and other activities. Apart from regular training in different kinds of sports (football, basketball and martial arts, amongst others), tournaments, friendly matches, shows and youth talent projects are organised for the children. What is unique about the programme is that the sports lessons are based on the so called *KRAFT-model*. This sport-pedagogical methodology was specially developed for the programme and proved to be very successful, resting upon the five principles body, teamwork, acceptance, fairness and rules. During sport training sessions, children learn about these principles and have the opportunity to playfully practise how to deal with their emotions, strength and aggressions. Furthermore, the children learn to relate and to implement the behaviour they had learned during sports into their everyday life. The programme is based on the principle that sports offer a perfect framework to practise different kinds of situations and patterns of action: Educational issues are tackled in a playful way. The *KRAFT-model* operates with the values which are important in the field of sport as well as in social life, and assumes that learning is the most sustainable if emotions and cognition are interlinked. Therefore, the approach uses the emotions experienced during sports, in order to reflect upon them afterwards and to integrate them into daily life.

⁴² Information for this section has been derived from STB Website; KRAFT Website; E-mail correspondence with the responsible persons of the project; Sport – The Bridge 2006; Sport – The Bridge 2009; Sport – The Bridge 2010.

Implications for the situation of returnees in South Serbia

Even if the context of Ethiopia is completely different from the one in South Serbia, the project “Ethiopia – Sport Builds Bridges” contains interesting elements which could – if adjusted to the local realities – also be useful with regard to reintegration of returnees in Jablanica and Pčinja districts. As the survey has shown, sport opportunities for children and young people, cultural activities and events as well as additional activities organised by youth clubs and offices were among the most cited measures which should be taken in order to foster social reintegration of return migrants after their return from abroad (see chapter 3, section g). A sports programme like “Ethiopia – Sport Builds Bridges”, implemented for example by local youth offices, could therefore be a valuable option in this field. Not only would such activities create opportunities for returnees’ children to socialise with other children, but they could also contribute to improvement of language skills and not least to better communication between children of different nationalities. While the sport pedagogical approach in the case of the project in Ethiopia is used to prepare street children for reintegration into their families and in schools, the skills and values taught during the sport training by the use of the KRAFT-model (especially the principles of acceptance, fairness and teamwork) could be used to foster inter-ethnic communication and tolerance among children in the South Serbian context.

5.6 Best Practise Example No. 6: Modern Psychiatric Treatment in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The project “**Modern psychiatric treatment in Bosnia and Herzegovina**”⁴³, funded and implemented by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) and four Swiss cantons together with the health authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina from June 2010 to May 2013, aims at reforming the provision of health care towards a modern psychiatry system, which offers services and treatment for psychiatric disorders in health centres at the municipal and community level (day care centres, safe houses) instead of institutionalisation of persons with mental health problems in psychiatric hospitals. As a result not only of the conflict from 1992 to 1995, but also due to the high level of unemployment and widespread poverty, Bosnia and Herzegovina’s public health system is currently facing severe problems, particularly in the area of mental health. Even though mental health care reform started in 1996 with a focus on community-based care, developing a network of over 50 community-based mental health centres, the current mental health services in Bosnia and Herzegovina are still unable to satisfy the needs of the population. The project includes four components:

- *Administrative and legislative framework*: This component focuses on creating the conditions for a long-term and sustainable basis of community-based mental health practises, through developing new and improving the current legal, administrative and financial mechanisms that regulate this area.
- *Human resources development*: The second project component aims at improving services to the users at the community level through continuing staff training (with

⁴³ Information for this section is derived from Website SDC; Website SDC Bosnia and Herzegovina; SDC 2010a (Project Document); SDC 2010b (Factsheet).

particular focus on empowerment of nurses) in the field of mental health care, using innovative and modern approaches.

- *Management training and leadership promotion:* The third component includes training and intensive further education for specialists in psychiatric care, especially for managers of health centres, aiming at sensitising management structures regarding the importance of mental health in overall health, roles and importance of mental health services within the health care system.
- *Anti stigma and service users support:* The activities of this project component contain public campaigns against discrimination and stigmatisation to improve the way the mentally ill are regarded and dealt with. In addition, they will focus on the overall service user treatment process that encourages social inclusion, accessibility and quality of services. Special attention will be paid to strengthening service user associations in order for them to be trained to advocate for their rights and ability to influence decision-makers at all levels.

Implications for the situation of returnees in South Serbia

According to the European Commission's Analytical Report on Serbia's application for membership of the European Union published on 12 October 2011, Serbia has taken many steps forward in the recent past with regard to health protection, but efforts are still needed for the country to be able to align with the EU *acquis*. When it comes to mental health, the report states that Serbia's Strategy for the development of mental healthcare identified a series of efforts needed. The Commission suggests that "further action needs to be taken to promote inclusion of people with mental health problems [...]. Efforts towards de-institutionalisation need to continue and community-based mental health services should be further supported as an alternative to institutions" (European Commission 2011: 29, 103, 122).

The absolute number of persons with depressive, stress-related and psychosomatic disorders is on the rise in Serbia in general (see Institute of Public Health of Serbia 2009: 84). Apart from the generally difficult living conditions, which affect a high percentage of the Serbian population, (some) return migrants face specific psychological problems related to lack of social integration, traumatic events with regard to deportation and frustration about not having succeeded to stay abroad (see also Group 484 2011: 74). The survey has shown that among return migrants, with a percentage of 22.9%, psychological troubles are the most cited problem in the area of health, and it is assumed that the real proportion is even higher. Furthermore, when asked what services or assistance would be helpful with regard to health, "better medical services", "better skilled/qualified doctors" and "better infrastructure in local health centres and hospitals" proved to be widespread needs among the interviewees (see chapter 3, table 19).

Therefore, an initiative similar to the project "Modern psychiatric treatment in Bosnia and Herzegovina" presented above could be a helpful approach not only to tackle the specific needs of return migrants when it comes to psychological problems, but also to strengthen the mental healthcare system as a whole according to the demands made by the European Union. As a matter of course, such kind of reforms and measures would have to be implemented on a national level, not only in South Serbia.

6 Conclusion

All in all, while return migrants to Serbia are generally rather considered as a burden, the survey conducted in the framework of this research study has shown that returnees to Jablanica and Pčinja districts bring back many skills and resources from abroad, wherefore they have a significant developmental potential for their home region. However, since the vast majority of return migrants declare that they do not have any opportunity to use the skills and experience they have gained abroad, this potential presently seems not to be fully tapped in the case of South Serbia.

Therefore, a shift is required from seeing return migration as exclusively problematic to potentially beneficial. This paper has demonstrated that there is an increasing need for Serbia to actively link return and reintegration of migrants more to the development needs and planning of the country. Policy makers on the national and local level as well as civil society organisations and international development agencies can and should contribute to an enabling environment for successful reintegration of returnees. Such an environment must be grounded in broader macro-economic growth with labour markets that recognise the skills and experiences migrants have gained abroad on the one hand, and specific reintegration measures and incentives on the other hand. The best practise examples presented in the previous chapter could serve as starting points for future action.

This study has also shown that the needs of return migrants are varied and multi-layered, with different groups of returnees facing different kinds of difficulties. Policies to foster reintegration need, therefore, to account for differences between existing groups of returnees and for their specific needs in the respective region.

Joint and coordinated efforts by all stakeholders involved are necessary to ensure sustainable reintegration of returnees, seen that such reintegration is a necessary precondition for return migrants to make the most of their skills and experiences acquired abroad. This provides the basis not only for improving the living conditions of the returnees themselves, but also for promoting the development of their entire home country.

7 References

- AGENCY FOR HUMAN AND MINORITY RIGHTS (2008): Reintegration of Returnees in Serbia: An Overview of Awareness Raising Activities of the Agency for Human and Minority Rights. Government of the Republic of Serbia / UNDP, Belgrade, March 2008.
- AMMASSARI, Savina (2004): From Nation-Building to Entrepreneurship: The Impact of Élite Return Migrants in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. In: *Population, Space and Place*, Vol. 10 (pp. 133-154).
- AROWOLO, Oladele O. (2000): Return Migration and the Problem of Reintegration. In: *International Migration*, Vol. 38, No. 5 (pp. 59-82).
- ATHUKORALA, Prema-Chandra (1990): International contract migration and the reintegration of return migrants: The experience of Sri Lanka. In: *International Migration Review*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (pp. 323-346).
- BILINGUAL SCHOOL OF SAMEDAN (2010): Konzept zur Förderung der romanisch-deutschen Zweisprachigkeit im Kindergarten und in der Volksschule von Samedan. January 2010.
- BLACK, Richard; CASTALDO, Adriana (2008): Return Migration and Entrepreneurship in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire: the role of capital transfers. In: *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, Vol. 100, No. 1, 2009 (pp. 44-58).
- BLACK, Richard; KING, Russel (2004): Editorial Introduction: Migration, Return and Development in West Africa. In: *Population, Space and Place*, Vol. 10 (pp. 75-83).
- CANTON OF GRISONS (2001): Richtlinien zur zweisprachigen Führung von Schulen oder einzelnen Klassenzügen im Sinne einer partiellen Immersion. Erziehungs-, Kultur- und Umweltschutzdepartement, 9 November 2001. http://www.gr.ch/DE/institutionen/verwaltung/ekud/avs/Volksschule/richtlinien_zweisprachigkeit_de.pdf (accessed on 14 November 2011).
- CASSARINO, Jean-Pierre (2004): Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited. In: *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (pp. 253-279).
- CHAPPEL, Laura; ANGELESCU-NAQVI, Ramona; MAVROTAS, George, SRISKANDARAJAH, Dhananjayan (2010): *Development on the Move. Measuring and Optimising Migration's Economic and Social Impacts*. London: ippr and GDN.
- CHACKO, Elizabeth (2007): From brain drain to brain gain: reverse migration to Bangalore and Hyderabad, India's globalizing high tech cities. In: *GeoJournal*, Vol. 68 (pp. 131-140).
- ECUMENICAL HUMANITARIAN ORGANISATION EHO (2009): Roma Resource Centre. Information Booklet. Novi Sad: Ecumenical Humanitarian Organisation.
- ECUMENICAL HUMANITARIAN ORGANISATION EHO (2010): Press information on "Social inclusion and improvement of living conditions of Roma in the AP Vojvodina, R. Serbia." Bečej, Serbia, 14 December 2010.
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2011): Analytical report accompanying the document "Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council", Commission's opinion on Serbia's application for membership of the European Union. Brussels, 12 October 2011.
- FIDES (2011): Overview FIDES – Financial Systems Development Services AG. Factsheet, June 2011. http://www.fidesgroup.org/docs/Factsheet_FIDES.pdf (accessed on 15 November 2011).
- GIES, Daniel (2010): Access to Microcredit in Serbia: Perspectives and Positions. Power point presentation by GFA Consulting Group, Improved SME Competitiveness and Innovation Project, 4 December 2010, http://icp-serbia.org/assets/Uploads/Microfinancing_in_Serbia.pdf (accessed on 16 November 2011).
- GLOBAL FORUM ON MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT GFMD (2009): Migrant integration, reintegration and circulation of development. Background paper to the second roundtable of the third GFMD meeting, Athens 2009.
- GLOBAL MIGRANT GROUP (2010): *Mainstreaming Migration in Development Planning. A handbook for policy-makers and practitioners*. IOM 2010.
- GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA (2011): Action plan for fulfillment of priorities under the EC 2010 Progress Report with the aim of accelerating candidate country status. Belgrade, July 2011.

- GREGORI, Gian Peder; GROSS, Manfred; TODISCO, Vincenzo; TREZZINI, Marco (2011): Schule und Mehrsprachigkeit im Kanton Graubünden. In: Bündner Monatsblatt, Vol. 1, 2011 (p. 77-102).
- GROUP 484 (2011): Challenges of forced migration in Serbia. Position of refugees, internally displaced persons, returnees and asylum seekers. June 2011.
- GROUP 484 (2009): Migration Potential of Serbia. Belgrade, June 2009.
- GROUP 484 (2008): Palilula – Our Home. Results on Research on Returnees from Western Europe. February 2008.
- HALAOUI, Nazam et al. (2006): Evaluation du programme Education Bilingue au Burkina Faso. Ouagadougou: MEBA – OSEO.
- INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION ILO; UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES UNHCR (2006): Integration of Returnees in the Afghan Labour Market. An Empirical Study. Altai Consulting 2006.
- INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC HEALTH OF SERBIA (2009): Health of population of Serbia. Analytical study 1997-2007. Belgrade: Institute of Public Health of Serbia.
- INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION FOR MIGRATION IOM (2010a): World Migration Report 2010. The Future of Migration: Building Capacities for Change. Geneva: IOM.
- INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION FOR MIGRATION IOM (2010b): Capacity Building, Information and Awareness Raising Towards Promoting Orderly Migration in the Western Balkans. Project Newsletter No. 6, January 2010; http://www.migrantservicecentres.org/userfile/project_newsletter_6_January%202010.pdf (accessed on 3 October 2011).
- INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION FOR MIGRATION IOM (2010c): Project Information Sheet "Migration for Development in the Western Balkans", <http://www.migrantservicecentres.org/userfile/MIDWEB%20Project%20info%20sheet%20EN.pdf> (accessed on 3 October 2011).
- KILIC, Talip; CARLETTO, Calogero; DAVIS, Benjamin; ZEZZA, Alberto (2009): Investing back home. Return migration and business ownership in Albania. In: Economics of Transition, Vol. 17, No. 3 (pp. 587-623).
- LAMBERT, Brittany (2009): Intercultural Bilingual Education: A Strategy for Reducing Discrimination against Indigenous Students in Bolivia? Presentation held at the Educational Equity: Global and National Strategies Conference, 2 May 2009, McGill University. <http://www.mcgill.ca/files/ihsp/BrittanyLambert.pdf> (accessed on 11 November 2011).
- MCCORMICK, Barry; WAHBA, Jackline (2001): Overseas work experience, savings and entrepreneurship amongst return migrants to LDCs. In: Scottish Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 48, No. 2, May 2001 (pp. 164-178).
- MURILLO CASTANO, Gabriel (1988): Effects of Emigration and Return on Sending Countries: The Case of Colombia. In: Stahl, C. (1988): International Migration Today. Paris: UNESCO.
- MURPHY, Rachel (1999): Return Migrant Entrepreneurs and Economic Diversification in Two Counties in South Jiangxi, China. In: Journal of International Development, Vol. 11 (pp. 661-672).
- NIKOLOVSKI, Zoran; UZUNOV, Vanco; MICEVSKA SCHARF, Maja; SAZDOVSKA, Suncica (2009): Development on the Move. Measuring and Optimising the Economic and Social Impacts of Migration in the Republic of Macedonia. London: ippr and GDN.
- OGNJANOV, Galjina; CORBANESE, Valli (2011): Occupational Skills Survey 2011. Key findings in South Serbia. July 2011.
- OLESEN, Henrik (2002): Migration, Return and Development: An Institutional Perspective. In: International Migration, Vol. 40, No. 5 (pp. 125-150).
- OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE (2007): Equal Access to Quality Education For Roma. Serbia. From Vol. 2: Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Serbia. Monitoring Report, Open Society Institute / EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program / Education Support Program / Roma Participation Program. http://www.mp.gov.rs/resursi/dokumenti/dok241-eng-QSI_romeduc_serbia.pdf (accessed on 16 November 2011).

PIRACHA, Matloob; VADEAN, Forin (2010): Return Migration and Occupational Choice: Evidence from Albania. In: World Development, Vol. 38, No. 8 (pp. 1141-1155).

PEACEBUILDING AND INCLUSIVE LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME PBILD (2010): Inclusive Development Social Survey – Migration. Bujanovac, December 2010.
[http://rs.one.un.org/organizations/12/Migration%20Inclusive%20Development%20Social%20Survey%20ENG\[1\].pdf](http://rs.one.un.org/organizations/12/Migration%20Inclusive%20Development%20Social%20Survey%20ENG[1].pdf).

ROMA RESOURCE CENTRE (2010): Social inclusion & improvement of housing in Roma settlements in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, Republic of Serbia. Information booklet. Novi Sad: Ecumenical Humanitarian Organisation.

SADIKOVIC, Edo (2010): Returnees research skills and knowledge. In: Project: Research interest for migration management in Southwestern Serbia. Published by NGO Centre for Research in Politics Argument, Prijepolje.

SAROLI, Ana (2009): Intercultural bilingual education and the officialization of culture in Peru. In: Glossa, Vol. 4, No. 2, October 2009 (275-294).
<http://bibliotecavirtualut.suagm.edu/Glossa2/Journal/Oct2009/INTERCULTURAL-BILINGUAL-EDUCATION.pdf>
(accessed on 11 November 2011).

SPORT – THE BRIDGE (2010): Äthiopien – Sport baut Brücken. Jahresbericht 2010.
http://www.sportthebridge.ch/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Jahresbericht_ETH.pdf (accessed on 14 November 2011).

SPORT – THE BRIDGE (2009): Äthiopien – Sport baut Brücken. Sponsoring Dossier.
http://test.sportthebridge.ch/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/STB_SponsDoss-short1.pdf (accessed on 14 November 2011).

SPORT – THE BRIDGE (2006): Concept Follow up Program of Sport – The Bridge. Version of October 2006.

SWISS AGENCY FOR DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION (2010a): Project Document “Mental health project in Bosnia-Herzegovina”, Phase I (June 2010-May 2013).

SWISS AGENCY FOR DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION (2010b): Overview of the Mental health project. Factsheet.

SWISS COOPERATION OFFICE ALBANIA (2007): Albanian Savings and Credit Union ASCU. Factsheet.
http://www.swiss-cooperation.admin.ch/albania/en/Home/Programs_and_Projects/Economic_Development/Archive/Savings_and_Credit_Union (accessed on 15 November 2011).

SWISS COOPERATION OFFICE SERBIA (2010): Social Inclusion and Improvement of Living Conditions for Roma in Voivodina.
http://www.swiss-cooperation.admin.ch/serbia/en/Home/Domains_Programs_and_Small_Projects/Migration
(accessed on 15 October 2011).

TCHADZE, Robert; TOROSYAN, Karine (2009): Development on the Move. Measuring and Optimising Migration's Economic and Social Impacts in Georgia. London: ippr and GDN.

THOMAS-HOPE, Elizabeth (1999): Return Migration to Jamaica and its Development Potential. In: International Migration, Vol. 37, No. 1 (pp. 183-207).

TODISCO, Vincenzo; BIETENHADER, Sabine; TREZZINI, Marco (2009): Progetto Scuola Bilingue Maloja. Rapporto conclusivo. Coira: Alta scuola pedagogica dei Grigioni.

UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES UNHCR (2010a): Banking on Solutions. A real-time evaluation of UNHCR's shelter grant programme for returning displaced people in northern Sri Lanka. March 2010.

UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES UNHCR (2010b): Home alone? A review of the relationship between repatriation, mobility and durable solutions for refugees. March 2010.

UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES UNHCR (2010c): The end of the road? A review of UNHCR's role in the return and reintegration of internally displaced populations. July 2010.

UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES UNHCR (2009): Money matters. An evaluation of the use of cash grants in UNHCR's voluntary repatriation and reintegration programme in Burundi. July 2009.

UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES UNHCR (2008a): Evaluation of UNHCR's returnee reintegration programme in Southern Sudan. September 2008.

UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES UNHCR (2008b): Evaluation of UNHCR's returnee reintegration programme in Angola. August 2008.

UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES UNHCR (2004): Evaluation of UNHCR's repatriation and reintegration programme in East Timor, 1999-2003. February 2004.

UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES UNHCR (2002): Reintegration programmes for refugees in South-East Asia. Lessons learned from UNHCR's experience. April 2002.

UNIVERSITY OF FRIBOURG (2007): Schlussbericht der Fortsetzung der Evaluation des Schulprojekts Samedan 2001 – 2007. December 2007.

UNIVERSITY OF FRIBOURG (2000): Schlussbericht der Evaluation des Schulprojekts Samedan. December 2000.

Internet sources:

AUTONOMOUS PROVINCE OF VOJVODINA:

http://www.obrazovanje.vojvodina.gov.rs/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9&Itemid=11&lang=en (accessed on 16 November 2011).

ALBANIAN SAVINGS AND CREDIT UNION: <http://www.ascunion.org.al/en/index.html> (accessed on 15 November 2011).

CANTON OF GRISONS: <http://www.gr.ch/EN/grisons/survey/Seiten/GraubundenimUeberblick.aspx>;
<http://www.gr.ch/DE/KANTON/UEBERBLICK/Seiten/Dreisprachigkeit.aspx>
<http://www.gr.ch/DE/institutionen/verwaltung/ekud/avs/projekte/fremdsprachen/Seiten/ZweisprachigeSchulen.aspx> (accessed on 14 November 2011).

FIDES: <http://www.fidesgroup.org/fidesnews.html>; <http://www.fidesgroup.org/fidesabout.html> (accessed on 15 November 2011).

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION FOR MIGRATION IOM BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: <http://www.iom.ba/AVR-1.html> (accessed on 14 April 2011).

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION ILO:

http://www.ilo.org/sapfl/Projects/lang--en/WCMS_100976/index.htm (accessed on 13 June 2011).

KRAFT-MODEL: www.kraftmodell.ch; www.zihler.org (accessed on 14 November 2011).

MIGRANT SERVICE CENTRES: <http://www.migrantservicecentres.org/index.php?page=56> (accessed on 3 October 2011).

SOLIDAR SUISSE: <http://www.solidar.ch/burkina-faso.html>; <http://www.solidar.ch/burkina-faso-2.html>;
<http://www.solidar.ch/index.cfm?ID=A831A87D-C767-66DA-93B1D390097CA455&dtl=437> ;
<http://www.solidar.ch/zweisprachige-bildung.html>; (accessed on 11 November 2011).

SPORT – THE BRIDGE: <http://www.sportthebridge.ch/english/ethiopia/>;

<http://www.sportthebridge.ch/english/ethiopia/sport-pedagogy/>; <http://www.sportthebridge.ch/aethiopien/idee-ansatz/>;
<http://www.sportthebridge.ch/aethiopien/follow-up/> (accessed on 14 November 2011).

SWISS AGENCY FOR DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION SDC:

http://www.deza.admin.ch/en/Home/Projects/Modern_psychiatric_treatment_for_Bosnia_and_Herzegovina;
http://www.deza.admin.ch/en/Home/News/Close_up?itemID=198998 (accessed on 14 November 2011).

SWISS AGENCY FOR DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: http://www.swiss-cooperation.admin.ch/bosniaandherzegovina/en/Home/Domains_and_Projects/Health/Mental_Health (accessed on 14 November 2011).

SWISS LABOUR ASSISTANCE SLA: <http://www.sah.ch/index.cfm?ID=FCD0FA67-A497-3976-A5693F99D80F9EB4> (accessed on 11 November 2011).

WORLD BANK:

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/IDA/0,,contentMDK:20871875~menuPK:4754051~pagePK:51236175~piPK:437394~thFeSitePK:73154,00.html> (accessed on 15 November 2011).

About PBILD

The Peace-building and Inclusive Local Development (PBILD) programme is a 3-year \$8.5 million United Nations initiative, financed by Norway, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland, to build capacity in south Serbia for inclusive, peaceful and sustainable development. The four focus areas of PBILD's work are: increased community cohesion and human capital; improved and more equitable access to public services; increased economic development; and increased capacity for migration management.

In co-operation with the Government of Serbia and all 13 municipalities of Jablanicki and Pcinjski districts, a UN team based in Bujanovac, composed of staff from six United Nations agencies – ILO, IOM, UNDP, UN-Habitat, UNHCR, UNICEF – works together as 'One UN', to deliver PBILD from 2009 until 2012.